

LUCIUS.

Lucius.

ST. Jerome places this *Lucius*, the Adversary of *Peter of Alexandria*, among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, of whom we have already spoken. He says, That he governed the Church of *Alexandria* till the

time of *Theodosius*: But we have observed that he was driven away a little while before the Reign of this Emperor. He adds, That he wrote Letters concerning the solemnity of *Easter*, and some Books upon different subjects.

Lucius.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS.

Aquilus Severus.

A *Quilius Severus* a Spaniard, of the Race of that *Severus* to whom *Lactantius* addressed two Books of Letters, wrote a Volume in the form of an *Itinerary*, which contains all the History of his Life in Prose as well as Verse. 'Tis entituled, *The Catastrophe, or the Experiment*. He died under the Reign of *Valentinian*, that is to say, about the year 370. This is what *St. Jerome* has told us of this Author, and 'tis all that we know of him. This sort of Books which contain the Lives of Authors are pleasant when they are written of great Men who had a share in the Management of Affairs, or of such Persons whose Lives were full of extraordinary and surprizing Ac-

cidents; and they are useful when they are written of Persons of great Virtue and Merit: But when no such thing is to be found in them; they are commonly tedious and useless Books. 'Tis probable that this Life of *Aquilus* was filled with extraordinary Occurrences, which was the Reason why he wrote it, and why he gave it the Title of *The Catastrophe, or the Experiment*. Wherein he probably gives us cause to admire the Providence of God in the wonderful Changes that happened to himself. This is all that we can say by Conjecture, having no certain Knowledge of this Matter.

Aquilus Severus.

EUZOIUS.

Euzeius.

E *Uzoius* was the Scholar of *Theopetius* the Rhetorician, together with *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. He studied in his youth at *Casarea* in *Palestine*, whereof he was afterward Bishop. He repaired the Library of *Origen* and *Pamphilus*, causing the Books to be written out upon new skins, because the old ones began to rot. He was at last turned out of the Church in the time of *Theodosius*.

He wrote many Treatises, which were easie to be known in *St. Jerome's* time. This is what this Father has told us of this Author. *St. Epiphanius* speaks of him in *Heres. 73.* and places him among those Bishops that were purely *Arian*: And yet he is different from the famous *Arian Euzeius* Bishop of *Antioch*.

Euzeius.

St. CYRIL of Jerusalem.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

ST. Cyril was ordained Priest of the Church of *Jerusalem*, by *Maximus*, Bishop of that City; but if we believe *St. Jerome*, he would not do the Office of a Deacon, as long as that Bishop liv'd. After his Death (a), he was placed in his room, by *Acacius* and the Bishops of his Party, which rendered his Faith suspected to the Catholics (b). But he was not long a Friend to *Acacius*; for the Differences which they had about the Prerogatives of their Sees, quickly broke them in pieces. The Council of *Nice* had given the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the first place among all the Bishops of that Province, and yet left the Rites of the Church of *Casarea* entire, which was Metropolis to the Church of *Jerusalem*. This Honour gave occasion to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to assume to himself some Privileges, and so *Maximus* of *Jerusalem*, took upon him to Ordain Bishops in *Palestine*, and to Assemble a Council of that Province. His Successor, *St. Cyril*, desiring to maintain himself in the Possession of those Privileges, was troubled by *Acacius* of *Casarea*, who would not endure that the Church of *Jerusalem* should assume to it self a right which legally pertained to his own Church. To revenge himself for this Encroachment, he called a Council in the year 356, wherein he depos'd *St. Cyril*, under pretence that he had Sold the Ornaments of the Church, and the Sacred Vessels to relieve the Poor in time of Famine. He placed in his room, *Eutychius*, who probably was Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*. *St. Cyril* appealed from the Sentence of this Synod, to a more numerous Council; but he was forced to retire to *Tarsus*, where he continued some time with *Silvanus*, Bishop of that City, who received him very kindly,

and gave him leave to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, and to Preach in his Diocess. At this time, there was a Synod held at *Melitina*, compos'd of Bishops of *Acacius's* Party, where *St. Cyril* was present. He came afterwards to the Council of *Selencia*, wherein he took part with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who treated him as a lawful Bishop, and gave him a Seat in the Council, in spite of all the Opposition that was made by *Acacius*: And *Acacius*, that he might the better oppose his Adversary, threw himself upon the Party of *Eudoxius*, and by this means, got *St. Cyril* depos'd anew in the Council of *Constantinople*. 'Twas about this time, that *Heremius* was ordain'd Bishop of *Jerusalem*, because probably *Eutychius*, who was already Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*, would not leave his Church, to take the See of *Jerusalem*. After *Heremius*, there was one named *Heraclius*, and to him Succeeded one *Hilarius*. But at last, *St. Cyril* was restored to his See, under the Emperor *Theodosius*, after his Ordination had been approved by the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the year 380 (c). He died the year 386, and had *John* for his Successor.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

St. Jerome assures us, That *St. Cyril* compos'd his Catechetical Discourses in his youth: We have 18 of them extant, address'd to the Catechumens, whereof some are quoted by *Theodoret* (d), by *St. John Damascene*, by *Cyparissiota*; and there are 5 others, called *Mystagogick Lectures*, for the Instruction of those that are newly baptized. *Cook*, *Rivet*, *Aubertin*, and other Calvinistical Criticks, do all that they can, to prove these Catechetical Discourses supposititious, because they contain many things that displease them (e),

(a) After his Death.] *Socrates*, B. 11. Ch. 38. and *Sozomen*, B. IV. Ch. 20. says, that *Acacius* of *Casarea*, and *Pamphilus* of *Scythopolis*, turned out *Maximus*, to place *St. Cyril* in his Room: But *St. Jerome* who speaks of *St. Cyril*, after such a manner as sufficiently discovers, that he did not favour him, since he treats him as an *Arian*, tells us, that *Maximus* was dead, when he was Ordain'd. But he accuses *St. Cyril* of persecuting *Heraclius*, who was Ordain'd Bishop by the Catholics, in the room of *Maximus*, and of reducing him to the rank of Presbyters. *St. Epiphanius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Theodoret*, speak not a word of this *Heraclius*: But *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, place him as second of the Bishops whom the *Arians* set up in Opposition to *St. Cyril*. *St. Jerome*, calls the first *Irenaeus*, instead of *Eremius*.

(b) His Faith suspected to the Catholics.] *Ruffinus* and *St. Jerome*, observe, that he oftentimes chang'd his Faith and his Communion. As to his Communion, 'tis true; for at first, he held Communion with *Acacius*, afterwards he separated from him; then he communicated with the Bishops of his Party, at the Synod of *Melitina*; after this he forsook them, to joyn with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and the *Semi-Arians*; at last, he re-united himself to the Catholics. But for all this, he did not change his Faith, for he always believed the Son to be like in Substance unto the Father, without condemning the term *Consubstantial*. 'Twas *Acacius* who was so changeable in his Faith, for he sometimes signed the Doctrine, the Words being like in Substance,

and sometimes condemned this Doctrine, and approved the Error of the *Anomaeans*; but *Meletius* re-united them all, and made them approve the term *Consubstantial*. We must not believe *St. Jerome* about the Cause of *St. Cyril*, for he was addicted to *Paulinus* against *Meletius*, and against all those of his Party.

(c) The Council of Constantinople, held in the Year 380.] This appears by the Letter from the Council of *Constantinople*, produced by *Theodoret*, wherein the Bishops declare, that they had approved the Ordination of *St. Cyril*, because it was performed according to form by the Bishops of his Province.

(d) By *Theodoret*, &c.] This Father in his Second Dialogue, cites a long Passage taken out of the 4th. Catechetical Discourse of *St. Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, which is word for word found in the 4th. Catechetical Discourse to the Catechumens: *St. John Damascene*, relates also a Passage taken out of the 12th. in his *Orat. 3. de Imag.* *Cyparissiota* Dec. 6. cites the 10th. Catechetical Discourse.

(e) Many things that displease them.] The real Presence, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Ceremonies, Prayers for the Dead, the Exorcisms, Invocation of Saints, the Honour due to Relicks, the Celibacy of Priests, the Veneration of the Cross, &c. are Opinions which the Calvinists cannot endure, and they are mightily troubled to see them established by an Author of the 4th. Age of the Church.

and

and destroy their Errors. But the Conjectures which they alledge to overthrow their Authority, are too slight (f), to call in question the Truth; and the Interest which they have to Oppose them, renders their Censure suspected. Their endeavours are chiefly against the 5 Mystagogical Catechisms, which are not indeed cited by the Ancients, as the first Discourses are. But the Agreement of the Stile (g) shews, that they are the same Author's; and the End of the 18th. Catechetical Discourse (h), demonstrates it clearly: For there he promises to Compose 5 other Instructions after Easter, whereof he tells you the Subjects, which are very near akin to the Subjects of those which we still have. In short, he cites the first in the last; and since the last are promised in the first, and these again quoted in the last, Who can doubt but they are all the same Author's (i)? And since they cannot deny, but the first which have gone under the Name of St. Cyril, ever since Theodoret's time, are Genuine, they must by consequence confess, that the 5 last belong to the same Author.

The Eighteen first Catechetical Instructions are address'd to those of the *Catechumens*, who are called the *Elect*, or the *Enlightened*; that is to say, those that have pass'd through all the other degrees of *Catechumens*, and are now instructed in order to receiving Baptism within a little time: For the Ancient Church did not give Baptism immediately to all those who desir'd it, but only to those who had given signs of a sincere Faith, and of the change of their Life, by a long Tryal, and by a course of Penance. So when an Infidel offer'd himself to be admitted among the number of Christians, they begun with discovering to him in particular the blindness wherein he had hitherto been, but they did not permit him to enter into the Church to hear the Publick Exhortations. Afterwards when he was sufficiently undeceived of his old Errors, and desired to be instructed in the Truth, he was permitted to enter into the Church, but only to hear the Sermons, without being present, at any of the Prayers: This sort of *Catechumens* were call'd *Hearers*, because they heard the Instructions which were given in the Church. The third Rank of *Catechumens*, was that of those that were present at the Prayers, who were called the *Supplicants* or the *Prostrati*, because they were present at the Prayers of the Church till the Offertory, and they kneeled and prostrated themselves on the Ground to receive the Blessing of the Bishop. In the mean time they were instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and their Behaviour and Actions were carefully inspected, and when they found them dispos'd to receive Baptism, they were permitted to desire it, and to give in their Names, that they might be admitted to it. Those who did so, were call'd *Competentes*, that is, *Competitors*; and if their Petition was admitted, they were called *Elect*; and then they were prepared to receive Baptism by Instructions, by Exorcisms, and by many Ceremonies. These are all the

Degrees that can be distinguished among the *Catechumens*: But commonly the Fathers without insisting on these Distinctions, called those *Catechumens*, who were either *Hearers*, or *Partakers only* of the Prayers; and they gave the Name of *Competitors*, to those who were in a Condition to receive Baptism. The last are they whom St. Cyril calls, *Enlightened*, that is, *Enlightened*, because they were already instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and had given in their Names at the beginning of Lent, to be baptized at Easter, according to Custom. 'Twas to ground them well in our Mysteries, and dispose them to receive Baptism with Purity, that St. Cyril compos'd those Instructions, as he himself testifies in his Preliminary Discourse, in which he treats of those Dispositions that they ought to bring with them to Baptism, and of the Necessity of hearing Instruction. He exhorts them to Purify themselves from their Sins, and to embrace a truly Christian Life, if they would have Baptism profitable to them. He admonishes them not to approach this Sacrament, if their Souls were still polluted with heinous Sins, and they persever'd still in their wicked Designs and their sinful Customs. He tells them that they deceived themselves, if they imagined that they should receive the Fruit and Effects of Baptism, while they continued in this state. If ye are still, says he, of the same wicked Disposition of which ye have always been, in vain do ye think that ye shall receive the Grace of Baptism: Ye shall be washed with those Waters, but ye shall not receive the Holy Spirit. Therefore if any of you finds himself troubled with some secret Disease in his Mind, let him take a Remedy. Ye have yet time, the Church offers you a Penance of four days. Ye may, during this time, retire to do Penance, and after that re-enter into the Rank where ye were, To be baptized at Whitsunide. He adds, That since they cannot receive Baptism but once only, (for none but Hereticks, says he, are re-baptized, because the Baptism which they have received out of the Church is no Baptism) they must take good heed that they do not receive it in vain. After this, he explains the Disposition which they ought to have, that this Sacrament may be profitable to them. God hath said, I require nothing of you but a good Heart: Say not Te, How is it that my Sins shall be forgiven me? I declare it unto you, it is by Faith and a good Disposition. What is there more easily to be had? forsake then presently your infamous Company, give over your Obscene Discourse, avoid Covetousness, and the love of Riches, come and hear Instruction with Diligence and Delight, be careful to receive the Exorcisms, tho' ye have been already solemnly exorcised. Nothing is more wholesome than this Ceremony; for as the Gold is Purified by Fire, so the Soul is Purified by Exorcisms. He exhorts them afterwards to hear Instruction with Attention. He makes them understand that there is a great difference between Catechizing and Sermons; for if it happens that any one does not apply his Mind to a Sermon, or neglects to hear

(f) The Conjectures which they alledge are too slight.] They say, that there is a Greek Catalogue wherein they are attributed to John of Jerusalem; but of what Authority is a Catalogue, the Antiquity whereof is not known? Can it be opposed to the testimony of Theodoret, who cites those Catechetical Instructions under the Name of St. Cyril, and to that of St. Jerome, who testifies, that this Father wrote one? There is no probability, says Rivet, that the Care of instructing the *Catechumens* should be entrusted to a young Man. Why not? If he was capable of it, as it appears St. Cyril was. If there was no probability of it, Why does St. Jerome assure us, that it was so? 'Tis said, adds Rivet, That they were spoken ex-tempore, and St. Jerome says, that he wrote them. A pleasant Objection indeed! as if it were not known that Authors do often set down those Discourses afterwards in writing, which they spoke without premeditation at first: The same Rivet is of Opinion, that those places which concern Celibacy, Virginity, Relicks, the Cross of Jesus Christ, &c. are added in these Catechetical Discourses; what proof has he for this, but only that those things do not please him? He accuses St. Cyril of Blasphemy, because he says, If the Virgin Mary were so much honoured for carrying Jesus Christ the space of nine Months, we ought yet more to honour Christians for keeping their Virginity for very many years. This thought is not exact, 'tis a little too blunt; but such things did often escape the Fathers in their Sermons, and it is capable of a good Sense. Another Objection of Rivet's is this: This Author says, that the Wood of the Cross is amongst us to this Day. Now these Words to this Day cannot agree, says he, to St. Cyril, who might be present at the finding of the Cross. To which I answer, that the Words, to this Day, respect the time which was already past, since the Passion of Jesus Christ. To conclude, all these Catechetical Discourses, have the Character of Antiquity; they are simple and natural, and explain the Doctrines of the Church after the ancient Way. The Author says at the beginning of his 6th. Catechetical Discourse, that he wrote 70 Years after the beginning of the Heresy of the Manichees: The Canon of the Sacred Books which he recites, is ancient; and the Creed which he makes use of, does not betray his Age: The manner in which he explains the Mystery of the Trinity, shews, that he was a Catholick, but that he managed himself sily; for tho' he always confirms the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, he does not always make use of the Word *Consubstantial*. The two Arguments of Rivet, against the Mystagogical Discourses, are as weak as the former. The Ancients, says he, do not distinguish these two kinds of Discourses. But neither do they say, that there was

but one: St. Jerome, who is the only Person that speaks of them all, says only, that St. Cyril wrote Catechetical Discourses, without telling how many: The other Authors speak of those which they had occasion to quote. 2. He says, That the last are short, whereas the first are very long. But this is no Argument why they should not be all the same Author's. The three first to the illuminated, are shorter than the last, and are not much longer than the Mystagogical Discourses. The time, and Matter that he writes about, makes any Author longer or shorter; and after Easter, the Instructions ought not to be so long. Aubertin adds, that Prævotius says he supplied many Letters, and corrected many places. And what follows from thence? Is there any one Book to which the first Publishers have not done the same thing? they have added sometimes half a word, or a whole one, or sometimes some words which they thought necessary. But they cannot be suppos'd to add whole Periods, Pages and Books; and indeed, if ye compare the Edition of Prævotius, with that of Morellus, which preceded it, made by a Manuscript of Monsieur De Mesmes, and with the Latin Versions made from other Manuscripts, you may see that the Differences among them are of very small Consequence, and that they neither alter the Sense nor the Doctrine of this Father.

(g) But the Agreement of the Stile, &c.] There is the same Stile, the same Method, the same Air of Writing. The Stile both of the one and the other is familiar and unaffected: He explains the Mysteries by Passages of Scripture, and moralizes them after the same manner in them all.

(h) The end of the 18th. Catechetical Discourse.] After Easter, says he, with the help of God, you shall hear other Catechetical Lectures; First, about what is done before Baptism. This is the Subject of the First Catechetical Discourse. Secondly, To explain how ye are purified from your sins by the Baptism of Water. That's the Subject of the Second. Thirdly, How ye have received the Seal of the Holy Spirit. That's the Subject of the third. And Lastly, Concerning the Holy Mysteries of the Altar. That's the Subject of the two last. But besides, the Order which he promised to observe in speaking of Holy Mysteries, is that which is observed in these two Catechetical Discourses.

(i) Who can doubt but they are all the same Author's.] Since he cites the first Instructions in the last, and declares at the beginning of the first Catechetical Discourse, that he delayed to instruct them perfectly in Divine Mysteries, till they were baptized; and toward the end of the same Discourse, he says, that he had explained the Creed in the preceding Discourses.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem. it, 'tis eafie to recover that lofs, becaufe he may hear to Morrow the fame thing; but when all the Myfteries which are neceffary to be known for receiving Baptifm are explained in their Order, by Catechizing, if perhaps you neglect to hear any one of them, you cannot return to it again; and there is fuch an Effential Connection of all thefe Myfteries one with another, that if you do not underftand any one of them, you are in danger of underftanding nothing of all the reft. He exhorts them, to fay nothing to Infidels nor Catechumens of what they fhall hear, to behave themfelves modestly when they come into the Church, before the Exorcifms are begun, and not to entertain themfelves with Profane News; but to read there fome ufeul Book, to fing or to pray, and to confider themfelves always as in the prefence of God, while they are there. He exhorts them to Pray always, that they may fhun the fnares of the Devil, and to watch continually over themfelves, left they fall into Temptation. *These are, fays he in the Conclusion, the beft Exhortations and Inftuctions which we can give you, that you may not Build upon Chaff, Hay or Stubble, left your Building be confum'd when it fhall pafs through the Fire. All that I can do, is to exhort you, 'tis your part to Labour, and God's to Perfect. Raze up your Minds, direct your Intentions, prepare your Hearts, it is for your Souls that you fight, and they are Eternal Treafures which you hope for.*

The First Lecture is alfo an Exhortation to thofe that are to be baptized, to prepare themfelves by a Holy Life and by Good Works, that fo they may receive the Grace of Baptifm. It is compos'd upon a Lefson taken out of the First Chapter of *Iſaiah*, Verſe 16. which begins with thefe words, *Wafh you, make clean, put away the evil of your doings, &c.* He exhorts them wholly to put off the Old-man, fincerely to renounce all Sin, and to ſpend in the Exercifes of Piety the 40 Days that are appointed to Prepare them for Baptifm.

The Second is concerning Sin and Penance. He teaches them, That Sin is committed voluntarily by the bad ufe we make of our Free-Will; That the Devil was the firft Sinner, that afterwards he made the firft Man, fin; That by the Sin of the firft Man all Men fell under Blindnefs and Death; That he who raifed *Lazarus* raifed our Souls, and delivered them from Sin by his Blood; That therefore we ought not to deſpair, whatſoever Sins we have committed, but to truſt to the Mercy of God, and to have recourſe to the Remedy of Repentance. He relates many Examples of God's Mercy towards the greateſt Sinners: He alledges alſo the Examples of the Angels, to whom he thinks God pardoned many Faults. He adds towards the end, the Example of *St. Peter*, and concludes with theſe words; *These are, my Brethren, the many Examples of Sinners whom God hath pardoned, as ſoon as they repented. Do you alſo confeſs your Sins unto the Lord, and you ſhall obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, and enjoy the Heavenly Reward together with all the Saints in Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be Glory for ever and ever.*

The Third Lecture is concerning the Neceffity of Baptifm, and of Penance which ought to precede it. *You muſt prepare your ſelves,* fays he, *by purity of Conſcience; for you ought not to conſider the External Baptifm, but the Spiritual Grace which is given with the Water, that is Sanctified by the Invocation of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghoſt. The Water wafhes the Body, but the Spirit Sanctifies the Soul, that we being purified, may become worthy to approach unto God. You cannot be perfect unleſs you be ſanctified by the Water and the Spirit. So, if any one be baptized without having the Holy Spirit, he receives not the Grace of Baptifm and likewise if any one receive not Baptifm, though his Converſation were never ſo well ordered, he ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This Diſcourſe is bold, but it is not mine but Jeſus Chriſt's, who has pronounced this Sentence, when he ſaid, Except a Man be born again of Water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* He proves this Truth by the Example of *Cornelius*, then he ſhews the neceffity of Baptifm by Water, and ſays, that none but Martyrs only can enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven without being baptized. [The Ancients generally believed that Martyrdom was that Baptifm by Fire which *John Baptiſt* foretold, *Matt. 3. 11.* and that was the Cup which our Saviour foretold *Zebedee's* Children that they ſhould drink, and the Baptifm wherewith they were to be baptized.] He teaches, that ſince Jeſus Chriſt was baptized to ſanctifie the Waters of Baptifm, we muſt deſcend into the Water to be ſanctified, and as the Holy Spirit did then viſibly appear, ſo now he deſcends likewise, though after an inviſible manner, upon thoſe that are baptized, if they be well prepared for it. In ſhort, he ſtill exhorts thoſe to whom he ſpeaks, to prepare themſelves in the Remaining part of *Lent*, that ſo they may obtain by Baptifm the Pardon of their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Spirit.

St. Cyril begins in the Fourth Catechetical Diſcourſe, with the Explication of the Articles of our Faith. He ſays in his *Exordium*, 'That the Worſhip of God conſiſts in two things, in the belief of thoſe Doctrines that Religion teaches us, and in the praſtice of Good Works; that Faith is unprofitable without Good Works, and that Good Works

will prevail nothing without Faith. He obſerves, That the Articles of Faith are oppoſed by Pagans, Jews and Hereticks; and Therefore it is neceſſary to propoſe it, and explain it to thoſe that enter into the Church.' He ſays, that before he explains them more largely, he will firſt give a ſummary of them, and prays thoſe that are already inſtructed, to hear with Patience his Catechetical Diſcourſes. Afterwards he ſummarily explains the Chief Doctrines of our Religion. He inſtructs them concerning the Divinity, 'That there is but one God only, the Creator of all Things, who is every where preſent, who knows all things, who can do all things, who never changes, who will reward the Good and puniſh the wicked, &c.' He adds, that we muſt believe alſo in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, the only Son of God, God begotten of God, like in all things to him who begat him, who was from all Eternity, who ſitteth now at his right hand and reigneth with him; That we muſt not believe, that the Son is of another Nature than the Father, nor confound the Perſons of the Father and the Son; That he is the Word, and the Word of God, but a Word ſubſiſting, which is nothing like to the Word of Men; That this word was truly and really united to the Human Nature; That he aſſumed real Fleſh from the Virgin; That he was truly Man, ſubject to Human Infirmities, and to Death it ſelf; That he was Crucified for our Sins; That he was buried in the Grave, and that he deſcended into Hell to deliver the Juſt, who had been ſhut up there a long time with *Adam*; That he was truly riſen from the Dead; That being aſcended into Heaven, he was worſhipped by all the World, and that he ſhall come again to Judge the Quick and the Dead, and to Eſtabliſh an eternal Kingdom. Concerning the Holy Spirit, he teaches, That we ought to have the ſame Notions of him as of the Father and Son: That he is One, Indivisible and Almighty; That he knows all things; That he deſcended in the form of a Dove upon Jeſus Chriſt; That he ſpoke by the Prophets; That he Sanctifies the Soul in Baptifm, and that he ought to be honoured as the Father and the Son, being one and the ſame Divinity. He exhorts his Auditors to hold faſt this Creed and gives them Notice, that he will prove it in the following Diſcourſe by Teſtimonies of Scripture: 'For, ſays he, we ought not to touch any thing concerning Divine Myſteries, but what we can confirm by the Teſtimonies of Scripture. Do not believe what I ſay, if I do not prove it by Holy Scriptures.'

St. Cyril, after having informed thoſe whom he inſtructs, what they ought to believe concerning the Divinity, acquaints them with the Knowledge of their own Natures, teaching them that they are compoſed of Body and Soul; That the Soul is Immortal, becauſe of Jeſus Chriſt who has given it Immortality; That it is free, and has the power of doing Good and evil; That it did not Sin before it came into the World; That the Souls of Men and Women are of the ſame Nature; That the Body is the Work of God; That it is not Wicked by Nature; That when it meets with a Holy Soul, it is the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and that we ought to be very watchful, left we defile it by Uncleanneſs. He occaſionally takes Notice, 'That Virginity is the more perfect ſtate, but that we ought not to blame Marriage; That Married Perſons may hope for Salvation, provided they uſe Marriage aright; That in Order to their living holily in this ſtate, they muſt abſtain ſometimes from the uſe of Marriage to give themſelves unto Prayer, and that their intention ſhould not be to ſatiſfie a brutal Paſſion, but to have Children. He adds, 'That we ought not to condemn even thoſe that proceed to Second Marriages, and that this weakneſs ſhould be pardoned in thoſe who ſtand in need of this Remedy to avoid Fornication.'

As to what concerns Abſtinenſe from Meat, St. Cyril ſays, 'That Chriſtians do abſtain during their Faſts from Fleſh and Wine; but that they have no averſion to thoſe things, as if they were in themſelves Abominable; That they do not abſtain but to Merit the more, by deſpising what is agreeable to our ſenſe, that they may enjoy the Heavenly Feaſt. He abſolutely forbids the eating of things Sacrificed to Idols, and things ſtrangled.' As for Cloths, he deſires that they may be modeſt, and ſuch as may ſerve not to adorn but to cover the Body, and defend it from the Injuries of the Weather. He ſpeaks afterwards of the Reſurrection, and brings examples to ſhew that it is not impoſſible. The Holy Scripture is the laſt thing of which he Treats in this Lecture: He ſays, that the Old Teſtament is part of the Holy Scripture, and exhorts them not to read the Apocryphal Books: He informs them, that there are but 22 Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament, and obſerves, That they have been tranſlated by the LXX. He believes that this Translation was made by Inſpiration, and that the Seventy Interpreters being ſhut up in ſeparate Cells, all their Verſions were found to agree together. He recommends the Reading of the Canonical Books, and Meditation upon them; Hereckons amongſt this Number in the Old Teſtament the Book of *Ruth*, that of *Eſther*, *Job* and *Barnab*; but he does not reckon thoſe other Books which are not

in the Hebrew Canon. The Canonical Books of the New Testament are according to him, The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, which in his time and in his Country were at the End of the New Testament, after the Canonical Epistles. He says nothing of the Revelation. He condemns Judicial Astrology, Necromancy, Publick Spectacles, Games, Usury, Covetousness, the other Superstitions of the Jews and Pagans, and the Assemblies of Hereticks.

In the Fifth Lecture, after he has proved by many Examples the Necessity, and Vertue of Faith, he says, *That we must continue in that Faith which we have received from the Church, and which is fortified with the Testimony of Holy Scripture. But, says he, because Men cannot read the Scripture, some being hindered by their Ignorance, others by their Worldly Business; therefore all that we are obliged to believe is comprized in a few words. I pray you then to remember to fix it upon your Minds, and to be fully persuaded that this is the only true Faith. Afterwards at your leisure ye may search for the Proofs of it in the Holy Scripture. But at present do you acquiesce in the Doctrine which you have learned by Tradition, engrave it upon your Hearts, that you may persevere in it with Piety: for if you remain in doubt and uncertainty, 'tis to be feared, that the Enemy will work your Perdition, and that Hereticks will overthrow that Doctrine which I have taught you.*

The Sixth is concerning the Monarchy, or the Unity of God, against Pagans and Hereticks. He describes the Errors both of the one and the other, and more particularly enlarges upon the Heresie of the Manichees, and gives an account of its Original, Progress and Impiety. He produces a Fragment of the Dispute of Archelaus against the Heretick Manes. He observes, that Men cannot comprehend the Nature and Essence of God.

In the Seventh, he explains how the Name of Father agrees to God. He observes, that he has only one Son by Nature, who is Jesus Christ, and that Men are his Children by Adoption. He takes Occasion from hence to Exhort his Hearers to live worthy of the Title of the Sons of God, and to Honour him, though of his good Pleasure he chose them to be his Children. At the same Time he admonishes them to have a Reverence for their Fathers and Mothers.

In the Eighth he shews, that God is Almighty because he can do all things, and all things depend on his Power.

The Ninth is upon these Words, *the Creator of all things visible and invisible*. There he shews what cause we have to admire the Greatness and Beauty of God's Works.

The Tenth is upon these Words, *in Jesus Christ our only Lord*. He says, that in order to the Pious Adoration of the Father, we must Adore the Son also. He explains all the Names that are given him. He maintains, that 'twas the Son who appeared to Adam and Moses. He makes Moral Remarks upon the Name of Jesus, and that of Christ. He produces many proofs concerning Jesus Christ, and places in this number the Wood of the Cross, which, says he, *is seen to this Day amongst us, and with those who having taken of it here, have filled the whole World almost with it.*

The Eleventh is concerning the Divinity of the Word, and his Eternal Generation. There he refutes the Errors of the Arians, and proves that the Word is of the same Nature with the Father; That he was from all Eternity, and that he made all things: There he calls St. Peter the Prince or the Chief of the Apostles, and the Sovereign Preacher of the Church.

The Twelfth is concerning the Incarnation, where he shews by many Testimonies of Scripture, That Jesus Christ was made Man for the Salvation of Mankind. He quotes some of the Prophecies that foretold the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and shews, that the time of the Messia's coming, the place where he was Born, his Condition, and the manner of his coming into the World, were foretold; he praises Virginity, and observes, That those who performed the Sacerdotal Office, observed Celibacy.

In the Thirteenth, he relates the Prophecies which concern the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. He recommends to the Faithful, the signing themselves with the sign of the Cross on their Forehead, in Eating and Drinking, at their going out and coming in, at their lying down &c. He calls this Sign, the Terror of Devils, and the Mark of the Faithful. He says, that it drives away Devils; That it cures Diseases; That it defeats Inchantments, and that at one Day, it will appear in the Heavens when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the World.

He proves in the Fourteenth, the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, where he commends the Piety of those Emperors, who built the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, where he was, and adorned it with Gold and Silver.

The Fifteenth is concerning the second coming of Jesus Christ, of the End of the World, and of Anti-Christ, who will come, says he, after the Destruction of the Roman Empire. He says many more particulars of him, which he endeavours to prove by the Prophecies, but the explications

he gives of them are not very solid. He observes, that the Schisms which he then saw in the Church, made him fear that the Reign of Anti-Christ was not far off. After this he Discourses of the last Judgment and of the Eternal Kingdom of Jesus Christ. He refutes the Opinion of Marcellus of Ancyra, who had said that the Son should not Reign any more after the Day of Judgment. He makes very curious remarks upon the particle *Until*, and shews, that it is not always exclusive, as when it is said, *That Death reigned from Adam until Moses*, where the meaning is not, that it did not Reign after Moses.

The Sixteenth Lecture, is concerning the Holy Spirit. He observes, That we ought to take good Heed, lest we say any thing through Ignorance or Error, which is contrary to the Belief we ought to have concerning the Holy Spirit, because 'tis written, That the Blasphemies which are spoken against him are unpardonable. Therefore he declares, That he will say nothing of the Holy Spirit, but what is said of him in the Holy Scripture, and that he will not enquire by an indecent Curiosity after that which is not written. 'Tis the Holy Spirit, says he, *who dictated the Holy Scripture: he hath said of himself what he would have us to know, and what we are capable of knowing about him.* He begins with giving an Account of the Errors of Hereticks concerning the Holy Spirit, and afterwards recites what is said of him in the Holy Scripture; he describes his Effects, and attributes to him all the good Thoughts and good Actions of the Faithful.

He continues the same Subject in his 17th. Lecture, where he produces the Testimonies of our Lord concerning the Holy Spirit. He has exactly collected in these two Catechetical Lectures, all that is said of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testament. He teaches, that the Holy Spirit is not a Breath form'd by the Mouth of the Father and the Son, but that he is a Person subsistent of the same Nature with the Father and the Son. He calls St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Porter of Heaven. He observes, That the Determination of the Council of Jerusalem, was a General or Oecumenical Law, which all the Earth had, and did still observe.

The last of these Lectures which are addressed to the Enlightened, is of the Resurrection, of the Church, and of Eternal Life. In the beginning he shews, That the hope of the Resurrection is the Foundation of all good Actions, because the expectation of this Reward, excites Men to labour for it. 'Twas this that made him say, that the Faith of the Resurrection is a great encouragement, and a very necessary Doctrine. He brings for Proof of the Resurrection, the Justice of God, which requires, that Sinners which are not punished in this World should be punished in another, and that the Righteous who are miserable here below, should be recompensed in another Life. He says, That all Men have naturally some Knowledge of the Resurrection, and that upon this account, they have a horror of those who rob the Dead. He brings many Illustrations of it taken from the changes in Nature. He does not forget the Example of the Phoenix, for which he cites St. Clement, for his Authority. He observes that the Generation of Man, is no less Wonderful than the Resurrection, and that God who could Create the Universe of nothing, can easily raise a dead Man. After he has employed these Reasons against the Pagans, he alleges against the Samaritans the wonderful effects of the Divine Power, related in the Old Testament, and proves the Resurrection of the Dead by many passages of the Prophets. [This seems to be a mistake; the Sadducees were the only Sect of the Jews that denyed a Resurrection.] In speaking of the Dead Man, raised at the Sepulchre of Eliza, he says, *That by this Example we may know, that we ought not only to Honour the Souls of the Saints, but also to shew Reverence to the Relicks of their Bodies, since they have such Power and Vertue.* The Second Part of this Instruction, is concerning the Catholick Church. He says, 'It is so called, because it is spread over all the Earth; because it universally receives all the Articles of Faith; because it generally cures all Sins; and Lastly, because it possesses all Graces, and all Virtues. He says, it is called the Church, because it is an assembly of the Faithful; That the Hereticks have also their Assemblies or their Churches; That to discern the one from the other, when you go to any place, you must not ask barely where is the Church, or the House of the Lord, because the Hereticks give this Name to their Temples; but you must ask, where is the Catholick Church, because this is a Name proper to this Holy Mother of all faithful Christians, which is the Spouse of Jesus Christ.' In short, The last part of this Lecture, is of Eternal Life. 'Tis very remarkable that in the Creed which St. Cyril used, there is found *Life everlasting*, because as we have observed in the first Volume of our *Bibliotheca*, almost all the ancient Creeds, end with the *Resurrection of the Flesh*. St. Cyril adds to it *Baptism*, whereof he had already spoken, the *Catholick Church*, and *Life everlasting*: He says upon the last Article, That the Eternal Life of Christians is the Possession of the most Holy Trinity. He concludes this Lecture with a Promise to his Auditors, that he would

explain after *Easter*, the sacred Mysteries which they were St. Cyril of Jerusalem. tion to rejoyce, because the time of their Redemption, Salvation, and Regeneration approached.

The five other Lectures which are called *Mystagogical*, are addressed by St. Cyril to the same Persons, after they had received the Grace of Baptism. The first is about the Vow which is made in Baptism to renounce the Devil, his Works and all his Pomps. He declares to his Auditors, the Importance of performing this Vow. He says, That the Works of the Devil are Sins, and that his Pomps are Shows, Plays, and prophane Feasts. There is in this first Lecture a Passage expressly for Transubstantiation; For, says he, *as the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, which are nothing before the Invocation of the most Holy Trinity, but Bread and Wine, become after this Invocation, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. So those Meats which serve for the Pomp of the Devil, though they be pure of their own Nature, become impure by the Invocation of Devils.* [All these passages are necessarily to be understood, according to those Notions wherein the Christians of that Age had been usually instructed.]

In the second, he treats of the Ceremonies and Effects of Baptism: He says, That the Catechumens after they were unclothed, were anointed from the Feet unto the Head, with exorcised Oyl; That after this they were conducted to the Laver; That they were asked, if they believed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; That after they had made Profession of this Faith, they were plunged three times into the Water, and that they retired out of it by degrees, at three times likewise. He teaches them, That the Baptism of Jesus Christ, does not only remit Sins, as that of John the Baptist did, but also fills the Soul with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and makes us the Children of God by Adoption.

The third is of Holy Chrism, wherewith the Faithful were anointed immediately after they came out of the Waters of Baptism. He declares to them, that we ought not to imagine this to be the common Oyl. For, says he, *as the Bread of the Eucharist after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more common Bread, but the Body of Jesus Christ, so the Holy Chrism after Consecration, is no more common Oyl, but it is a Gift of the Holy Spirit, which has the Virtue to procure the Presence of the Divinity. So while the Forehead and other Parts of the Body are anointed with this visible Oyl, the Soul is sanctified by this holy and quickning Spirit.* He observes afterwards, that they anointed the Forehead, the Ears, the Nostrils and the Breast.

The fourth Lecture is of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and the fifth of the Celebration of the Eucharist. These two Catechetical Lectures, are so clear, and so strong, for establishing the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church about the Eucharist; that we cannot excuse our selves from setting them down almost entire. Take then as follows the Translation of them which has been printed in the Office of the Holy Sacrament.

The Doctrine of the blessed St. Paul alone, is sufficient to give certain Proofs of the truth of the Divine Mysteries, and the Church having judged you worthy to partake of them, ye are by this means so closely united to Jesus Christ, that ye are no more, as one may say, but one and the same Body and Blood with him. For this great Apostle says, in the place which we have already read, that our Lord in the same night wherein he was delivered up to his Enemies, having taken Bread and given thanks to God his Father, broke it and gave it to his Disciples, saying to them, *Take and eat, This is my Body.* Afterwards he took the Cup, and having given thanks, he said unto them, *Take and drink, This is my Blood.* Seeing then, that he speaking of the Bread, declared, that it was his Body, who shall ever dare to call in question this Truth? And since that, he speaking of the Wine, has assured us so positively, that it was his Blood, who can ever doubt of it? And who shall dare to say, 'tis not true that it was his Blood?

Jesus Christ being at a certain time in *Cana of Galilee*, changed there the Water into Wine by his Will only; and shall we think, that it is not as worthy of Credit upon his own Word, that he changed the Wine into his own Blood? If he being invited to a human and earthly Marriage, wrought there this Miracle, tho' no person expected it from him there, ought not we much rather to acknowledge, that he has given to the Children of the heavenly Spouse, his Body to eat, and his Blood to drink, that his Body and Blood may be nourishment to their Souls? For under the species of Bread, he has given us his Body, and under the species of Wine, he has given us his Blood, that so being made partakers of this Body and Blood, ye may become one Body and one Blood with him. For by this means we become, as one may say, *Christiferi*, that is to say, we carry Jesus Christ in our Body when we receive into our Mouth, and into our Stomach, his Body and his Blood: And thus according to St. Peter, we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature.

Jesus Christ speaking at another time to the Jews, says to them, Unless ye eat my Flesh and drink my Blood,

ye shall have no Life in you. But these gross and carnal Men not understanding the Words spiritually, were offended with them, and withdrew from him, because they imagined, that he would make them eat human Flesh by Morsels.

[These Words do so fully explain St. Cyril's sense, that they need no Comment. If the Jews were offended because they did not spiritually understand those Words of Jesus Christ, when he talked to them in the 6th. of St. John; how much more according to this Father's way of reasoning, would the Disciples have been offended, if they had understood Jesus Christ literally, when he instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist?] There were in the Old Dispensation Loaves of Bread which were offered before God, and because they pertained to that Old Dispensation, they have ceased with it: But now in the New Dispensation, there is Bread from Heaven, and a Cup of Salvation, which sanctifies Soul and Body. For as the Bread is the Nourishment which is proper to the Body, so the Word is the Nourishment which is proper to the Soul. Wherefore I conjure you, my Brethren, not to consider them any more as common Bread and Wine, since they are the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ according to his Word. For tho' your Sense inform you, that 'tis not so, yet Faith should persuade and assure you, that 'tis so. Judge not therefore of this Truth by your Taste, but let Faith make you believe with an entire Certainty, that you have been made worthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

Let your Soul rejoyce in the Lord, being persuaded of it as a thing most certain, that the Bread which appears to our Eyes is not Bread, tho' our Taste do judge it to be so, but that it is the Body of Jesus Christ, and that the Wine which appears to our Eyes is not Wine, tho' our Sense of Taste takes it for Wine, but that it is the Blood of Jesus Christ.

Ye have seen that a Deacon gives Water to wash the Hands to the Priest that officiates, and to the Priests that are about the Altar of God. Think you that this was done to cleanse the Body? No, not at all; for we do not use to be in such a Condition, when we enter into the Church, as to stand in need of such washing to make us clean; but this washing of the Hands signifies, that we should be clean from all our Sins; for the Hands signifying Actions, to wash our Hands is nothing else but to purifie our Works. Afterwards the Deacon having said with a loud Voice, *Embrace and kiss one another with a Kiss of Peace*, we do all mutually salute with a holy Kiss, because it is the Token of the perfect Reconciliation of our Hearts, and of forgetting all the Injuries that have been received. After this, the Priest that officiates, says with a loud Voice, *Lift up your Hearts*, because in this tremendous Moment chiefly, our Hearts should be raised up to God, and not depressed towards the things of this World. Therefore the Priest requires all those that are present at the Sacrifice, to banish from their Minds at this time, all Thoughts of the World, and all the Cares of their Domestick Affairs, that their Hearts may be in Heaven, in the Presence of God who hath testified so great Love to Mankind. At these Words of the Priest, ye answer, *We lift up our Hearts unto the Lord*; and so ye profess to do what he has said. The Priest adds, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord.* And we ought indeed, to give thanks to him, that we, unworthy as we are of so rare and so excellent a Gift, are honoured with the participation of it; that he of his Goodness has reconciled us who were Enemies to himself, and that he designs to make us who have been so great Sinners, become his Children by the Spirit of Adoption which he communicates to us. Ye answer at these Words of the Priest, *'Tis just and reasonable to give thanks unto him*: For when we give thanks to God, we do a thing which is just, and which we are obliged to do; but when God bestows upon us so great Blessings, he does it not out of Justice, but out of pure Grace and Favour.

Afterwards, we repeat the sacred Hymn which the Seraphims sing in Heaven, in honour of the Three Persons of the Trinity, that so by this most heavenly Song, we may communicate with the sublime Host of Angels, and that being sanctified more and more by these most spiritual Hymns, we may become the fitter to pray unto so good and so gracious a God, that he would send down the Holy Spirit upon those things that we offer unto him, and that he would make the Bread become the Body of Jesus Christ, and the Wine his Blood: For whatsoever receives the Impression of the Holy Spirit, is sanctified and changed. [This shews against those who urge St. Cyril's Words for Transubstantiation, that he did not think the Change of the Elements (whatever it is) depends solely upon the Priest's repeating the Words of Consecration.] Now when this spiritual Sacrifice is ended, and this unbloody Worship which is given to God by means of the Expiatory Victim is concluded, then we pray to him for the universal Peace of all the Churches, for the Tranquility of the whole World, for Kings, for their Armies and their Allies, for the sick and afflicted, and in a word, for all

St. Cyril of Jerusalem. all those that need God's help. And we say unto God, Lord, we all pray unto thee, and offer up this Sacrifice, that by commemorating those who are dead before us, viz. the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, you may receive our Prayers graciously, for the Merit of their Prayers: Then we pray for the Holy Fathers and the Bishops that are dead, and in short, for all those that are departed this Life in our Communion, believing that their Souls receive very great Relief, by the Prayers that are offered for them in this holy and tremendous Sacrifice which is upon the Altar. This I shall easily make you understand by an Example: For I know there are many who say, What good can it do a Soul which is departed out of this Life, whether with Sins or without them, to remember it at this Sacrifice? But tell me, I pray you, If a King had sent into Banishment some Persons that had offended him, and their Friends and Relations should present him with a Crown of great Price to appease his Anger, Don't you think, that upon their Account, the King would shew some favour to the guilty Persons, and at least mitigate their Pains? So do we address our Prayers to God for those that are dead, tho' they were Sinners, not by presenting to him a Crown, but by offering up to him Jesus Christ himself, who was sacrificed for our Sins, that so he who is so merciful and good, may become gracious to them as well as to us. After this you say, *Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.*

When the Lord's Prayer is ended, the Priest says, *Holy things are for the Holy*; that is, the things which are offered upon the Altar, being sanctified by the Descent of the Holy Spirit, are for you that are Holy, by the Infusion of the same Holy Spirit which has been given you; and thus it is, that Holy things are for them that are Holy. Then ye answer, *Jesus Christ alone is Holy; He only is the Lord and Master.* And 'tis not without reason, that ye speak after this manner, because indeed, there is none truly Holy, but he only who is so of himself, and by his own Nature; and as for you, how Holy soever you be, you are not so by your own proper Nature, but only by the participation of Holiness, by the spiritual Exercises which you perform, and by the Prayers which you address to his supreme Majesty. After this, you hear most heavenly and divine Musick, inviting you to partake of the sacred Mysteries, by chanting forth, these words; *Taste and see how good the Lord is.* Think you now that you are required to discern this by the sense of Taste? No, by no means; but by the Testimony of Faith which is certain, and leaves no doubt. For when you take them, ye are not commanded to take the Bread and Wine, but to take the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ which they represent. [One that believes with the Church of Rome, cannot say that the Bread and Wine represent the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.] Now when you approach to Communicate, you must not come there with your Hands expanded, nor your Fingers open, but supporting your right hand which is to contain so great a King, with your left; you receive the Body of Jesus Christ into the Hollow of this Hand, saying *Amen.* Then after you have taken care to sanctify your Eyes by the Touch of so Holy and so Venerable a Body, you Communicate of it by Eating it. But take heed that nothing of it falls aside, considering the Loss of the least Crumb, as if you lost some of your Members. If any one should give you Ingots of Gold, what care would you take to watch them, that nothing of them should be lost? What Precaution then ought we to use, to keep the least Crumb of a thing that is infinitely more dear and precious than Gold and Diamonds, from falling down? After you have thus Communicated of the Body of Jesus Christ, approach to the Cup of his Blood, not by stretching forth your Hands, but by bowing your selves as it were to adore him, and do him Homage, and then say, *Amen.* Then sanctify your selves by the Touch of the Blood of Jesus Christ which you receive, and while your Lips are wet, dry them with your Hand, and carry it immediately to your Eyes, your Forehead, and your other Organs of sense, to consecrate them. In a word, while you wait for the last Pray-

er of the Priest, return thanks to God that he has made you worthy to partake of so great and so sublime Mysteries.

I shall not stay to make all the Reflections upon these Passages which have been already made by the most able Defenders of the Church, being persuaded that the Plainness of these words exceeds all that can be said, and that Men need only Eyes to convince them that St. Cyril taught the real Presence, and to make them acknowledge, that the Ceremonies of the Mass are very antient in the Church.

We have a Letter of St. Cyril to Constantius, upon the wonderful Apparition of a Luminous Cross, which was seen over the City of Jerusalem, mentioned by Sozomen in Ch. 4. of the 4th. Book of his History, where he also observes, that the Emperor was advertised of it by St. Cyril. In this Letter he gives great Commendations to the Emperor Constantius; he says, that the Cross of Jesus Christ was found in the time of the Emperor Constantine; he describes the Apparition of the Sign of the Cross, and concludes with glorifying the Consubstantial Trinity. Rivet rejects also this Letter as a supposititious Writing, and gives no other reason for his Opinion, but the great Praises which it gives to the Emperor Constantius. [Nazianzen commends Constantius in his Invectives against Julian in as high terms as 'tis possible, and yet they were never questioned.] But this is not a sufficient Proof, since we commonly speak so to Princes, and St. Athanasius and St. Hilary did not use to do otherwise, even after this Emperor had declared himself more openly against the Faith of the Church: For this Letter, if it is true, was written a little after St. Cyril was Bishop of Jerusalem.

We have also a Letter of the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple, which goes under the Name of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and nothing hinders us to attribute it to him. But we cannot say this of the Letter written in the Name of St. Cyril of Jerusalem to St. Augustine, concerning the Miracles of St. Jerome. Tho' this Letter were not so ridiculously written as it is, the Title alone would shew that it is a gross Imposture, since St. Cyril was dead before St. Jerome.

The Style of St. Cyril's Catechetick Lectures, is simple and natural. 'Tis easie to perceive that they were written in haste, and without much Premeditation. Tho' they do not dive deeply into the Mysteries, yet they explain them very clearly, and they contain much Learning. One may see there upon every Subject a most exact and exquisite Collection of Passages of Scripture. He sets down the Opinions of the Hereticks and refutes them solidly. He makes very judicious Remarks, and explains many Passages of Scripture. I say nothing particularly of his Doctrine, because it is sufficiently explained in the Extracts, which we have taken out of his Lectures.

Joannes Grodecus was the first who translated and published the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril, from a Greek Manuscript of Cardinal Hosius, the Pope's Legate at the Council of Trent. They were printed in the year 1564. at Antwerp and at Paris; In the year 1560. at Vienna, and in 1584. at Paris. The Original Greek appeared quickly after the Latin Version, for Morellus printed the first Catechetical Discourses, and the five last in the year 1564, from a Manuscript out of Monsieur de Mesme's Library: They were also printed with a Latin Translation in the same year at Cologne 1564. But at last Prevotius having found the Greek of all the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril in the Manuscripts of the Vatican Library, he printed them at Paris by Morellus in the year 1609. This Volume is in Quarto, and the Version of Grodecus in one Page, answering to the Greek Text in the other. 'Twas this Edition which was followed by that of Paris in the Year 1631.

The Letter concerning the Sign of the Cross, was printed apart by Morellus, and since joyned to the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril. The Oration concerning the Presentation of Jesus Christ, was printed at Cologne by Birchmannus in the Year 1598. These Discourses are all in the *Bibliotheca Patrum.*

St. E P H R E M the Syrian, Deacon of Edessa.

St. Ephrem the Syrian, Deacon of Edessa. ST. Ephrem was of Nisibis, a City of Syria, or of some place thereabout. He was Born under the Reign of Constantine, he embraced a Monastick Life from his most tender youth, and became in a little time the Governor and Superior of many Monks. Coming often to Edessa to visit the Church of that City, he was there ordained Deacon. He came also as far as Caesarea of Cappadocia, where he was known and very well received by St. Basil, who had a most particular esteem for him. 'Tis said, that this Saint taught him Greek, and that he conferred upon him the Order of Priesthood; but this Report is not very certain, since the Ancients assure us, that he died a Deacon. Sozomen tells us, That when he was chosen Bishop of a

City, he feigned himself to be Mad, lest they should carry him away by force, and ordain him against his Will. I St. Ephrem shall say nothing here of his Piety, his Charity, his Humility, the Austerity of his Life, nor of his other Christian and Religious Virtues, no more than of his remarkable Actions and his Miracles, because those things do not concern my Subject. I shall only apply myself to speak of his Writings, which were so famous according to the Testimony of St. Jerome, that they were publicly read in some Churches after the Reading of the Holy Books, and which were so numerous that the whole World was full of them. He wrote them in Syriack, and they were translated into Greek in his own time. Sozomen observes, that though he had never studied,

Studied, yet he had so many Beauties in his Stile, and so many Sublime Thoughts, that the Tracts of his Eloquence might be discerned even in the Greek Translation: and St. Jerome, the Syrian, be discerned even in the Greek Translation: and St. Jerome, Deacon of Edessa, assures us, That having read the Version of his Treatise concerning the Holy Spirit, he perceived in the Translation the Fineness of his Sublime Genius: St. Gregory Nyssen, who wrote a Panegyrick upon this Father, insinuates chiefly upon his Doctrine and Writings. He praises the Purity of his Faith, and the Aversion he had to the Heresies of Sabellians, Arius and Apollinarius. He says, That he refuted the Arianism and the Novatians; and all his Writings are full of solid and convincing Proofs. He adds, That he had read and meditated more than any Person upon the Old and New Testament, and that he had wrote Expositions upon all the Holy Scripture, from the Beginning of Genesis to the End of the New Testament; That he had also compos'd many lively and Pathetical Exhortations; That Tears and Sighs were very common and familiar with him, as may be seen in his Writings. For, says he, *he does not only sigh, when he speaks of Morality and the Precepts of Life, but even in his Panegyrics; and all his Discourses are mixed with bemoaning and compassionate Expressions, which are able to move even the hardest Hearts.* For who that is Proud, adds he, *would not become the humblest of Men, by reading his Discourse of Humility? Who would not be inflamed with a Divine Fire, by reading his Treatise of Charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in Heart and Spirit by reading the Praises he has given to Virginity? Who would not be frighted by hearing the Discourse he has made upon the last Judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively, that nothing can be added to it but the same thing? God gave him so Profound a Wisdom, that though he had a wonderful facility of Speaking, yet he could not furnish Expressions for the multitude of Thoughts that came into his Mind.* We have seen, as the same Father still goes on, *one of his Sermons, where he calls Apollinarius a Madman.* He tells a very pleasant Story of a trick that St. Ephrem put upon this Heretick. He says, that the Heretick had written two Books, wherein were all the Reasons and Passages of Scripture, that he had made use of to defend his Error, and which he had committed to the Custody of a Woman; That St. Ephrem pretending that he was of the same Judgment with Apollinarius, had borrowed them of this Woman, and that before he restored them, he glued all the Leaves fast to one another: That this Woman seeing the Books bound up after the same manner, perceived nothing of what was done, but gave them as they were to Apollinarius, to make use of them in a Publick Conference which he was to have with a Catholick, and that then the Heretick not being able to open them, was forced to withdraw with shame. The quickness of St. Ephrem's Wit appeared also in the Syriack Verses which he made in his own Language, in imitation of Hammonius the Son of Bardeanes, who had compos'd many Hymns which the Syrian Sung with Delight. St. Ephrem perceiving that this Author had cunningly interspers'd in those Prayers, some Errors of his Father, and of the Greek Philosophers, fearing lest the Christians of Syria, might fall insensibly into these false Opinions, he endeavoured with all his might to comprehend the Metre of these Verses, and wrote other Books agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, as Hymns and the Eucomiasticks of the Saints, which were so well received by the Syrians, that they Sung them to the same Tunes with those of Hammonius. 'Tis said, that he compos'd almost 100000 Verses of this Nature. Sozomen says also, that he wrote the Life of St. Julianus. To conclude, Photius in Volume 197 of his *Bibliotheca*, observes that he had read 50 Sermons of this Father.

It appears by what we have already said, that Ephrem wrote Commentaries upon all the Bible, Treatises of Controversy against many Hereticks, a Book of the Holy Spirit, a great many Discourses and Instructions to the People, and to his Monks, some Panegyrics, many Treatises of Morality, and a great number of Hymns to be Sung in the Church: That all his Writings were compos'd in Syriack, and that the greatest part of them were translated into Greek while he was living. We have none of his Commentaries upon Scripture, nor his Treatises of Controversy; but we have a great number of Discourses, of Moral Precepts, and of Hymns which have been translated into Greek, and published by Vossius towards the end of the last Age, under St. Ephrem's Name. Some Criticks, to whom the Books concerning a Monastick Life are not agreeable, have pretended that all those Books are Supposititious. Notwithstanding 'tis very probable, that the greatest part of them are truly St. Ephrem's, because all the Characters that the Ancients give of the Writings of St. Ephrem, agree to these; so that 'tis easie to know them. 1. The Treatises of St. Ephrem were full of Figures and Ornaments; but yet without Fineness and Art; now these are all filled with Exclamations, Interrogations, Comparisons, Antitheses and other Figures, which are grossly enough employ'd and without choice. 2. He had much Vivacity and Fire, which these are all full of. 3. St. Ephrem related many Passages of Scripture, and these Writings are oftentimes nothing else but a Collection. 4. St. Gregory Nyssen says, that they were mixed with bemoaning

Expressions, with Sighs and Tears; that he spoke continually of Weeping even in his Panegyrics: This is properly the Character of the greatest part of the Discourses published by Vossius. 5. The same Father says, that he wrote Discourses of Humility, Charity, in Praise of Virginity, and of the last Judgment. There are Discourses upon all these Subjects amongst those that were published by Vossius, and have the same Character which this Father observed in St. Ephrem's Books; that is to say, that they are pathetic and moving. 6. He wrote many Hymns upon divers Subjects, and there are among the Books which go under his Name, many Pieces written in Verse, and of a Poetical Stile. 7. His Testament which is related in this Edition, is the same with that which is quoted by St. Gregory Nyssen, who produces two Passages out of it, which are word for word in that which was published by Vossius. 8. We have among these Books, the Life of Julianus, cited by Sozomen, B. III. of his History, Ch. 14. In fine, the 49 Sermons of St. Ephrem, whereof Photius made an Extract, are found in these Works of St. Ephrem. The same Photius quotes a Discourse of Humility divided into a 100 Chapters, which is in the second Tome, a Discourse upon the same Virtue which is in the first Tome, and a Treatise of Virtues and Vices to the Metebian Monks, which is also in the first Volume, and which contains the same Matters in the same Order. These Reasons plainly shew, that the greatest part of the Books, which at present go under St. Ephrem's Name, are the same with Gregory Nyssen, Theodoret, Sozomen and Photius, attributed to this Saint. Now what probability is there, that they should take the Works of another Author for those of St. Ephrem? St. Gregory Nyssen, could not be deceived herein, who lived at the same time. What probability is there, that Photius, who was a very able Critick, and who distinguishes our St. Ephrem from the Patriarch of Antioch, who mentions the Works of the one and the other, in two different places of his *Bibliotheca*; What probability is there, I say, that he should quote a false Ephrem for a true one?

'Tis objected, 1. That there is not found in his Works that Fire and Loftiness which are mentioned by St. Jerome and Sozomen, and that they seem to be rather Pious than Learned, according to the Judgment of Cardinal Bellarmine. I answer, that tho' there were not found in a Latin Version of the Works of any Author made from another Greek Version, all that Beauty and Loftiness which they had in their Original Language, we should not wonder at it: But those who object this, do not rightly apprehend the Sense of St. Jerome and Sozomen, and have neither a very nice Relish, nor a very right Judgment in this matter. For first of all, St. Jerome and Sozomen, tacitly confess, that the Translation of the Works of St. Ephrem made them lose some part of their Loftiness; but they only observe, that one might perceive some strokes of his Vivacity and Eloquence, even in the Translation it self. 2dly. St. Jerome says the same of the Book of the Holy Spirit, and not of the others. Now it may so happen, that this sublime Reasoning of St. Ephrem, appeared more in his Dogmatical Books, than in his Discourses of Devotion, and in his Edifying Exhortations; such as all those are which are now extant. 3dly. 'Tis not true, that no Vein of Eloquence is to be discerned in them. The learned Photius did not think so. On the contrary, we may admire, says he, in the Exhortations of this holy Man, (which are a part of this Book which we now have) the force wherewith he persuades, his agreeable manner of expressing things, and the pathetic Phrases that he makes use of. It is no wonder, that his Stile and his Figures, resemble those Homilies which are made off hand, and without premeditation: Neither must we throw this fault upon the Author, but upon the Interpreter, because those that are learned in the Syriack Tongue, know that they excel in abundance of Words, and in Figures of Rhetorick; so that 'tis hard to say, whether it be from their Language, or from his own Invention, that the strength and elevation of his Discourse proceeds. Moreover, we ought not in reading to look only upon the meanness of the Words, but to consider, what Advantage and Profit may be reaped from the things that he has written.

This Reflection of Photius, who was a better Critick in this kind, than Rivet and the other Criticks of his way, informs us, that several strokes of the Elevation and Quickness of his Spirit, might be discerned in the Version of St. Ephrem's Discourses, and that one might there perceive the Genius of the Syriack Tongue; and that whatever meanness there may be in his Stile, it ought to be attributed to the Interpreter, and not to the Author.

'Tis objected also, that those Treatises, were written by an Author who understood Greek, since he cites St. Irenaeus, Ch. 8. of the Treatise of Virtue, and the Life of St. Anthony written in Greek by St. Athanasius, in Ch. 10. of the Treatise upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*: Now St. Ephrem did not understand Greek, say they; and by consequence these Treatises are none of his.

'Tis easy to answer this Objection. 1. 'Tis not certain that St. Ephrem did not understand Greek; on the contrary, 'tis probable that a Man who was often among People that spoke

Mr. Du Pin, seems to have forgot that he had named Cardinal Bellarmine just before.

St. Ephrem the Syrian, Deacon of Edessa. spoke Greek, did understand their Language, tho' he was not able enough to write in that Tongue. 2. That though he did not understand Greek, yet he might get the Books of St. Irenaeus, translated into Syriack; and 'tis probable, that for the use of the Monks of his Country, he procured a Syriack Version of the Life of St. Anthony, who was looked upon as the Rule of all the Monks in the East.

3dly. They object to us the little Credit that ought to be given to those that have published his Books: They say, We have them not, but as they come through the hands of Modern Greeks, who are too much given to Cheat; and that the Latin Versions were made by Ambrosius Camaldulensis, and Pissius Tungrensis, who were Persons devoted to the Interests of the Court of Rome.

But why is it sufficient thus to alledge general and uncertain Reasons for rejecting any Books? If this be sufficient, What is there that we should not doubt of? the Protestants will have Reason to reject all the Books of the Fathers, which have been published by Catholics, and Catholics will have reason to reject all those that have been published by the Protestants. Where shall we be then? This therefore is not the way: But we must suppose that both the one and the other have published the Books which they found in the Manuscripts that fell into their hands; for there is no probability that one Man should be so impudent as to forge many Pieces, and pretend that he found them in Manuscripts; and tho' some Persons should be found capable of doing this, yet 'twere impossible, but their Imposture must be quickly discovered. They must therefore have other Proofs, besides these general Accusations, to reject any Books as supposititious. But besides, when it is said that we have none of St. Ephrem's Writings, but through the hands of the Modern Greeks, that is a mistake. They were translated while he was alive, as appears by what we have already said. And whereas Ambrosius Camaldulensis and Pissius, are accus'd of being Impostors, 'tis easy to justify them by the antient Greek Manuscripts which are to be found in Libraries.

Lastly, Some places of the Books of this Father are produced, which seem to be mean and unworthy of him. 'Tis said, that there is nothing more ridiculous, than what he introduces the damned speaking, *We salute you, O Saints, We salute you, O Apostles, &c.* They add, That there are Contradictions in them, for in his Confessions, he accuses himself of many Sins, and in his Testament he makes himself Innocent.

To answer this Objection in a word, I might say, That 'tis a very hard matter to avoid, but some weak Thoughts will be found in so great a number of Books of Piety and Devotion. That if one would compare these Books with those of our Age, which are of the same kind, they might see that the latter are infinitely more filled with false Thoughts, than those of St. Ephrem. But the places which Rivet has chosen to oppose to us, are very weak Proofs. The wicked do not Salute the Saints in the Treatise of Hell Torments; on the contrary, they bid them eternally adieu, after they had heard the Sentence of Condemnation: Neither is there any Contradiction between his Testament and his Confessions. He confesses both in the one and the other place with much humility, that he had spent his Life in Sin and Vanity. 'Tis true, that he says in his Testament, that he had not reproached any body, and that he had no quarrel with any of the Faithful; but then he says nothing contrary to this in his Confessions, and though he should have said it, yet he might speak so in humility, as many pious Persons do in this kind of Confessions, wherein they speak oftentimes in the Person of another.

I shall now draw up a Catalogue, with an Account of the Subjects of St. Ephrem's Works, which are divided into three Tomes.

The 1st. Discourse of the first Tome, is of the Dignity of the Priesthood, which he exalts as high as it can be exalted. Towards the latter End, he speaks against those who intrude into the Priestly Office, without being worthy of it, and without being called to it. He observes, that the Sacerdotal Dignity is conferred by imposition of Hands.

The 2d. is an Answer to one of his Monks, who had asked him, who they were that might use that Liberty which St. Paul gives to Marry, rather than to Burn. He answers, that it concerns only those who are not bound, and who live in the World, but not those who have renounced the World, and embraced a Religious Life.

The 3d. is concerning the Softness of Eli the High-Priest, who would not chastise his Sons.

In the 4th. he exhorts Christians to celebrate the Festivals, and to approach the Holy Mysteries with Purity.

The 5th. is concerning Charity towards our Neighbour.

The 6th. is concerning the usefulness of Singing Psalms. There he condemns idle Songs and Dancing.

The 7th. of the Value and Necessity of Prayer.

The 8th. is of Love of the Poor, and of Alms.

The 9th. of Fasting.

The 10th. explains that Passage in the Gospel, *There shall be two Men in the Field, the one shall be taken, and the other left.* He is of Opinion, that the Just are those who

shall be taken, and the Wicked those who shall be left. He seems to explain Hell Fire, Mystically.

The 11th. is concerning the Miseries of this Life.

The 12th. is of the inequality of Happiness. He observes, that tho' all the Happy enjoy the same happiness, yet there are different Degrees of it. He assures his Auditory, *That there is no middle between Hell and the Kingdom of Heaven.* [Here then by our Author's own confession, is a positive Proof, that an eminent Father of the Fourth Century, disbelieved a middle State, which not only destroys Purgatory, but also the Necessity of Praying to the Saints.]

The 13th. is also of Blessedness.

The 14th. of the contempt we ought to have of the Riches and Pleasures of this World.

The 15th. is against those who every Day do Penance, and always relapse into the same Sins.

After these Discourses follows a Treatise divided into many Chapters, concerning Virtues and Vices. In the Preface he shews great Humility in debasing himself below those that had prayed him to instruct them. Afterwards he discovers to them the good effects of the Fear of God, of the Love of our Neighbour, of Meekness, Patience, Sincerity, Obedience, Hope and Continence; and the bad Effects of the contrary Vices.

After these Instructions, follow 91 Maxims of Piety, and 96 Advices concerning a Spiritual Life, directed to a young Monk.

The 16th. Discourse is against those who forsake a Monastick Life after they have once embraced it, to return into the World.

The 17th. is concerning perfect Self-denial, and concerning the Peace of Mind, which every one should have in Solitude.

The 18th. is of the Sighing of a Soul under Temptation, and of the Tears of Repentance.

The 19th. is of the fear of Death.

The 20th. is an humbling Discourse wherein he acknowledges himself Guilty of many Faults, and prays his Brethren to implore the Divine Mercy for him.

The 21st. is an Exhortation to Christian Vigilance.

The 22d. is an Exhortation to the Practice of good Works.

The 23d. is concerning the Grace of Jesus Christ. He exhorts those to whom he addresses himself, to follow the attractiveness of Divine Grace, if they would attain to perfection.

The 24th. is concerning Faith, or rather concerning Trust in the Providence of God.

The 25th. is against those who say, that Earthquakes are caused by the Concussions of the Earth, and not by the Providence of God. This discovers that the Author of those Discourses had not much Learning since it may be truly said, that Earthquakes proceed from natural Causes, tho' they are ordered by the Providence of God.

The 26th. is against the Superstitions of the Pagans. There he relates, that when the Plague was at Constantinople, a Physician named Domnus, being desirous to preserve himself by the Superstitions of the Pagans, was seized with the Plague and died, tho' he dwelt in a high Place, where there was very good Air; that one of his Companions named Macedonius, seeing his lamentable Death, quitted the Pagan Religion, and became a Monk. After this, he brings many passages of Scripture to prove that the Plague, and those other Calamities wherewith Men are afflicted, are the effects of God's Vengeance, and we must make our Application to him, to preserve us from them. He observes, that God sends these miseries upon Men, to bring them to the Knowledge of themselves, and to Repentance.

The 27th. is against Pride and a good Opinion of ones self.

The 28th. is against those who having entred into Monastries, are guilty of vices, and particularly of Ambition, Laziness, and Disobedience. At the latter end, he Exhorts his Brethren to discharge all the Offices of a Religious Life.

The 29th. is against Detraction.

The 30th. is upon those Subjects which Christians ought to lament.

The 31st. is against Plays and Shows. There he blames those who after they have been present at Divine Offices, go to Dancing and Sing Idle Songs. *To Day, says he, they are United to Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they Dishonour him, they Deny him; to Day they are Christians, and to Morrow Pagans; to Day they have Piety, and to Morrow they are Impious; to Day they are Faithful, and the Disciples of Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they are Apostates and the Enemies of God; to Day they hear the Word of Jesus Christ, and to morrow they apply themselves to hear the Voices and Instruments of Musick, which sing or play prophane Songs.*

The 32d. is against the Unchaste.

The 33d. is of that Charity wherewith we should reprove our Brethren that are fallen into any Sin.

The 34th. is against Curiosity, and of shunning the occasions of Sin.

The 35th. is against Lewd Women.

The 36th. is of the means of avoiding the Sin of the Flesh.

The 37th. is of the praise of Charity.

The 38th. is of the preservation of this Virtue, and of the Unhappiness of those that lose it.

The 39th. is a Description of that unhappy state to which a man is reduced by Concupiscence. He prays the Lord to give him grace, to preserve him from shipwrecks, amidst the Storms of this Life. He requests of him, that his Heart and his Mouth, may be a pure Temple and without stain, by the Heavenly Grace; and that it may make his Tongue and Lips to move continually, in Singing forth the Praises of God. This Discourse is one of the Noblest and most Beautiful of them all.

The Four following Discourses are concerning Compunction, or the Remorse we ought to have for offending God. In the 1st. he says, that the Grace of God is always ready to enter into our Hearts, whenever they are disposed to receive it, or when our evil Thoughts do not put a Bar to it; That in the mean time, it touches our Soul by the sweetness of its light, and makes it return to it self, and seek after the Light; That the Grace of God does never wholly forsake us, and that without Grace, we cannot Repent.

In the 2d. he shews, that we ought not to despair, and that every one may obtain pardon of his Sin, provided his Heart be pierced with a sincere Sorrow for his Offence against God, and that he change his course of Life.

In the 3d. he shews, that we ought to bewail this Life, and to rejoyce at Death.

The 4th. is also of the sorrow we ought to have; and the Tears we ought to shed in this Life.

The 44th. and 45th. Discourses are about Penance.

The 46th. is about Repentance and Conversion.

The 47th. is of Penance and Patience.

The 48th. is of Patience under the Crosses, and Adversities of this Life.

The 49th. is of Constancy and Compunction.

In the 50th. he exhorts to Perseverance and Watchfulness, from the Dread of the last Judgment, and the Pains of Hell. He says, that we must always Pray, even while we labour with our Hands, we must continually resist Temptation, read the Holy Scripture with attention and Preparation, and live in Silence and Tranquility: He enlarges particularly, on the Praises of this last Exercise.

After these Discourses, follow several Sentences, called the *Beatitudes of St. Ephrem*, in which he recommends above all things, Christian Vigilance to his Brethren.

After these Beatitudes, follow Questions and Answers upon several Subjects, as about the Renunciation promised in Baptism; about the last Judgment; about the Different Punishments of the Damned.

This is followed with a Treatise of Remembling Death, wherein he lays open the Vanity of Riches.

The Second discourse of Death, is attributed to St. Basil, and is of a different Style from St. Ephrem's Discourses.

The following Treatises are of the Resurrection, of the last Judgment; and the things which shall happen when Anti-Christ shall come; and of the Apparition of the Cross at the time of Christ's second coming. This Relation is ended with Lamentation and Prayers, which are attributed to St. Ephrem.

The Second Tome contains the Life of St. Ephrem, written by Simon Metaphrastes, choice Sentences drawn from the Books of St. Ephrem; a Discourse of St. Ephrem about his Conversion; a Spiritual Song concerning the praise of Learning and Wisdom; an Epistle to a Monk about Patience; four Exhortations to a young Monk concerning a Monastick Life; six Chapters of Virtues, necessary to a Monk; twelve Chapters upon these Words, *Take heed to your selves*; fifty Exhortations to the young Monks, wherein he exhorts them to Humility, Obedience, Watchfulness, to Labour, Devotion, Meekness, Patience, to Charity, Reading, Prayer, Temperance, and the Practice of the other Monastical Virtues.

The 49th. is of the Excellencies of a Monastick Life above the Secular. Then follow 100 Maxims, Apophthegms, or Examples of the means for acquiring and preserving Humility, and the other Monastick Virtues; a Discourse against Covetous Monks; another of the Perfection of a Monk; a Treatise of Spiritual Arms, of the Spiritual Combat; an Instructive Exhortation about an Affectick Life;

another Exhortation to Repentance from the second Coming of Jesus Christ; nineteen Advertisements of the Abbot Ammon, and the Apophthegms of the Antient Fathers, wherein he speaks of St. Benedict.

The Third Tome is divided into three Parts. The I. contains a Treatise composed in imitation of the Book of Proverbs, which is a Collection of Sentences and Maxims for a Spiritual and Monastick Life, a Treatise of a Religious Life, a Treatise of Repentance [or Penance;] a Discourse of the Compunction of the Heart; Another Discourse wherein St. Ephrem, accuses himself of his Faults, and asks forgiveness; a Discourse of the Resurrection, of Judgment, and the Pains of the Impious, with an humble Prayer to God. The second Part contains Panegyrics upon Just and Holy Men, whom he proposes as Examples and Patterns of Virtue. The 1st. is upon Noah, where he speaks of Continence; the 2d. is upon Abraham, and Isaac, where he exhorts to obedience; the 3d. upon Lot, and against false Confidence; the 4th. in Praise of the Patriarch Joseph; the 5th. upon Daniel, against those that say, *The times are Evil, we cannot save our selves*; the 6th. upon Jonah and the Repentance of the Ninevites; the 7th. upon Elijah, and the Widow of Sarepta; the 9th. upon the Precious Stone that is mentioned in the Gospel; the 10th. against those that search into the Greatness of the Divine Nature; the 11th. a Discourse upon our Saviour's Transfiguration; the 12th. of the Passion of Jesus Christ; the 13th. the Lamentation of the Virgin upon the Passion of her Son; the 14th. upon the Cross of Jesus Christ, where he speaks of the manner of Celebrating Festivals among Christians, of the Vertues of the Cross of Jesus Christ, and the Usefulness of the sign of the Cross; the 15th. is of the Praises of the Virgin, after which follows a Prayer to the Virgin; the 16th. on the Woman that was a Sinner; the 17th. is a Discourse of St. Chrysostom about the same Woman and a Pharisee; the 18th. is a Panegyrick upon St. Basil, which is published in Greek by Cotelierius, in the last Volume of his *Monumenta Ecclesie Græcæ*; the 19th. is in Praise of the Forty Martyrs; the 20th. is upon all the Martyrs in the World, who have suffered for Jesus Christ; the 21st. is upon the same Subject; the 22d. is upon Abramius; the 23d. is upon Julianus the Hermit; the 24th. is upon the Holy Fathers that died in his own time; the 25th. is upon the same Subject; two Hymns upon the same Subject; a Discourse of the Happiness of those that died in Christ, and of the Vanity of this World, of the Uncertainty of Life, and the Different Kinds of Death. The Last Monument of St. Ephrem is his Testament cited by St. Gregory Nyssen, which is properly an exhortation of this Father, upon his Death-Bed, addressed to his Monks; he desires them to remember him in their Prayers; he forbids them to keep his Garments as Relicks; he desires that they would Bury him after a plain manner, and without any Pomp; he conjures them to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass for him, and enlarges also upon the usefulness of Prayers for the Dead, and upon the Vertue of Sacrifice to Blot out Sins; Lastly, he gives them many wholesome Advices, and heaps Blessings upon his chief Disciples that were present at his Death, which happened under the Reign of Valens, in the Year 378, on the First Day of February.

The first that published any of the Books of this Father was Ambrosius Camaldulensis, who translated some of them into Latin, which were printed at Brescia in 1490. at Strasburg in 1509. and at Cologne, in 1547. Afterwards Gerard Vossius, or Volkens of Borchloon in Germany, searched out all the Works of this Father, and Translated and published them in Three Tomes. The first is dedicated to Sixtus the 5th. in 1581; The Second dedicated to Clement the 8th. in 1593. and the last in 1598. These three Tomes were printed in one Volume at Cologne in 1603, and at Antwerp in 1619. Echellensis published at Rome in 1645, a Song of the Virgin and the Wisemen attributed to St. Ephrem, translated from the Syriack. Cotelierius published the Greek of the Penegyrick upon St. Basil, made by St. Ephrem, in his last Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, printed at Paris in 1686. 'Twere to be wished that some Body would publish the Greek Versions of all the Books of St. Ephrem, which are to be found in Libraries; as also the Syriack Text of some of his Books.

DAMASUS Bishop of Rome.

Damasus Bishop of Rome.

After the Death of Pope Liberius, which happened in the year 369, the See of Rome being vacant for some time, by reason of the caballing of those that pretended to fill it, Damasus at last was chosen by the greater part of the Clergy and People, and ordained by the Bishops. But on the other side, Ursinus or rather Ursicinus, who was his Competitor for the Popedom, got himself ordained by some other Bishops in the Church of Sici-nus. This Contest caused a great Division in the City of Rome, and stirred up so great a Sedition there as could hardly be appeased. The two Parties came from Words to Blows,

and a great many Christians were killed in the Churches of Rome upon this Quarrel. The Governor of Rome called Prætextatus, being desirous to allay the Heat of this Contention, sent Ursicinus into Banishment by the Emperor's Order: But his Banishment did not perfectly appease the Quarrel; For the Partizans of Ursicinus assembled still in the Churches of which they were possessed, without ever communicating with Damasus; and even when the Emperor had ordered that their Churches should be taken from them, they still kept up their Assemblies without the City, so that it was necessary at last to drive them quite out of Rome. And yet

Damasus Bishop of Rome.

yet all this did not hinder *Ursicinus* from having his secret Associates in *Italy* and at *Rome*. The Bishop of *Puteoli* called *Florentinus*, and the Bishop of *Parma*, were most zealous for his Interests. They were condemned in a Council held at *Rome* in the Year 372. and afterwards banished by the Authority of the Emperor. However they found Means to return into their own Country, and stirred up new Troubles there. They got Pope *Damasus* to be accused by one *Isaac* a Jew. This Accusation was examined in a Council of Bishops held at *Rome* in the Year 378. which declared *Damasus* innocent of the Crime that was laid to his Charge. This Council wrote a Letter to the Emperor *Gratian*, praying him to take some Order for the Peace of the Church of *Rome*. The Emperor wrote to them, that *Ursicinus* was detained at *Cologne*, that he had given Order to banish *Isaac* into a Corner of *Spain*, and to force the Bishops of *Puteoli* and *Parma* out of their Country. This did not hinder *Ursicinus* from returning into *Italy* in the Year 381. where he stirred up new Tumults, and endeavoured to pre-engage the Emperor: But the Bishops of *Italy* being assembled in a Council at *Aquileia*, in the Year 381. wrote so smartly to him, that he banished *Ursicinus* for ever, and left *Damasus* in peaceable Possession of the See of *Rome*, in which he continued until the Year 384. St. *Jerome* places him among the Ecclesiastical Writers, because of the many short Tracts which he wrote in Heroick Verse, to which may be added some Letters of his writing. But there are many other Letters which go under his Name, that are supposititious. I shall first set down those of which there can be no doubt.

The two Letters of *Damasus*, directed to St. *Jerome*, are amongst the Works of this Father. In the first, he exhorts this Saint to write to him; and to oblige him by fixing a Subject, he proposes to him some Difficulties about the Holy Scripture. He observes in this Letter, that he took no Pleasure in reading the Books of *Lactantius*, because they were too long, and were not filled with the Doctrines of Religion. In the second Letter he desires to tell him the Meaning of *Hosanna* to the Son of David. But there is another Letter attributed to *Damasus*, and written to St. *Jerome*, with the Answer of this Father, that is not to be placed in the same Rank; for the Style of these two Letters is very different from that of *Damasus* and St. *Jerome*, and they contain many Impertinencies and Follies in the Judgment of *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*. 'Tis said in the first, that St. *Jerome* was ordained by *Alexander*; and 'tis certain that *Paulinus* ordained him. In the second, 'tis supposed, that St. *Jerome* exhorted *Damasus* to order the *Gloria Patri* to be sung at the End of all the *Psalms*, as was ordained by the Council of *Nice*, and as it was practised in the East: But if *Cassian* is to be believed, this was not practised in the East.

The 3d. Letter of *Damasus* is written in the Name of this Pope and the other Western Bishops assembled at *Rome*, in the Year 370. concerning the Condemnation of *Auxentius*, to the Bishops of *Illyricum*. It is related by *Theodoret* also, in Ch. 22. B. II. of his Hist. and by *Sozomen*, Ch. 23. of B. VI. and it is in Latin in the Collection of *Holstenius*. These Bishops do here confirm the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, and declare that *Auxentius* was condemned by the Bishops of *France*, because of his Heresie. They observe, that the Decision of the Council of *Ariminum* could not prejudice the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, because neither the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Judgment was chiefly to be waited for, nor *Vicentius* of *Capua*, nor many others, had ever consented to it. They say at the End of this Letter, that those who taught another Doctrine, should quickly be turned out of their Bishopricks. They exhort the Bishops of *Illyricum* to defend the Faith of the *Nicene* Council with Boldness and Constancy.

The Letter of *Damasus* to *Paulinus*, about the Cause of *Vitalis*, is also genuine, and has a Respect to History, and to what St. *Gregory Nazianzen* says in his Letter to *Cledonius*, that *Vitalis* the Disciple of *Apollinarius* coming to *Rome*, surprized *Damasus*, but that afterwards, this Pope had condemned him. The Letter of which we now speak, was written sometime after *Vitalis* departed from *Rome*, about the Year 373. It acquaints *Paulinus*, 'That he had written to him by this *Vitalis*, leaving him to manage all Things; That he had also sent him Word of the same Thing before, by the Priest *Petronius*; but that he was a little troubled when *Vitalis* was ready to depart; That to take from him all Kind of Scruple, lest too great Precaution should hinder those from being received into the Church, who had a Mind to return, he had sent to him a Confession of Faith, not so much for his own Sake, as for theirs who desired to be re-united to the Church of *Rome*, and embrace its Communion, that they might sign it.' Wherefore, he adds, if *Vitalis* will joyn himself to us, you must oblige him to sign the *Nicene* Creed, and to profess that he believes, That Jesus Christ took a Body, a Soul, a Mind, and in a Word, a Nature in every Thing like to ours, Sin only, and Concupiscence, excepted; and to anathematize those that should say, That the Word was instead of a Soul in the Person of Jesus Christ, or should dare to affirm, That there were two Sons of God in Je-

sus Christ; and deny, that he was the same Son of God before and after his Incarnation. He says, that he could freely receive *Damasus*, those that should sign this Letter, provided they had before approved the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Faith of the Council of *Nice*. He concludes with telling *Paulinus*, That he doubted not but he had Power to propose the same Things to those that were willing to be restored, and that he had written to him only for this End; that his Consent and Example might render him more bold and free to do it.

'Twas probably, at the same Time, and perhaps in Consequence of this Letter, that *Damasus* sent to *Paulinus*, the Anathematisms that are set down in Greek by *Theodoret*, Ch. 11. of the V. B. of his History, and in Latin by *Holstenius*. They establish the Faith of the Church concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, by condemning the contrary Errors. There is one of them against the Translation of Bishops: *Vitalis* having refused to sign the Declarations, which *Damasus* would have him to sign, this Pope assembled a Council at *Rome*, in the Year 375. where *Peter* of *Alexandria* was present, in which he condemned the Heretick *Apollinarius* and his Followers. The Opinion of *Valesius* is not without Reason, who thinks that the Decrees which are in the Collection of *Holstenius*, and which are to be found in the 2d. Vol. of the Additions to *Labbe's* Edition of the Councils, p. 893, 894, and 895. are Part of the Decisions of this Council, and that they were really made against the Error of *Apollinarius*. These Decrees are signed by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, by *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, by *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, by *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, by *Eulogius* of *Edessa*, by *Zeno* of *Tyre*, by *Bematus* of *Mallus*, and by 146 other Bishops of the East, whose Names are said to be in the authentical Manuscript of the *Vatican*. These Subscriptions make it very probable, that these Decrees are a Part of this Tome of the Western Bishops, which was signed in the Year 378. in a Council at *Antioch*, whereof Mention is made in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*, and in a Letter of the Council of *Constantinople*, produced by *Theodoret*. In short, the Bishops of the East having desired *Damasus* to condemn *Timothy* a Disciple of *Apollinarius*; received this Answer, That he was condemned long ago by a Council at *Rome*, in the Presence of *Peter* of *Alexandria*. This Letter is recited by *Theodoret*, Ch. 10. of the V. B. of his History. It was written about the Year 378. in the Preamble of this Letter, he extols the Greatness of the See of *Rome*, and speaks of its Preheminence above others.

These are the only genuine Letters of *Damasus*, that are extant; all the rest that go under his Name, are forged by *Isidorus Mercator*. They have not the Style of *Damasus*, and contain many Things which plainly discover their Forgery. The Letter that goes under the Name of *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* to *Damasus*, as well as the Answer of this Pope, bear the Names of the Consuls, *Gratianus* the third Time, *Equitius* the first. Now this Consulship happened in the Year 374. and *Aurelius* was yet a Deacon when St. *Austine* returned from *Milan* to *Carthage* in 385. and he was not ordained Bishop till 389. 'Tis plain therefore that this Letter could not be written by *Aurelius*. The Letter of the Council of *Africa* to *Damasus*, is taken out of those of *Sergius* and *Martin*, and establishes a Doctrine contrary to that which the *Africans* practised in the Case of Appeals. The Letter to *Stephen* who is called Archbishop of the Council of *Mauritania*, is taken out of the Letters of *Innocentius*, St. *Leo*, *Auasstus*, *Sergius*, *Martin* I. &c. 'Tis said to have been written under the Consulship of *Stilicho*, who was not Consul till 16 Years after the Death of *Damasus*. The Letter concerning the Suffragans, quotes the Canons according to the Version of *Dionysius Exiguus*. There is also a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and some Passages of the Letters of *Siricus*, *Innocentius*, *Zosimus*, *Celestinus*, St. *Leo*, &c. The Letter to the Bishops of *Italy*, is taken out of St. *Leo*, St. *Gregory*, *Martin* I. and *Adrian* I. the Falseness of it is found out by the Note of the Consulship. Lastly, There are in *Ivo Carnutensis* and *Gratian*, some Decrees attributed to *Damasus*; but one cannot be assured of their Antiquity, upon the Credit of these Authors.

There are besides, above 40 Epigrams, Inscriptions or Epitaphs in Verse, which go under the Name of *Damasus*; and are produced by *Baronius*, and *Gruter*; and collected together by *Sarrazanius*, who has made long Commentaries upon these Pieces. 'Tis not very certain, that all these belong to *Damasus*; but 'tis no great Matter who is the Author of them; for they contain nothing remarkable. I shall not here stay to prove that the Book of the Lives of the Popes, intitled, *The Pontifical* of *Damasus*, is none of his, because 'tis certain by the Confession of all the World, that it was compos'd long after the Death of this Pope.

The Works of *Damasus* were printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1639. by the Care of *Ubalinus*, who dedicated them to Pope *Urban* VIII. And *Billaine* printed another Edition of his Works at *Paris*, according to that at *Rome*, in the Year 1672. [His Poems, as Dr. *Cave* assures us from *Olearius's* *Abacus Patrologicus*, were printed at *Leipsick*, by *Andreas Rivinus*, in 8vo. 1652.]

St. B A S I L.

St. *Basil* was of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and was born about the Year 328. His Father was called *Basil*, and his Mother *Emmelia*; who were both Christians. He was educated in Christian Piety, by his Grandmother *Macrina*;

and his Father taught him the Rudiments of Learning. He began his Studies at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, from whence he went to *Constantinople*, to hear the famous Orator *Libanius*, and at last he went to *Athens* to perfect his Studies. There he found

Damasus, Bishop of Rome. Gregory Nazianzen, with whom he contracted a most intimate Friendship. After he had been at Athens some Time, he returned into his own Country, about the Year 355, and departed from thence soon after to take a Journey into Egypt and Libya, and visit the famous Monastries in that Country. He found the Life of these Ascetics so Perfect, that he resolved to follow their Example; and when he returned into his own Country, tho' his Bishop *Dianius* ordained him Reader, he retired into a solitary Place in the Province of Pontus, near the Monastery of St. *Marinus*, where he led a Religious Life. His Brethren *Peter* and *Nuceratius*, and many others of his Friends, came to see him in this Place, and embraced the same way of living. He made Rules for them, and so became the first founder of a Monastick Life in Pontus and Cappadocia.

Dianius, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in Cappadocia, was one of the Enemies to St. *Athanasius*. He had approved the Creeds of *Antioch*, of *Sardica*, and *Ariminum*, made by the *Semi-Arians*. This obliged St. *Basil* to separate from his Communion. He was not reconciled to him, till this Bishop declared on his Death-Bed, that he had always in his Heart believed the *Nicene Creed*, and 'twas thro' Simplicity that he had signed that of *Constantinople*.

After the Death of *Dianius*, *Eusebius* was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea* in Cappadocia. He confer'd the Order of Priesthood on St. *Basil*, who retir'd soon after into his Solitude because he had some Difference with his Bishop, who was Jealous of him. But he was reconcil'd to him three Years after, and acquir'd so great a Reputation, that after the Death of *Eusebius*, he was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea*, towards the End of the Year 369. He was no sooner promoted to this Dignity, but he was persecuted by the Emperor *Valens*, who solicited him by *Modestus* the Prætorian Præfect to Communicate with *Eudoxus*, and to embrace the Doctrine of the *Arians*. But in vain did he use Threatnings, for St. *Basil* answer'd him with a surprizing firmness of Mind, and would never yield to the Will of the Emperor. This Constancy so much astonish'd the Emperor *Valens*, that when he came himself to *Cæsarea*, he durst not undertake any Thing against St. *Basil*, but was present on the Day of *Epiphany* in the Year 371, at the Publick Prayers of the Church of *Cæsarea*, and offer'd Gifts which were received by the Hand of St. *Basil*. He return'd thither once afterward, and had a long Conference with St. *Basil* about the Doctrine of the Church. But some time after, this Emperor being push'd on by the *Arians*, resolv'd to turn him out of *Cæsarea*. 'Tis said, That at the same Time when he dictated this Order, his Son fell Sick, and that his Sickness made him change his Resolution; That he sent also for St. *Basil*, and at his Arrival, the Emperor's Son was almost recover'd; but being afterwards baptiz'd by the *Arians*, he relaps'd into his Sickness and died. After his Death, *Valens* would yet have sent St. *Basil* into Banishment, but was hindred, as is reported, because when he would have sign'd the Order, the Pen broke three times. This Prodigy made the Emperor give over the Prosecution of this Design.

But St. *Basil* did not only maintain the Faith with a wonderful Constancy, but he also endeavoured to procure Peace to the Church. The East and West were then divided about the Cause of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, who were both at the same time Bishops of *Antioch*. *Paulinus* communicated with St. *Athanasius*, and was supported by the Western Bishops. *Meletius* was not of their Communion, but was a very good Catholic. He was lawfully ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, and was acknowledged as such by all the Eastern Bishops. There wanted nothing but his Reconciliation with St. *Athanasius*, to make him be acknowledged by all the Western Bishops also; for the Western Bishops blindly followed the Judgment of this Bishop. Wherefore St. *Basil* us'd all his Endeavours to reconcile him to St. *Athanasius* and *Damasus*. He also prayed *Meletius* to yield to Peace. He obliged him to send the Deacon *Dorotheus* to St. *Athanasius*, who went into the West as far as Rome, but he could not compass his Design of restoring Peace. He returned thither also a second time with a Letter of St. *Basil*, and he could obtain nothing but a Deputation of some Priests, to comfort the Eastern Bishops, who were tormented with the Persecution of *Valens*. St. *Basil* seeing that the Western Bishops would not make Peace with *Meletius*, wrote many Letters to them, wherein he complains of their Behaviour. But howsoever it came to pass, he could not compass this Peace between the East and the West, which was not concluded till nine Months after his Death.

In the mean time, while St. *Basil* laboured with so much Zeal for the Peace of the whole Church, his own Province was broken in pieces by Dissentions, which occasioned him much Trouble and Sorrow. The Emperor having divided Cappadocia into two Provinces, *Anthimus* Bishop of *Tyana*, the Metropolis of that Part, that was newly erected into a Province, pretended that he ought to be the Metropolitan of that New Province, and that he ought to Ordain Bishops for the Cities that depended upon it; and that he ought not to depend upon the Metropolis of *Cæsarea*, no more than the Bishops of the Cities of that New Province. St. *Basil* did not contest this right with *Anthimus* in the least; but they were at difference concerning the Extent of this New Province. *Anthimus* extended the Limits of it further than he ought; and St. *Basil* oppos'd his Attempts. They differed chiefly about one little City called *Sasima*, which lay upon a great Road. *Anthimus* pretended that it depended upon his Jurisdiction; and St. *Basil* to keep it to himself, erected it into a Bishoprick, and gave it to his Friend St. *Gregory Nazi-*

anzen. But *Anthimus* was already in Possession: Which obliged St. *Gregory*, being a Lover of Peace, to withdraw from the place, in which he could take no Pleasure; and he was very Angry with his Friend for making Use of him to maintain his own Quarrel.

St. *Basil* had also another Dispute with *Theodotus* Bishop of *Nicopolis*. *Meletius* and this Bishop were invited to come to a Synod which was to be held at *Phargama*, near *Nicopolis*. He wrote to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* to be there, and sent his Letter by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*. The good Correspondence which St. *Basil* had then with this last, rendered him odious to *Theodotus*, and the other Bishops who desired no more to have him at their Synod. When St. *Basil* knew this Matter, he held a Conference with *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*: In which he found that he spoke like a Catholic, and he caused him to sign an Orthodox Confession of Faith. After he had used this Precaution he came to find out *Meletius* and *Theodotus*, and told them what he had done. *Theodotus* told him, that *Eustathius* had since denied what he had then approved. St. *Basil* answered, That he could not believe him so Inconstant; but notwithstanding to try him, yet anew, he would offer him a very large Confession of Faith, which if he refused to sign, he would then separate from his Communion. *Meletius* and *Theodotus* approved of this Proposal, and the last invited St. *Basil* to come to *Nicopolis*; but when he was there, he would not permit him to be at the Prayers of the Church, nor communicate with him at all. St. *Basil* seeing himself thus affronted without Reason, retired from *Nicopolis*, and came to *Satala*, where he ordained a Bishop at the Desire of the Inhabitants. From thence he went to find out *Eustathius*, and made him Sign a Confession of Faith, to which he annexed that of the *Nicene Creed*. St. *Gregory Nyssen* sided against his Brother St. *Basil*, as appears by the Letters 256, and 259, of this Saint; where he accuses him of troubling the Peace of the Church, and of laying Snares for him. Some time after, *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, who, upon St. *Basil*'s Account, was engaged in a Quarrel with *Theodotus*, declared himself openly against St. *Basil*, joyned the *Eudoxians*, oppos'd the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. St. *Basil* understanding this, reconciles himself to *Theodotus*, and wrote many Letters against *Eustathius*.

These are the principal Circumstances of St. *Basil*'s Life, and the Affairs which took up the greatest part of his Time while he was Bishop. The other Circumstances which are of less Consequence may be learned from his Letters. St. *Basil* died upon the first of January, in the Year 379.

The Letters of St. *Basil* are the most learned and the most curious of all his Books, and perhaps of all Ecclesiastical Antiquity. They are written with an unimitable Purity, Majesty and Eloquence, and contain an infinite Number of Things. There one may see all the History of his Time, described to the Life, the different Characters of Men's Tempers, the contrary Interests of each Party, and the Motives which acted both sides, and the Intrigues which they made Use of for carrying on their Designs. The State of the Eastern and Western Churches is there described, in lively and natural Colours. He handles an infinite Number of Questions of Doctrine, of Discipline, and of Morality; which he decides with much Learning and Prudence. There one may find many Letters of Consolation or Exhortation, which are very Edifying and Pathetical, and even those which are only Complimental are full of Wit, and of very solid and useful Thoughts. They are indeed at present in so great Confusion, that 'tis not an easie thing to read them in order with Delight, and so ill translated, that they are almost wholly disguised, and can hardly be known by those that understand the Beauty of the Original Language. I have begun a Translation of them in Latin and French, which I may perhaps Publish some time or other with Notes. In the mean time, I shall now make some Extracts out of them, according to my usual Method. But to make them more useful, I have ranked the Letters according to the Order of Time. If they are set according to the subject Matter, they may be divided into Historical and Doctrinal; Letters of Discipline, Apologetical Letters, Letters of Instruction or Morality, Letters of Consolation, and Letters of Civility: But I thought it more proper to follow in the Body of our Book, the Order of Time; which I have examined as exactly as I could. They shall be divided then into two Classes: The first, shall comprehend the Letters that were written in his Solitude, before he was Bishop: And the second, which will contain far the greater Number, shall consist of those which were written after he was Bishop, which I shall dispose in their Order of Time from Year to Year, as near as I can.

The first of the Letters written by St. *Basil* in his Solitude, is the 19th. directed to St. *Gregory Nazianzen*; wherein he acquaints him with the Resolution he had taken up to live retiredly, and describes the place which he had chosen for his Retreat, very Pleasantly, and very Elegantly. This Letter was written in the Beginning of the Year 358.

St. *Gregory* having received this Letter, did not approve of the Habitation which his Friend had chosen, and from the Description which he had given of it, he imagined that it was a very Melancholy and Frightful Place. He signified also his Thoughts of it in his 7th. Letter to him, and rallies pleasantly upon the Description he had sent of it. Wherefore St. *Basil* having a mind to draw him to himself by some more powerful Motive, represents to him in his 2d. Letter, which is commonly put the 1st. the Manner of Life which he had embraced.

He

St. Basil. He complains at the first, that he could not yet reap all the Profit from his Retirement which he could have wished; which Unhappiness he attributes to the Habits that he had contracted while he lived in the World; from which he could not yet disengage himself: And he desires him to believe, that he describes in his Letter the manner after which he should live, and not that in which he did live at present. After this, he represents the Miseries of a Secular Life, and the Delights of Solitude. He shews how profitable this Retreat is, provided one's Mind be not too much fastned to the World, after he is parted from it. He gives an account of the Exercises of so Happy a State; which consist in Prayer, in labouring with our Hands, in Reading and Meditation upon the Holy Scripture; and gives Rules concerning the Discourse, the Habits, the Eating and Behaviour of a Monk. This Letter was written in the Year 358.

There are also some other Letters of St. Basil, which are very near upon the same Subject, and were written probably about the same time. The Four first, which are not ranked in the other Classis, are of this number.

The First is addressed to one Chilon; who having renounced the World, had written to St. Basil, to desire some Advice of him, how he should behave himself; which is done in this Letter. He exhorts him to persevere in his Resolution: He Counsels him not to Aspire at first to the highest Perfection of a Religious Life, but to ascend to it by degrees. He particularly recommends to him to abide in Solitude, without going out of it upon any pretence whatsoever, though it were even to be present at the Instructions of the Bishops in the Publick Assemblies of the Church.

After this Letter, follows a short, but very Instructive Exhortation to Young Monks; which contains in few words many Precepts of a Religious Life.

The Second Letter, is to a Monk who had abandoned his Solitary state, to return into the World, that he might put himself in a way of Trade. He deplores his Fall, and Exhorts him to acknowledge it, and to do Penance for his Fault.

The Third, is to a Monk of Jerusalem, who had given a horrible Scandal by carrying away a Virgin consecrated to Jesus Christ. He sets before his Eyes the Happiness of that state from which he was fallen, and the Misery of that to which he was reduced by his Crime. He charges him very sharply for his Enormity, and covers him with Confusion for his Infamous Action. Nevertheless, he concludes with Exhorting him from the Consideration of Death and of Judgment, to beg Pardon of his Fault, to Turn and Repent.

The Fourth of these Letters is address'd to a Virgin, who being consecrated to God by a Vow of Virginity, had suffered her self to be corrupted by a Miserable Man. He represents to her the Enormity of her Crime. He endeavours to terrifie her by the Fear of Judgment and of Hell, and gives her hopes, that she shall obtain Mercy, if she will change her Life and Repent.

The 411. Letter, ought to be joyned to this. It contains many Precepts of a Monastick Life; which, for the most part, are drawn out of the Holy Scripture.

The 165. Letter to Eustathius the Philosopher, was written some time after St. Basil's Retirement. He acquaints him, that since his return from Athens, he had searched for him in all places, but could not meet with him; which Unhappiness he Attributes to the Providence of God, and not to Fortune.

The 166. to one named Julianus, seems to have been written about the same time. He says, that 'tis in a Man's Power to lead a happy and quiet Life, by governing his Passions, and submitting his Mind to all Events that can happen. *Neither Loss of Goods, says he, nor Sickness of Body, nor any other troublesome Accidents of this Life can hurt a Virtuous Man, while he designs to walk in the Ways of God, and Meditates upon another Life, who submits to all the Troubles and Crosses of this World; For those who are wholly taken up with the Cares of this Life, are like those Carnivorous Birds, who stoop down to the Earth with the Beasts, though they have Wings to fly in the Air.*

The 167. Letter to Diodorus a Priest of Antioch, was also written about the same time. In it he commends the two Books which this Author had sent him. He says, that the Second was very acceptable to him, not only because of its Brevity, but because of the many Thoughts, Arguments and Answers which it contain'd in a very good Method. He commends the plainness of its Style, which is agreeable, says he, to the Profession of a Christian, who ought much rather to write for the Publick Good, than to acquire Glory to himself. As to the First Book, which was composed by way of Dialogue, he says, That though it was more adorned with Figures, and had greater Variety of Matter; yet he found it tedious to read, and difficult to understand. He takes notice, That the Calumnies of Hereticks, and the Defences of the Catholicks are very useless, and interrupt the Thread of his Discourse.

To this we may joyn the 168. Letter to Eunomius, wherein he rallies this Heretick, who boasted of understanding all

things, by putting to him many difficult Questions about things Natural; to which it was impossible to answer.

The 41. and 42. Letters to Maximus the Philosopher, who is, in all probability the same that got himself Ordained Archbishop of Constantinople, were also written by St. Basil, when he was in his Solitude.

The 111. is concerning the Opinions of Dionysius of Alexandria. He accuses him of Writing some things in his Books, which seemed to be the Seeds of the Error of the Anomæans: yet he confesses that he did it not designedly; but that in disputing against the Heresie of Sabellius, he had too much inclined to the opposite Error, and in proving the Distinction of the Persons, he seemed to admit a Difference of Nature between the Three Divine Persons. After this, St. Basil explains his own Judgment concerning the Trinity. He does not condemn the Opinion of those who say, That the Word is like to God the Father in Substance; nor even of those who say simply, That he is like to his Father, provided they add, that he is in nothing unlike to him; because this Sense falls in with their Opinion who call him *Consubstantial*. He adds, that this last Term is less capable of an ill sense. He condemns the Bishops of the Council of Constantinople, who contented themselves with declaring, that the Son was the Image of the Father, without adding, That he was in nothing unlike. At last, St. Basil invites Maximus to come and see him, and directly charges him with having too great an Affection for the City and Grandeur of this World. This Letter was written after the Council of Constantinople in 360.

In the 2d. Letter to the same Philosopher, he commends him, and recommends to him the love of Virtue.

The 2d. 3d. and 33. Letters addressed to St. Gregory, who was gone to Nazianzum, were much about the same time.

In the 2d. he observes, that no words are capable of expressing our Thoughts of God, and Admonishes St. Gregory to use all his Eloquence in the Defence of the Truth.

In the 3d. Letter, he pleasantly rebukes St. Gregory, for writing none but Laconick Letters to him; that is to say, such as were short and concise.

'Tis plain, that the Letters of St. Basil to the Emperor Julian, if they are Genuine, were written by this Saint in his Retirement, since the Death of Julian happened before he came out of his solitude. He had known this Prince at Athens, where they had studied together under Libanius. After he was returned to his own Country, he received a very obliging Letter from this Prince, who had not yet forsaken the Christian Religion. This Letter is the 206. But after he had renounced Christianity, he did no longer treat St. Basil after the same manner: but on the contrary, he wrote a Proud Letter to him, and commanded him to send him 1000*l.* of Gold for restoring of the Temples. This Letter is the 207th. among those of St. Basil, to which is subjoyn'd the Answer that Julian made when he had read the Book of Apollinarius, *I have read it, understood it, and condemned it.* But it appears, that those words were added to the rest of the Letter, to which they have no reference at all. The two following Letters contain the Answer of St. Basil to this Letter of Julian; yet they are not two Answers, nor two different Letters, but one and the same Answer, of which some have made two. Cotelerius hath published a little while ago the whole entire and in one Letter only, from a Manuscript of the King's Library. It is in his Second Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*. This Sentence which is put at the beginning of the First, *You did not understand what you read; for if you had understood it, you would never have condemned it,* was added after the writing of this Letter, as that was, which is at the End of Julian's Letter. I doubt also, whether the Answer that is attributed to St. Basil, be truly his; and I know not but it may be written by some other Person, who would make a trial how he could Answer Julian's Letter to this Father: And indeed, the Style of this Letter is not so Elegant as that of the Letters of St. Basil. He writes to Julian, that he is horribly vexed, when he thinks that he is clothed with the Royal Purple, and that his infamous Head is adorned with a Crown. Is it credible that St. Basil should write to an Emperor with so little respect, and should treat him as a ridiculous, senseless and impertinent Person, as the Author of this Letter does? In short, there is at the end of this Letter, an Inference drawn from an Opinion of Julian's, which is extremely wide, and has scarce any sense, and not according to the Genius of St. Basil, who is nice and exact in his Thoughts, and moderate in his Expressions.

As to the 205. Letter addressed to the same Emperor, 'tis evident that it is Supposititious. The Title of it is, *To Julian the Apostate.* Would St. Basil ever have directed a Letter to him with this Inscription? 2. The Style of this Letter is very different from that of St. Basil. 3. This Letter is nothing but a confession of Faith. Now to what purpose should St. Basil send a Confession of Faith to Julian? 4. He adds to this confession of Faith, the Invocation of Saints, and Worship of Images. Who ever heard that these Points were put into the Confessions of Faith of the first Ages? 5. He says, that he Honours and

St. Basil.

Adores the Images of the Saints, because it is an Apostolical Tradition. Would St. Basil have spoken thus? And is it not plain that this Letter is the Work of some Greek, who lived after the Seventh Council?

The Six Letters published by *Hæschelius*, which are the 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, being written to different Persons, were also composed by St. Basil while he was in his Solitude. They contain nothing remarkable.

The 141. Letter of St. Basil was written in the Year 363. after the difference which he had with his own Bishop. The Inhabitants of *Cæsarea* complained that he had retired after his Ordination, and recalled him with very Importunate Letters. St. Basil wrote to them, to thank them for their Goodness to him, and to give them an account of the cause of his Retiring. He admonishes them not to suffer themselves to be surprized by the Artifices of Hereticks; and for a Preservative against them, he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity, and answers some Objections which they alledged. He blames those that said only, the Son of God was like his Father; without adding any thing for Explication.

The 4th. Letter to St. Gregory, is the last of these which St. Basil wrote in his Retirement before he was Bishop. It is directed to St. Gregory Nazianzen; wherein he Exhorts him to be very careful to procure the Choice of a Bishop, in the room of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, lately Dead, who might be worthy to fill that Bishoprick. St. Gregory had resolved to come himself to *Cæsarea*; but for fear lest the giving of his Suffrage in favour of St. Basil should render him suspected, he contented himself with sending two Letters written in his Father's Name; whereof one was addressed to the Church of *Cæsarea*, and the other to the Council assembled in that City, wherein he recommended St. Basil as most worthy to succeed in the room of *Eusebius*. Some Authors attribute this Letter of St. Basil which we have already mentioned, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*: And indeed, it is not very probable, that St. Basil should so openly pray St. Gregory, to do that which looked so like soliciting that himself might be made Bishop.

We should joyn to this the Two Letters of St. Basil to *Apollinarius*, which were published by *Cotelerius*, if they were Genuine; but they are Forged by the *Apollinarians*, since St. Basil himself testifies in the 59, 79, and 82. Letters, that he never wrote concerning the Faith to *Apollinarius*; and that the Letters which were published under his Name, were Supposititious: Which plainly shews, that the Two Letters, which go under St. Basil's Name, and are addressed to *Apollinarius*, which treat of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and which suppose that St. Basil and *Apollinarius* held a great Correspondence by Letters, are Forged, as well as those of *Apollinarius* to St. Basil, which contain Errors not only about the Incarnation, but also about the Trinity.

The Second Class of St. Basil's Letters, ought to be of those which were written after he was Bishop of *Cæsarea*; These are far more numerous and more considerable. The First, are those which he wrote for the Reconciliation of *Meletius* with St. *Athanasius* and the Western Bishops.

To compass this design, he wrote about the end of the Year 367. the 56. Letter to *Meletius*, to dispose him to enter upon a Treaty about it. He did not openly acquaint him with his Design, lest he should be discovered; but he signified to him, that he desired he might see him to treat about an Affair of great Importance; but being detained by his Brethren, he sent *Theophrastus* to Communicate it to him. The Secrecy which he observes in this Letter, plainly discovers that this was the First which he Wrote about this Negotiation.

'Tis probable, that about the same time, to conciliate the favour of St. *Athanasius*, who had written to him immediately after his Promotion; he wrote an Answer to him by Letter 47. wherein he gives him an Account of the share that he had in the Persecution which the Governor of *Lybia* raised against this Holy Pastor; and he acquaints him, That all the Faithful of his Church, looked upon this Governor as an Excommunicated Person; that they would have no Correspondence with him; because 'tis fit, that the Powers who will use Violence, should find themselves unanimously condemned by all the Churches.

Meletius having signified to St. Basil, that he would willingly hearken to an Accommodation, this Father wrote to St. *Athanasius* at the Beginning of the Year 379, the 48. Letter; wherein he exhorts him to procure the Peace and Union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and prays him to begin with receiving the Church of *Antioch*. He supports this Proposal in three Letters, which in the common Edition, are 49, 50, and 51. The 50th. was written at the desire of *Dorotheus* the Deacon, whom *Meletius* sent to Negotiate this affair. In it he gives great Commendation of *Meletius*, and says, that all the other Parties which are in the Church of *Antioch* ought to re-unite to him and to those who adhered to him, as to the principal Body of the Church of *Antioch*; whereof the rest are but separate Members. He assures him, That the West wished for this Re-

union, as well as the East; as appeared by the Letters, brought from the West by *Silvanus*. He conjures him afterwards to use his usual Prudence for procuring the Peace of all the Churches. In Letter 51. he exhorts St. *Athanasius* to write a Letter of Communion to all the Eastern Bishops; and prays him to send it, either by some Persons in his own Name, or even by the Deacon *Dorotheus*. He assures him that the Bishops are Orthodox, and that they desire to be re-united to him, and he promises them, that he will not deliver his Letter, till he has received their Answers, and those Assurances that he shall desire.

St. *Athanasius* having received these Letters, would not write at all, but he sent one of his Priests called *Peter*, to dispose their Minds to Peace. This Priest was very well received by St. Basil, and he performed his Messige as well as he could. But this affair being of too great Consequence to be so easily determined; St. Basil thought it necessary to write to Pope *Damasus*. Having taken up this Resolution, he sent the Deacon *Dorotheus* to *Meletius*, by whom he wrote the 57. Letter wherein he tells him his design which he had of sending this Deacon to *Rome*, and of desiring some Deputies out of *Italy*. He prays him, if he thought it convenient, to give him necessary instructions, and to write a Letter in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Bishops of his Communion, and to direct it to the Western Bishops. He writes at the end of this Letter, that the Affairs of the Church were in the same state; that the Civil Powers would not meddle with them, to restore those that were banished; that *Euvippus* an *Arian* Bishop was come, but that he had done nothing yet in Publick, though he had threatened to fetch the Bishops of his Party from *Tetrapolis* and *Cilicia*, to Condemn the Orthodox.

Meletius sent back *Dorotheus*, and thought it necessary for him to go into the West. 'Tis not certainly known, whether he wrote at that time to the Bishops of the West, but 'tis certain that St. Basil then addressed his 220. Letter to *Damasus*. It has no Superscription, but 'tis easy to see, that 'twas addressed to the Bishop of *Rome*. He begins with shewing the Advantage which that Bishop had to restore the ancient Union between the Eastern and Western Churches: After this, he describes the unhappy State to which the Persecution of the *Arians* had reduced the Churches of the East. He represents to *Damasus*, that he might give them Ease and Comfort, by writing and sending Deputies to them, to re-establish Peace and Union in the Church. He remonstrates to him, that what he desired, was not extraordinary, since it had been the practise of the Saints, and particularly of the Church of *Rome*. He observes to him, that St. *Dionysius* had formerly comforted the Church of *Cæsarea*, by his Letters, and that he had sent some of his Brethren to deliver Christians from Captivity; that now there was more Reason to complain of the Misery of the Church, since not only the Captivity of the Body, but that of the Soul also was to be feared. St. Basil, gave this Letter to *Dorotheus*, to carry into the West, and he sent his Deacon to St. *Athanasius*, to confer with him about the means of procuring Peace, that so after he had met with him, he might Embark from *Alexandria*, to go into *Italy*. He charged him also with a Letter for St. *Athanasius*, which is the 52. and though in it, he says, that he referred himself wholly to the Prudence of St. *Athanasius* as to the Management of this Affair, yet he says, that his Advice should be to Write to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to pray him, since there was no probability of calling a Synod, that he would send by his own Authority, Deputies into the East. He observes, that he must chuse such Persons as were able to endure the Fatigue of Travelling, and who had much Meekness, and Moderation to correct the Eagerness and Passionate Heats of some of the Bishops of the East: And in fine, who could speak at a fit Season, and accommodate themselves to the Times. He would have them carry with them the Acts of the Council of *Ariminum*, and an Account of the Transactions in the West, that they may be nulled; that they should come by Sea, without letting any body know of it; that at first they should address themselves to those of his own Communion, before they were pre-engaged by the Associates of *Paulinus*, the Enemies of Peace: And in short, that they should condemn the Heresie of *Marcellus*, of *Ancyra*. This Letter is the 52. At the end, he conjures St. *Athanasius* to send forthwith the Deacon *Dorotheus* into the West; that so the Business might be done the next Year, which was 371. He Advertises him also, that he must take care to recommend to the Deputies from the West, that they be very Cautious, lest they increase Divisions instead of allaying them, and that they prefer to all things the Good of Peace; and that they do not maintain a Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, out of Affection to some particular Persons.

The Desire of Peace, and the Fear that St. Basil had of bringing Persecution upon the Church, obliged him to be very cautious, in his Discourse. Wherefore, tho' he professed to believe, and to defend the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; yet he said nothing of it unless he was obliged. And therefore when he was in an Assembly of Bishops held in the year 370. at the Feast of St. *Euphichius*, in the City of *Cæsarea*

St. Basil.

St. Basil. *Cæsarea*, he discoursed largely of the Divinity of the Father and the Son, and said nothing almost of the Holy Spirit. Whereupon a religious Person who was present at this Assembly, accused *St. Basil* of betraying the Truth by a Cowardice unworthy of a Bishop, and published this Accusation at a Feast where he was present some time after. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, who was one of the Guests at this Feast, endeavoured in vain to defend his Friend; for all the Company blamed him, and at last *St. Gregory* himself was offended with his Conduct, and wrote to him his Judgment about it in Letter 26. *St. Basil* having received this Letter by *Hellenius*, was a little offended with it, and answered him in Letter 33. That he was surprized, that he should so lightly give credit to a Calumniator. He signifies a great Contempt of these kind of Accusations. He invites *St. Gregory* to come and see him, and says, That what was quickly to come to pass, would serve for his Justification before all the World; because it might be foreseen, that he must suffer for the defence of the Truth, and perhaps should be forced away from his Church and his Country. Which discovers that this Letter was written before the Persecution of *Valens*, in the year 370.

This Emperor had a design to divide the Province of *Cappadocia* into two. *St. Basil* thought it was his duty to defend the Rights of his People, and his Church. For this reason, he wrote to a great Man of his Country called *Martinianus*, the 376. Letter, to pray him to go to Court and hinder this Division. This Letter was written in the year 370, as well as the 362, which was plainly written upon the same Occasion. The 309. Letter, wherein he declares, that he continued unshaken, tho' he had been attacked by the most powerful at Court, refers to the Sollicitations which the Prefect *Modestus* had used to him this year 370, by Order of the Emperor *Valens*. 'Tis probable, that the Letter 409, wherein he thanks an Eastern Bishop called *Innocentius*, for what he had written to him, is also of the same year; for 'tis likely that this Bishop wrote to him a little after his Ordination, and that *St. Basil* took no long time to Answer him.

The Deacon *Dorotheus*, departed in the year 371, but his Journey had not all the Success, that might have been hoped for. However, the Western Bishops wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the East, which was sent to them by *St. Athanasius*, but the Contents are not known. It appears also by the Letters of *St. Basil*, That there came from the West a Deacon named *Sabinus*, who carried the Letters of the Bishops of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*.

The Eastern Bishops answered the Letter of those of the West, which they received by *St. Athanasius*, and that which was brought them by *Sabinus*: Their Answers are the Letters 61, and 69. In Letter 61, after they have testified their Joy, that they had, when they understood that the Western Bishops were all at present united in one and the same Doctrine, they desire of them help and relief in their Miseries, which they describe in a most lively and natural manner. 'Our Miseries, say they, are known to you, though we should not write them, being published over all the Earth. The Doctrine of our Fathers is despised; The Tradition of the Apostles is overthrown; The new Inventions of some particular Persons prevail in the Churches; They treat Religion as Sophisters, not as Divines: The Wisdom of this World domineers, and the Glory of the Cross is abhorred; The true Pastors are driven away, and raving Wolves are entered into their places, who tear the Flock of Christ in pieces; The Churches are abandoned; The Deserts are filled with desolate Christians; The Old Men sigh when they compare the time past with the present, and the Young Men find themselves miserable, because they never saw the good things of which they are now destitute. These things ought to affect those who have any love for Jesus Christ and his Church: But what we have said of them, is very far short of the Truth; wherefore, if you have any Charity for us, if you be of the same Mind, if you have any Bowels of Pity, come speedily to our help; Arm your selves with Zeal for Piety, and deliver us from this raging Tempest.' At the end of this Letter, they make a short Confession of their Faith; wherein they acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is ador'd together with the Father and the Son: And they conclude with the Approbation of what the Western Bishops had done in Conformity to the Canons.

The second Letter upon the same Subject, is written in the Name of *Meletius*, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, *St. Basil*, and many other Eastern Bishops, to the Bishops of *Italy* and *Gaul*, that is the 69th. among those of *St. Basil*. There they give a Description of their Miseries yet more large, and more moving than the former, and conjure the Western Bishops to help them and bring them Relief; and to send to them speedily a great number of Deputies, who may take their Seats in a Synod, hoping by this means, that they may restore the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, destroy Heresie, and re-unite the Orthodox; who at present are divided in Communion, tho' they hold one and the same Doctrine. They compare the state of the Churches of the East, to that of *Jerusalem*, during the Siege of *Vespasian*; and they say, That as the Jews ruined themselves then by their Intestine Sedi-

tions, while the Enemies Army reduced them to the last Extremity; so their Churches were now brought to Desolation, not only by the War of the Hereticks, who openly attack'd them; but also by the Divisions of the Orthodox: That if they desire Assistance of the Bishops of the West, it was for this particular Reason, that Peace might be restored; and in this, they say, consisted the Relief of their Churches. They conclude their Letter with saying, That they commend and approve the Confession of Faith that was made by those of the West, and that they consented to all that they had lawfully and canonically determined in their Synodical Epistle. These two Letters were sent by *Sabinus*, who they say, is a Witness of all that they affirm.

St. Basil wrote particularly by the same *Sabinus* to *Valerianus* Bishop of *Ulyricum*, or rather of *Aquileia*, the Letter 324; wherein he thanks him for the Charity he had testified in the Letter he had written, and prays him to assist with his Prayers the Eastern Churches, that were afflicted with Heresie and Schism. These are all the Letters of *St. Basil* written in this Year 371, concerning the Union of the East and the West.

The Letters which he wrote in favour of *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, against *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, are also of this year 371; because he was at Difference with the former in the year 372.

The first Letter written upon this Subject is the 26th. addressed to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*: He acquaints him, that *Meletius* and *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, invited him to be present towards the middle of June, at a Synod which was to be held at *Phargama*: He prays *St. Eusebius* to be present there: He sent him this Letter by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and tells him that he waited for an Answer.

Eusebius came not to this Synod, but *Eustathius* was present there, and *St. Basil*, before he did communicate with him, would have assurance of his Doctrine; and having had two Conferences with him, he made him agree to the Doctrine of the Church. Being thus persuaded that he was Orthodox, he joyned his Prayers with those of this Bishop, to thank God, who had given them Grace to think and speak after the same manner. The design of *St. Basil* was to have a Confession of Faith drawn up by *Theodotus*, or those of his Party, which *Eustathius* should sign: But *Theodotus* without enquiring into the Conduct of *St. Basil*, refused to admit him to his Synod, because he had communicated with *Eustathius*. *St. Basil* being to go into *Armenia*, passed by a Country House of *Meletius* called *Getafa*, where *Theodotus* was present; and after a free Conference between them, it was agreed, That if *St. Basil* could make *Eustathius* sign a Confession of Faith, which plainly contained the Doctrine of the Church, he should then continue in his Communion; but on the contrary, he should separate from him, if he refused to sign that Confession. *Meletius* and his Priest *Diodorus*, having approved this Proposal, it was also agreed to by *Theodotus*, who invited *St. Basil* to go with him to *Nicopolis*: But when he was arrived there, he would not communicate with him, contrary to his Word which he had passed to him; which obliged *St. Basil* to withdraw, and to go to *Satala*, there to regulate some Affairs of *Armenia*, and Ordain some Bishops. He wrote from thence to Count *Tereus* the 187. Letter; wherein he gives him an account of those Transactions which had passed. Letter 78. is the Confession of Faith which *St. Basil* caused *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* to sign at this time. It contains the *Nicene Creed*, and rejects the Error of *Sabellius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. He speaks also of those Differences in Letter 364. to *Atarbius*.

He wrote also a little while after, the Letter 239. to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*; whom he acquaints with the disgraceful manner wherein he was treated by *Theodotus*. He says, that he had also a Conference with *Eustathius*, and that he found him very Catholic. He complains, That the Bishops of the second *Cappadocia*, lately advanced into a Province, refused to have any Correspondence with him. He rallies his Brother *Gregory*, and says, It were to be wished that he had a Bishoprick that would agree to his Mind; That he is so zealous and watchful, that he could govern all the Churches of the World; That he was not capable only of great things, but that he gave weight to small matters, and made Affairs of no Importance, pass for matters of the greatest consequence, by his manner of treating them. He complains of a Bishop named *Palmatus*, whom *Maximus* had made use of to persecute the Church. He invites *Eusebius* to come and see him, giving him notice that his Presence was necessary to regulate the Affairs of *Cappadocia*.

He invites him also by Letter 256, to be present at the Feast of *St. Euphysius*, which was the 7th. of September, to Ordain Bishops, and to give him advice, about the Cause which his Brother *Gregory Nyssen* had undertaken against him in the Assembly which was held at *Ancyra*.

Probably *Eusebius* of *Samosata* came not to this Synod of *Cæsarea*, but he sent thither a Bishop named *Sabinus*, whose Presence comforted *St. Basil* under the Afflictions which he had met with at *Nicopolis*, as he acquaints *Eusebius* by Letter 253; where he excuses the too great Zeal which *Theodotus* had testified for the observation of the Canons. He

St. Basil. says in this Letter, That he passionately wished to see and embrace *Eusebius*. The Letters 252, 255, 260, were almost at the same time.

The 254th. is to the same Person, and in the same year; but it was written before that which we just now mentioned, and at the beginning of the year. He writes to him, That *Demophilus* was upon the Throne of *Constantinople*, and that he was a Hypocrite; and yet that he had re-united the two Parties; and that some neighbouring Bishops were joyned with him. He deplores the miserable state of the Eastern Churches; and says, That God only knows when their Condition may be better.

We have already seen that *St. Basil* went this year to *Satala*, to regulate the Affairs of this Church, and that he Ordained a Bishop there, at the desire of the Inhabitants. He recommends him to them in Letters 296, and 183; and in 185, he writes to the Church of the *Parnassians*, upon the Death of their Bishop; and in 186, he does with much Eloquence and Christian Charity comfort the Widow of the Pretor *Anatheus*, upon the Death of her Husband. This Letter may pass for a perfect Pattern of true Christian Consolation.

Athanasius Bishop of *Ancyra*, dying in the year 372, it follows that the Letter 53. of *St. Basil* which is addressed to him, was at least in the year 371. He complains in this Letter of the Conduct of this Bishop, who accused him of teaching Errors in his Writings, or subscribing to those of others. The Complaint of this Bishop, made *St. Basil* apprehend that some Heretick had prefixed his Name to his Works. He declares, That he had written against the *Anomæans*, and against those that say, The Holy Spirit is a Creature.

The following Letter is written to the Father of this Bishop, praying him to admonish his Son charitably, not to defame his Colleague without reason.

'Tis credible that the Letter 381, addressed to the Suffragans, was also written in the same year with the preceding Letters, and probably soon after *St. Basil* was a Bishop. He complains in this Letter, That some neglected to observe the Canons, and to follow the Discipline of the Church in the Ordination of Ministers exactly: He observes, that formerly none were chosen, but those whose Probity was well known, and of whom the Priests and Deacons gave a good Testimony to the Suffragans; and that neither were these Ordained until the Bishops of the Diocess were first advertised of it: He complains, That now the Suffragans did not write to the Bishops; and that they also permitted the Priests and Deacons to choose whom they pleased, without enquiring into their Behaviour. *From whence it comes to pass*, says he, *that there are many Ministers, and but very few who are worthy of their Ministry.* To avoid this Abuse, he ordains, That there should be presently sent to him a List of all the Ministers that are in the Villages, containing the Names of those which have been admitted, and an account of the Life which they lead; That they should be reduced to the Condition of Lay-men, who should be found incapable, and those who had been admitted by Priests since the time of the first Prohibition; and that for the future, none should be admitted but those whose Life and Conversation had been well examined. In fine, he declares, That those who should be admitted into the Clergy, without his Approbation, should be thrust down to the Station of the Laity again.

The 392. to *Amphilochius*, was written before he was made Bishop of *Iconium*, and by consequence towards the end of 371, or the beginning of 372. 'Tis written in the Name of *Heraclides*, an ancient Friend of *Amphilochius*. It acquaints him with the Life which he leads under the Conduct of *St. Basil*, and invites him to come and stay with them.

The 319. to *Innocentius* may be also about the same time. He refuses to charge himself with the care of the Eastern Churches, which this Bishop would have him to do.

'Twas probably in the same year that *St. Basil* undertook to build a Church and an Hospital in *Cæsarea*. Some would have hindered the going on of this Work; whereupon he writes to *Elias* Governor of the Province in Letter 372; praying him for leave to proceed in his Buildings. The 373, was written to the same Person in favour of a Receiver, who had neglected to send an Account of his Receipts. In the 305, which is to some Receiver-General, *St. Basil* determines, That an Oath should not be exacted from the Collectors of Taxes; because these kind of Oaths bring no great Profit to the Receivers, and accustom Men to make false Oaths. In the 304. he writes to the same Person, That the Monks ought to be exempted from paying of Tribute.

In the beginning of the year 372, *St. Basil* having found out the Frauds of *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, separated from him, and re-united himself to *Theodotus*. This Separation was begun by two Friends of *Eustathius*, called *Basil* and *Euphronius*, who were sent to *St. Basil*, as Spies upon him. These two Persons having created some Trouble to this Saint, he wrote about it to *Eustathius*, and prayed him to put a stop to the Disorder which they caused in his Diocess. This Letter is the 307, which I believe was written to *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, tho' some think that it was addressed

to another *Eustathius* Bishop of *Himeria*, to whom the preceding Letter is addressed. Some time after, *Eustathius* being invited to a Council held by *St. Basil*, not only refused to come thither himself, but hindered all those of his Party from going, and declared himself in his Discourses, and in his Letters, against *St. Basil*. He had also the Insolence to write him a Letter, wherein he declared, That he had withdrawn from his Communion, and published a Writing or Manifesto against him; wherein he accuses him of the Error of *Apollinarius*. *St. Basil* understanding these things, acknowledged, but too late, that he had too easily given credit to one of the greatest Cheats in the World. He began to commend the Prudence of *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*; and to reconcile himself perfectly to him, he wrote the Letter 196, wherein he gives him a faithful account of all that we have said, and testifies the regret he had for trusting to this Impostor. He observes, that he had published a Confession of Faith, which was perfectly agreeable to the Opinions of *Arius*, and accuses him of re-ordaining Bishops.

A Bishop of *Cilicia* named *Theophilus*, joyned himself with *Eustathius*, against *St. Basil*. 'Tis to him that Letter 310. is addressed; wherein *St. Basil* acquaints him, That tho' he had great cause of Grief upon his account, yet he would not cease always to remember him.

The Letter 81. to *Eustathius* the Physician, was written upon the Separation of *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*: For therein he testifies what Trouble he endured for the Separation of those who had withdrawn from his Communion; but yet he was obliged rather to suffer their Division from him, than do any thing against the Truth and against his own Conscience; because there was nothing more dear to him than the Faith, and Hope in Jesus Christ.

In Letter 82. to *Patrophilus*, who had objected this Separation to him; He shews him, that his Enemies were the Causes of this Division, and justifies himself from two Accusations which *Eustathius* had formed against him; Whereof the first was, That he had formerly written to *Apollinarius*: And the second, That he had received *Diodorus* into his Communion. With reference to *Apollinarius*, he confesses, that he had formerly written one Letter only to him; but he says, That he did not then believe him to be in an Error; That he could not be responsible for his Faults; And, That he had not read his Writings. As to *Diodorus*, he confesses that he received him into his Communion, as a good Catholic, being educated by *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, and who could be charged with nothing. He vindicates himself also from the Crimes that were imputed to him, in a Writing addressed to *Dazizus*; and at last, he accuses *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and describes his Life in such a manner as is very much to his disadvantage. *Patrophilus* having received this Letter, sent *St. Basil* word that he would not separate from him. *St. Basil* thanks him in Letter 85, and admonishes him, That for keeping peace, we must make choice of such Persons with whom we may be united; and that we are obliged to break with some Persons with whom Peace cannot be had.

But *St. Basil* did not only defend himself by Letters written to his Friends; but he wrote also a very smart Letter upon the same subject to *Eustathius*, which is the 79. There he gives an account of his Conduct and his Doctrine, during the whole time of his Life: He shews him, That he could not be accused without Injustice, for having written almost twenty years ago to *Apollinarius*: He takes *Eustathius* himself for a Witness of his Faith, and asks him, if he could accuse him of promoting any Error in the Conference which he had with him. He accuses him of being the Disciple of *Arius* and *Aëtius*. At last, he observes, That the true Cause wherefore he had made this Separation, was not because of the Letter which *St. Basil* wrote to *Apollinarius*, as is pretended; but because his Communion might be prejudicial to those who would acquire Favour and Authority.

'Twas at the beginning of this Year, that *St. Basil* wrote to his Brother *Gregory Nyssen*, upon a complaint that he had against him. He acquaints him in Letter 44, that he was surpris'd, that there were three Letters written to him, under the Name of his Uncle *Gregory*, which were none of his. He gives him to understand, that he would come and see him, and the Bishops his Friends, provided they would receive him Honourably. The 45 and 46, are to this Uncle *Gregory*, upon the same Difference.

The Letter 43, goes under the Name of *St. Basil*, and is addressed to the same *St. Gregory Nyssen*, in the Editions of *St. Basil*: But 'tis in the Second Volume of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, under the Name of that Father, and is addressed to their Brother *Peter*; and indeed, it has more the Style of *St. Gregory*, than of *St. Basil*. The Author of it, explains with much Subtlety, the Difference between the words *Hypostasis*, and *Essence*; and shews that *Essence* signifies that which is common to the three Divine Persons; and *Hypostasis*, that which is peculiar to each Person.

The Letter 263, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was written before Easter, in the Year 372. It contains excuses for not writing to him so often as he would. *St. Basil* fell Sick about Easter, and was afflicted with a Fever, which tormented

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St. Basil. mented him till Winter, as appears by the Letters 257 and 258, written at the same time, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and by 270, 271, to *Antiochus*.

This same Year the Persecution of the *Arians* was begun anew more fiercely than ever. St. Basil speaks of this Persecution in his Letter 5, to *Eusebius*, wherein he acquaints him, that 'twas raised against the Catholics of the Church of *Tarsus*, which was the Centre of Unity to *Isauria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; That the Church was ruined by desperate Persons, and that all things went on from bad to worse, while the Catholics were amused, and did nothing but look on.

Eusebius answered him, That they must write again to the Bishops of the West, to desire of them some Relief. St. Basil wrote also about it to *Meletius*, without whose Advice he would undertake nothing. This Letter is the 58, wherein he complains, that *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Tyana*, would have Ordained one *Fauftus*, in the room of a Bishop whom St. Basil had Ordained in *Armenia*. He sent this Letter by *Sanctesimus*, whom he charged also with a Letter to *Theodotus*, wherein he complains of the Ordination of *Fauftus*. This Letter is the 195. Afterwards he gave to the same Person three Letters; the First for the Priests of *Antioch*; the Second for the Monks of that City; and the Last for *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*. These Letters are the 199, 200, and 312. There is also a Letter upon the Ordination of *Fauftus*, addressed to *Poemenius*, Bishop of *Satala*, which is the 313.

A little while after, he wrote to *Meletius* the Letter 59, wherein having defended himself from the Accusation of *Eustathius*, who accused him of the Errors of *Apollinarius*; he says, that he had received information, that it was resolved at Court, to deliver him up to the Fury of his Enemies; but that this Order was suspended for some time.

He earnestly prays *Meletius* to answer the Letter which he had written to him by *Sanctesimus*, and to send him a Letter for the Bishops of the West, Signed by those who were united with him in Communion and Judgment. He signifies, that the Western Bishops must be Advertised not to receive into their Communion indifferently, all those that come from the East.

The Letter 273, to the Priest *Antiochus*, who was Nephew to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, which Father *Combes* believes to be directed also to *Meletius*, is upon the same Subject. He prays him to Order, together with the Deacon *Dorotheus*, what must be done for a Re-union with the West. He Counsels him to dictate the Letter himself, that was to be sent thither. He says, That he had Written some time ago to the Bishops of *Illyricum*, of *Gaul* and *Italy*, by the Deacon *Sabinus*; but he adds, That it would be convenient to send one into the West, in the Name of a Synod of the East. As to what concerns *Athanasius*, he says, That he is very well inclined to Peace; but he can do nothing, unless Letters of Communion be sent to him: Moreover, That he does ardently desire the re-union, and will do all that is possible for him to procure it. This Letter was written before Easter. He signifies, that he waited for his Answer.

'Twas at this Time, and upon this Occasion, that Letter 70, of St. Basil was written, addressed to the Western Bishops, wherein he prays them to Inform their Emperor of the miseries which the Orthodox suffered in the East, and to send them Deputies. This Letter was to be carried by a Priest named *Dorotheus*.

While Matters were thus ordered in the East, St. Basil, who was now recovering, as appears by the Sixth Letter to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, fell sick again in Winter. He speaks of this Sickness in his Seventh Letter, and excuses himself for not visiting St. *Eusebius* from the sharpness of the Winter, and the Death of his Mother. He deplores in this Letter, the unhappy State of the Church, and says, that some would have placed *Arians* at *Ancyra* and *Neocæsarea*, in the room of the Orthodox, but that at last, they had left the Churches in Tranquility.

In the mean time, *Evagrius*, a Priest of *Antioch* being returned from the West, brought a Letter, which he would have obliged the Eastern Bishops to Sign; saying, That those which they had written before, were not approved in the West. St. Basil having received Advice of this, wrote to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* by his Eighth Letter. There he speaks against *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and enquires if he was to be present at the Ordination of a Bishop for the City of *Iconium*, which had formerly depended upon his Metropolis, but did not now since the Division of *Cappadocia*.

He wrote also at the same time to this *Evagrius*, who was come from the West, and who had written to him, that he was suspected, because of his Communion with *Meletius*. St. Basil answered him by Letter 342, That he was very little troubled at what the World thought of him, but that he would labour hard for Peace; and exhorts *Evagrius* to do the same. He signifies to him, that he was troubled to understand by *Dorotheus*, that he would not Communicate with *Meletius's* Party. He declares to him, that as things now stand, he could not send any body into the West.

St. Basil. He writes the same account of the Journey to *Rome*, to that *Dorotheus*, whom he had charged with Letter 70. He could not forbear taking Notice, how angry he was with the Pope, and saying, that his Brother *Gregory*, was not a proper Person to be deputed into the West, because he was too simple to have any thing to do with a Proud Man; and one exalted in Dignity, who by consequence would hardly have Patience to hear him speak the Truth. This Letter is the 190. The Priest went to *Rome*; however, as appears by Letter 321.

In the mean time, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, who Passionately desired the Peace of the Church, believing that St. Basil neglected to labour in it, wrote a Letter to him; wherein he complains of two Things: First, That he had not come to see him: Secondly, That he had abandoned, as one may say, the Church to its Enemies, by his Slothfulness and Negligence. St. Basil answered him, by Letter 262, That he could not come to see him, because of his Sickness, and that the thing which hindered his good Success, was not the want of Care; but because the Bishops did not agree among themselves, about Matters of Consequence, and he alone could not regulate Affairs, since the Canons did not allow one Bishop alone, to make Regulations of this Nature.

The Letter 265, is almost upon the same Subject. He wrote to him, that he ardently desired Peace, but then it must be a Real one. He advises him to take heed of those that seem to be Catholics, and yet are not. He declares to him that he would never Communicate with those who did not receive the *Nicene* Faith, or who believed that the Holy Spirit was a Creature, because he was not willing to approach the Altar, with a Heart full of Dissimulation and Hypocrisy; that for this Reason, he had withdrawn from the Communion of *Euvippus*; That they ought to be Treated with all mildness, who had not received this Faith; That we should invite them to own it, and shew great Charity and Moderation to them: but that we ought never to be Trimmers, nor remain Neuters in Matters of Faith.

About the End of this Year, the Church of *Antioch* being afflicted with a rough Persecution, he wrote Letter 60, to comfort it. He proposes the *Nicene* Creed; as the Rule of Faith. He says, That the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was not there expressly determined, because it was not then directly opposed, but that we ought to condemn all those who admit a Creature in the Trinity.

The Letter 62, to the Church of *Neocæsarea*, is also of the same Nature; he Comforts it upon the Death of its Bishop. It was written before the foregoing Letter, and at the beginning of the Year. There are some other Letters of St. Basil, which probably were written the same Year 372. that have not so much reference to History.

We may place in this Number, the Letters 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, and 279, to the Governor *Modestus*, who began to be his Friend about this time. He prays him in this last, to preserve the exemptions of Priests and Deacons.

We may place also in this Time, the Letter 86, to *Bosphorus*, wherein St. Basil gives an account of the Difference which he had with his Predecessor, *Dianius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*. He says that he had not anathematized him, but that he was extremely troubled, when he understood, that this Bishop had Signed the Creed of *Constantinople*; and that for this Cause, he separated from him, but that he returned to his Communion before he died, when he declared, That he had Signed this Creed by Surprise, and without knowing any evil by it.

There is another Letter, wherein he speaks of this Bishop *Bosphorus*. It is Letter 300, addressed to the Nuns. There he confutes those who accused him of not receiving the *Nicene* Creed. He approves it, and yet confesses, that there are Catholics who do not allow of the Word *Consubstantial*, because they believe that it has an ill Sense. He says, That they ought to be pardoned, because this Term did very much displease the Bishops, who condemned *Paulus Samosatensis*. He explains the good Sense of this Word, and the distinction of *Hypostases*. Lastly, he proves the Divinity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

St. Peter of *Alexandria*, having Succeeded St. *Athanasius*, in the Year 373, St. Basil did not fail to write to him immediately after his promotion to the Bishoprick. This Letter is the 320. He Congratulates his Exaltation, and exhorts him to follow the Footsteps of St. *Athanasius*.

Soon after this, Peter was forced away; and the Church of *Alexandria* was Persecuted most violently by the *Arians*. Immediately, St. Basil comforts them in a Letter, wherein he deplores their Misery. This Letter is the 71.

Amphilochius was ordained Bishop of *Iconium* at the End of the Year 372, as appears by the Eighth Letter of St. Basil. 'Twas therefore towards the end of the last Year; or rather at the Beginning of this, that St. Basil congratulated him by Letter 393, and 'twas certainly in 373, that he invited him by Letter 344, to the Feast of St. *Eusebius*, which was September the 5th.

The 395, to the same, is also of the same Year. He acquaints him, that he had finished the Book of the Holy Spirit.

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The Letter 363, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was written before Easter of the same Year, during the sharp Winter-Season. *St. Basil* acquaints him that he was dangerously Sick.

Towards the end of this Year, *St. Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was banished into *Thrace*, and *St. Basil* wrote to him the Letters 9, and 251, to Comfort him in his Banishment; and the Letter 269, to his Nephew *Antiochus*, who accompanied his Uncle. The Clergy of *Samosata*, being troubled by the *Arians*, and by the Division of some particular Persons, he Comforts them, and exhorts them to Peace by Letter 280, and praises the Senate of that City, by Letter 294. He wrote also to *Otreus*, Bishop of *Melitene*, the Letter 316, where he speaks of the Banishment of *Eusebius*.

It was towards the End of this Year, that *St. Basil* wrote to the Bishops of the Sea-Coasts, and of the Isles, the Letter 77, wherein he complains, that they had sent no body to him for Relief in their Miseries, and prays them to send their Deputies and Letters of Communion. 'Twas also about the same time, that he wrote the Letter 322, upon the same Subject to *Elpidius*. We may place also in the same time, the Letter 87, which he wrote to a Heretical Woman called *Simplicia*, who concerned her self to make Remonstrances to him. He tells her with some warmth, that it does not belong to her to judge: That he expected his Judgment from God, He adds, That he should not want Witnesses to justify his Conduct, and that he would not make use of Slaves or Eunuchs, whose Testimony ought not to be taken. He gives a dreadful Character of the Eunuchs of his time.

We cannot find a year wherein we can better place, than in this, the Letter 184, to *Palladius*, and to *Innocentius*, Priests and Monks. He informs them, that he is a lover of Peace. He prays God to restrain the Authors of Division, and recommends himself to their Prayers.

St. Basil being recovered of his Sickness, which had tormented him during the two Winters of the years 373 and 374, went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, to regulate the Affairs of those Countries, as it appears by Letter 272. It was before this Journey that he wrote to *Amphilochius*, the Letter 396, wherein he acquaints him with his Disease, and prays him to delay their meeting for some Days; so it was also in the same Winter, that he wrote the first Canonical Letter to *Amphilochius*, which he could not send to him because of his Sickness; and *St. Amphilochius* having sent to him some more Questions, wherein he desired to be informed, *St. Basil* answered him by the Second, written in the beginning of the year 374. The last of these Letters was probably written towards the end of this year, after *St. Gregory* was retired from *Nazianzum*. We shall speak severally of these Letters.

The Affairs which he had in *Pisidia*, concerned the Churches of *Isaurus* or *Isauria*, which had been dismembred from their own Province, to be joyned to the Churches of *Pisidia* and *Lycania*. *St. Amphilochius*, who was Bishop of *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycania*, had written about it to *St. Basil*, and prayed him to come thither. This Saint, before he went into that Country, acquainted him by Letter 406, that he did well to take Care of these Churches; but yet he did not approve of the Design which he had of sharing them amongst many Bishops, lest the Dignity of a Bishop should thereby become contemptible. He says, that it would be better to chuse one Man worthy of a Bishoprick, who might take some Priests to his Assistance, than thus to divide a small Territory into many Bishopricks. He advises him to place Parish Priests in the Towns where there had formerly been Bishops, before any Bishop was Ordained, lest if there should be one Ordained before, he would not approve of this Regulation. In fine, he admonishes him to confine the Church of *Isauria* within its own Bounds. He adds, That the Affairs of the Church of *Nyssa* are in the same Condition, and that some of his Enemies were gone to Court. He subjoins a Question of Doctrine about the Opinion of *Philo*, who affirms, that Manna had all sorts of Tastes. He says, that this Opinion was grounded only upon a Jewish Tradition. He advertises *Amphilochius*, that *Sympius* had sent him a Letter of Communion, and that he had answered him. This Letter is probably the 398, directed to *Amphilochius*, but it could not be address'd to him, since it appears by this Letter, that he to whom *St. Basil* wrote, had been at difference with him, and was reconciled some time before, since he thanks him for his Reconciliation.

In all probability, it was about this Affair of *Isauria*, and some others of the like Nature, that *St. Basil* went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*; and in the beginning of the year 374, from *Pisidia* he went to *Pontus*, a Canton whereof called *Daxinona*, was furiously troubled by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, who had persuaded many Bishops to separate from the Communion of *St. Basil*. This Saint, thought to have found one of his Friends called *Hilary*, in that Country, but he was gone. He signifies in Letter 370, how much he was troubled, that he could not find him. He acquaints him also, that the *Anomaeans* and *Semi-Arians* hated him, and loaded him with Calumnies, because of some Writings that were falsely attributed to him. In his return he went to

see his antient place of retirement, near *Neocæsarea*, where his Brother *Peter* dwelt. The Inhabitants of *Neocæsarea*, believing that he was come to concern himself about their Affairs, conceived an Aversion to him, and accus'd him of many things. To refute their Calumnies and undeceive them, he wrote to them three Letters upon this Occasion.

The first, which is the 63, is address'd to the Clergy. He says, that they were to blame, to accuse him of Error, who themselves propagated those things which were asserted by none, but *Sabellius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*; that they could have but two Pretences for the Aversion they had testified against him; First, the changing of the way of singing of Psalms; and Secondly, the Affection which he had for those that profess'd a Monastick Life. As to the last Accusation, he says, that it was very much to his Advantage, that they had this Opinion of him, since there were Monks in *Egypt*, in *Palestine*, and in *Mesopotamia*; and Monasteries of Nuns in all Places. As to the singing of the Prayers of the Church, he maintains, that in that he followed the antient Custom of the Church; that on the great Festivals the People came before Day into the Church; that after Prayer they stood up to sing in two Chorus's, which answered one another; that thus the Night was spent in singing and praying; that at break of Day all the Faithful rehears'd the Penitential Psalms. He maintains, that this Custom took place in *Egypt*, in *Libya*, in *Phenicia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*. As to what they objected to him, that it was not in use in the time of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, he answers them, that the Litanies or the Prayers which the Faithful used at *Neocæsarea*, were no more in use in his time, than this Custom. He adds, that tho' he did not condemn them, yet he thought it more convenient to ask God's Pardon of Sins, by using the Words of the Holy Scripture, than employing those of Men's devising. He maintains also, that it cannot be proved, that the singing of Psalms was not used in *St. Gregory's* time. He blames them, because they themselves did not observe what this great Man did. He tells them, that he prayed with his Head uncovered; That he did not swear at all; That he did not reproach his Neighbour; That he did not bear Envy against him; That he was neither proud nor quarrelsome, &c. whereby he tacitly objects these Faults to those of *Neocæsarea*. Towards the latter end, he admonishes them to lay aside those Innovations that had crept in amongst them; to admit the three Hypostases in God, not to deny the Name of Jesus Christ, and not to misinterpret the Expressions of *St. Gregory*.

The 64, is directed to the most learned of this Church of *Neocæsarea*. There he describes the Occasion and Cause which obliged him to come near *Neocæsarea*. He accuses them of *Sabellianism*, because they admitted but one Hypostasis. He answers what they had said in a Letter address'd to *Anthimus*, wherein they alledged a Passage of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, who says, *That the Father and the Son were two by Conception; but one in Substance*. He maintains, That this Father did not say this, as an Article of Faith; That this Expression escaped him in the Heat of Disputation, and that he never intended to explain his Doctrine about the Mystery of the Trinity exactly, in a Treatise which was made for the Instruction of an Infidel. At last he asserts, that 'tis not sufficient to say, that there are three Divine Persons, unless it be added, that each of them has a particular Subsistence by it self.

The Letter 75, is address'd to all the Faithful of *Neocæsarea*, whom he treats with more mildness. He complains of them, that having given credit to the Calumnies which were published against him, they had separated from his Communion. He represents to them, That he was educated by his Grand-Mother *Matrina*, who had been amongst them, and had been instructed in the Doctrine of *St. Gregory* of *Neocæsarea*; and that since that time, he had never Patronized the *Arians*; that he had Letters from *St. Athanasius*, wherein he said, That those should be received into Communion, who returned from their Error. *St. Basil* adds, That he Communicated with all the Orthodox Churches, and to those that would not Communicate with him, were separated from the Church. In short, He does not refuse to be judged by a Synod. He would even submit himself to their Judgment, but upon condition that they should not lightly believe, but examine the Accusations that were formed against him, and his Defences. There is in this Letter a very fine Sentence against Calumny: The 20th. Letter to *Eustathius* the Physician, was also written by *St. Basil*, about the same time, to vindicate himself against those that accus'd him of teaching, that there were Three Gods, because he admitted Three Hypostases. He justifies this Doctrine, and proves the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter in some Manuscripts is attributed to *St. Gregory Nyssen*, and 'tis found among his Works; but 'tis rather *St. Basil's*, than *St. Gregory Nyssen's*, for it agrees better to him; the Style is more like his, and the Doctrine is different from that of *St. Gregory*; since the Author of this Letter maintains, That the Soul of *Sanniel* did really come from the invisible State to speak unto *Saul*; and *St. Gregory* expressly teaches the contrary in his Book of the Witch of *Endor*. In the 382, written to *Olympas*, he complains, that his Enemies had written against him, and had imputed

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imputed to him the Error and the Writings of *Apollinarius*. He confesses, That this Man was a Heretick. A Bishop named *Eulancius* had taken part against him with those of *Nepesarea*; but he came to himself at last, and wrote to St. *Basil*, whom he thanks by Letter 281. He defends himself also from the Calumnies of *Eustathius*, in Letter 346. to *Genesbius*.

St. *Basil* being returned to *Casarea*, received there Letters from the East, wherein they acquaint him, that *Paulinus's* Party had received a Letter from the West, which confirmed to him the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. This Letter so raised the Spirits of those of that Party, that they would have forced every body else to sign a Confession of Faith, that they might be re-united with them. They did also shake Count *Terentius*, who had formerly been of *Meletius's* side, and would have obliged him to consent to this Union. St. *Basil* being informed of this News, wrote immediately to him the Letter 349, to persuade him not to abandon *Meletius*. He says, That those of the West were ignorant of the State of the Eastern Churches, and that they knew not the Reasons which St. *Athanasius* had to Communicate with *Paulinus*. He declares, That he accuses no Man; That he desires nothing but Peace; That he congratulates those who had brought these Letters from *Rome*; but that he could not forsake *Meletius* and his Church, to joyn with a Party that had caused the Schism. Lastly, He refutes the Opinion of those of that side, who admitted but One Hypostasis in the Trinity.

He sent an account immediately to *Antiochus*, who was at *Samosata*, of all that had been done since the beginning of this year, and a Relation of what he had learnt from *Antioch*: This Letter is the 272. About the same time, the Priest *Dorotheus*, who was gone into the West, contrary to the Counsel of St. *Basil*, returned into the East, very much dissatisfied with the manner of Treatment that he had met with from *Damasus*; who reckoned *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samosata* among the *Arians*. *Peter* of *Alexandria* who was then at *Rome*, wrote about it to St. *Basil*, signifying to him, That he was troubled that he had received no News from the East, and that *Dorotheus* had not satisfied the Bishops of the West. St. *Basil* answered him by Letter 321, wherein having excused himself for not writing to him before, he complains of the Conduct of *Damasus*, excuses *Dorotheus*, and justifies *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samosata*. Some time after St. *Basil* advises St. *Amphilochius* by Letter 403, to send a Man of Gravity and Judgment into *Lycia*, to enquire into the Inclinations of the Bishops of that Country; because he was assured, that they were for the most part Orthodox, and desired nothing more than a reunion with them. He names to him those whom he certainly knew to be Catholics, to be first consulted. He thanks God that *Asia* was purged from the Poison of Heresie, and exhorts *Amphilochius* to take care of his Church. The Letters 402, and 403, to the same *Amphilochius*, are written in the same year, before the 5th. of September.

About the end of this year, *Demosthenes*, Lieutenant to the Pretorian Prefect, renewed the Persecution against the Churches of *Asia*. He caused a pretended Council to be assembled at *Ancyra*, wherein he procured *Hipsius* to be turned out, and *Ecdicius* the *Arian* to be Ordained in his room.

Demosthenes came afterwards to *Nyssa*, to force away from thence St. *Gregory*, whom he would have arrested, under pretence that he wasted the Church's Money. St. *Basil* thought himself obliged on this occasion to write for his Brother to *Demosthenes* in the name of all the Bishops of his Province. He gives him to understand, That if he would treat about the Money, the Treasurers were ready to give him an Account of it; but if he accused him of Ecclesiastical Matters, that he himself would examine it, and that he should not send his Brother to be judged out of his own Country. He wrote also the Letter 358. to *Abyrcus*, wherein he prays him to assist his Brother. This happened about *Christmas* in the year 374; for St. *Amphilochius* having sent Presents to St. *Basil* at the time of this Festival, St. *Basil* thanks him by Letter 404, and tells him, that his Brother was forced to fly.

Demosthenes was not satisfied with forcing away St. *Gregory Nyssen* upon the Accusation of a profligate Person; but called a Synod of the Bishops of *Galatia* and *Pontus* at *Nyssa*; wherein he got a Bishop Ordained in the room of St. *Gregory*. From thence the same Bishops went to *Sebastea*, to place one of their own Party at *Nitopolis* in the room of *Theodorus*, who was dead. They chose one *Fronto*, but the *Nicopolitans* would not receive him. This happened in the beginning of the year 375; and St. *Basil* wrote an account of it to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* by the Letters 264, and 265. In this last Letter he complains of the Pride of the Bishops of the West; and says, That their Faith was suspected by him, since they acted as they had done formerly, with reference to *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. In the Letter 205, to St. *Amphilochius*, he describes and deplors the Miserie of the Churches; and says, That *Asclepius* was killed because he would not communicate with Hereticks. And he does the same in the Letter 348. to *Elpidius*. He speaks also of the unhappy State of the Church in Letter 266. In Letter 297.

written to those of *Chalcis*, he exhorts them to continue firm and constant in the time of Persecution; He tells them, that it was violent in the East, and that it threatened *Cappadocia*. The Letters 298, and 299, to those of *Berea*, are upon the same subject, as well as 303; wherein he comforts the Monks that suffered for the Faith. He says, That their sufferings shall not be less recompenced than those of the ancient Martyrs. We must joyn to these the 326, and 327, addressed to *Barsus* Bishop of *Edessa*; who was banished, and the 306. to *Eustathius* of *Himeria*.

He wrote at the same time the 72. against *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, addressed to the *Edessenians*. There he describes the lightness and changes of this Heretick; and there he speaks of a pretended Council held at *Ancyra* at the end of the year 374.

The 73. is written against the same Person and at the same time; for there he observes, That it was now three years since he was accused by *Eustathius*. He says, That he was unjustly blamed upon the account of the Errors of a Person [*Apollinarius*] to whom he never wrote but once, and that it was now twenty years since he did it; That those who accused him, did it to please the Powers, to whom they are, and always have been devoted; That the true Reason why *Eustathius* and those of his Party were offended with him, was not because he refused to receive their Suffragans, as they pretended, but because they would please *Euzoius*; That they were joyned to the *Endoxians*, and called the Orthodox *Homo-ousians*, though they had formerly made Profession of this Faith, and had also presented it to the Synod of *Tyana*. Lastly, That they had destroyed the Churches which they had invaded. He concludes this Letter with a Profession of Faith, which rejects the Errors of *Arius* and *Sabellius*.

The Letters 190, 191, 192, are written to the People and Clergy of *Nicopolis*, to comfort and exhort them in the Persecution which they suffered during this year 375, after the Death of their Bishop. In the last he declares to them, that they ought not to acknowledge him for their Bishop, whom the *Arians* had Ordained among them, tho' he calls himself Catholic, which he cannot be, being Ordained by the Hands of prophane Persons, for the Destruction of the Faith: That this was his Opinion, which, if they would hold Communion with him, they should follow; Which he had written to them, says he, not that he distrusted them, but to remove the doubt of some, and that if any Person should get himself Ordained Priest by this Bishop, he should have no hope to continue for the future in this Dignity.

Poemenius Bishop of *Sarula*, went after this to visit the Church of *Nicopolis*, about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, and confirmed them in the Resolution of taking a Bishop, and counselled them to choose *Euphronius*, Bishop of *Colonia*. St. *Basil* approved of this Choice by Letter 193, and admonished them not to irritate those of *Colonia*, who were mightily troubled for the Loss of their Bishop. These he comforted by the Letters 290, 291, wherein, after having praised the Zeal and Affection they had for their Bishop, he shews them, that this Translation was necessary for the good of the Church, and exhorts them not to contest the matter with the Church of *Nicopolis*, since that Church was their Metropolis, and what respected it concerned them also. In the Letter 184. he exhorts the *Nicopolitans* continually to adhere and submit to the Bishop which had been lately sent among them.

While the Eastern Churches were tost with these Tempests, those of the West being at last moved with some Compassion for them, sent Priests to Comfort them, and to Testify, that they did sympathize with them in their Sorrows. St. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Cyprus*, who perhaps had seen the 77th. Letter of St. *Basil*, did the same. St. *Basil* thanks the former by Letter 74, which is written in the Name of all the Eastern Bishops, and he continues still to desire their Assistance, not so much against the *Arians*, as against those who under Sheep's cloathing were Ravenous Wolves, and rent the Flock of Christ in pieces without Punishment. He accuses Three Persons in particular. *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* is the First; and to render him Odious, he describes all his Life, and says, That he was instructed by *Arius*, and was one of his most wicked Disciples at *Alexandria*; That being returned to *Casarea*, and seeing himself condemned by his Bishop *Hermogenes*, he had signed an Orthodox Confession of Faith, and afterwards was Ordained Priest; but then after the Death of *Hermogenes*, he went to *Constantinople*, where he again made profession of *Arianism*, under *Eusebius*; That being driven out of this City, he returned into his own Country, where he was forced to retire; That soon after he was made Bishop purely by chance, and then he presently condemned the *Nicene* Creed in the Council of *Ancyra*; That the Party whom he joyned with at *Seleucia*, was known to all Men; That at *Constantinople* he consented to the Creed of the Hereticks; That at last being gone into the West, he carried from *Liberius* Communitary Letters to the Synod of *Tyana*, by means whereof he was restored; that it was not known what *Liberius* had obliged him to sign; but presently after he became the Patron of the Hereticks, who opposed the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and persecuted the Orthodox. The Second whom

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whom St. Basil accused to the Western Bishops, was *Apollinarius*, whom he spared more than he had done *Eustathius*; yet he says that he had very much troubled the Churches, because he had so great a Facility of Writing, that he had filled the World with his Books; That in so great a number of Writings, Some Errors could not but creep in; That what he had written of Theology, was not founded upon Scripture, but upon Human Reasoning; That he had written Fabulous Things of the Resurrection; That he hath so perplexed the Doctrine of the Incarnation, that few of his Acquaintance have retained the Form of ancient Doctrine, but on the contrary almost all of them have busied themselves with useless and contentious questions. Lastly, *Paulinus* was very much esteemed by those of the West; yet St. Basil spares him not, for he is the Third Person whom he accuses in this Letter. He leaves it to the Bishops of the West to judge, whether his Ordination was lawful or no; But he adds, That that which vexed the most part of the Eastern Bishops against him, was his following the Error of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whereby he maintained, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were but One Hypostasis. He desires Assistance of those of the West against those who followed these Three Men, and prays them to send Letters, wherein they might declare, That those who are of their Party ought not to be received into Communion, until they have renounced their Errors. He concludes with saying, that it were to be wished, that the Eastern and Western Bishops could assemble together to Consult about those things: but since the present juncture of Affairs would not permit them to do it, and a Business of this Nature would not admit any longer delay, they were content to send some of their Brethren to their Western Brethren, to inform them of that which could not be put into a Letter, and to invite them to assist the Churches of Jesus Christ. Father *Combafis* says, that it is observed in some Manuscripts, that this Letter was never sent; but we ought not to give much credit to those Kind of Observations made by Transcribers.

The Letter 325. to St. *Epiphanius*, is also Written to thank him, that he had sent some Priests to Visit and comfort the Churches of the East: he signifies to him, that his Carriage deserved so much the more acknowledgment, because it was a rare thing to find Bishops at that Time, who had Compassion on their Brethren. And because St. *Epiphanius* had written to him, that he was troubled for the Difference which was risen in a certain Country which he calls *Eleona*, St. Basil answers in this Letter, that he had reason to wish that this Breach were healed; but that he would not have such People made use of, who are fit for nothing but to embroil Matters, because they were not acted by the Love of God. ('Tis probable that he speaks of *Paulinus's* Party.) He adds, that there had been already sent into that Country, *Palladius*, a Priest of *Cæsarea*, and *Innocentius*, a Priest of *Rome*, to satisfy the Demands of those of this Country, and determine their Differences, which were probably about the Incarnation; That they had been told, that nothing must be added to the *Nicene Creed*, but the *Doxology* of the Holy Spirit; That he would add nothing about the Incarnation, because those questions transcended the Capacity of his Understanding. He sets it down for a Maxim, That when once Men depart from the Simplicity of Faith, by reasoning about it, then there is no end of the Dispute, and all the Questions which they Handle, serve for no other use but to trouble the minds of the Humble. Afterwards he exhorts St. *Epiphanius*, to joyn with *Meletius*, and assures him that St. *Athanasius* intended to do it, and that their Union was retarded only by the Malicious Counsel of some particular Person. He confesses, That he did not communicate with those that were after *Meletius*, that is to say, with *Paulinus*, and those of his Party, not because he thought them unworthy of his Communion, but because they condemned *Meletius*, in whom there was nothing to be reprehended. He praises St. *Epiphanius*, because he acknowledged Three Hypostases. He exhorts him to cause his Brethren of *Antioch*, to confess the same thing, if they had not already acknowledged it. He prays him to procure the Peace of that Church, by re-uniting the Two Parties. Last of all, he speaks to him about the Errors of a Sect of Hereticks, called *Magnesian*, concerning which St. *Epiphanius*, had desired of him some Account.

The Letter 55. to St. *Ambrose*, was at the same time, and probably was sent by the Deputies, who carried Letter 74, into the West. He writes to him, that he had known of a long time his Judgment, Learning and Virtue; That he blessed God for drawing from the Court, a Man illustrious for his Wisdom, his Dignity and Eloquence, to charge him with the Government of Christ's Flock. He exhorts him wholly to extinguish the remainders of *Arianism*, if there was any in his Diocese, and prays him to continue the Friendship which they had begun. These Letters are written at the beginning of the Year 376. 'Twas in this Year also that he wrote the Letter 293, to *Eulogius*, and to the other Bishops of *Egypt* that were banished into *Palestine*: 'Tis against *Apollinarius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whom he charges with the same Errors which he had spoken of in Letter 74.

The Letter 295, to the Monks, might also be at the same time, as well as the Letters 337, 338, 339, to *Ascolius*, of *Thessalonica*.

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The Letter 182. written also in the Name of the Churches of the East to the Western Bishops, was in the Year 377, or 378. For the Eastern Bishops who describe there in a most elegant manner, the Persecution which they suffered, observe that it had lasted 13 Years: But it could not begin before the end of the Year 364, or till 365. They implore in this Letter the Assistance of the Bishops of the West, which they declare they had in vain expected and desired for a long Time.

We refer to those two last Years of the Life of St. Basil, some Letters of Doctrine and Discipline, the time whereof is not certainly known, but which seem to be written towards the end of his Life. We may place in this number the 65, to those of *Isopolis*, which is written against those who affirmed, That Jesus Christ brought a Body from Heaven, reviving hereby the Error of *Valentinus*, and who attributed to the Divinity of Jesus Christ the Properties of the human Nature. He refutes their Errors, and proves that Jesus Christ had real Flesh. He speaks also of Redemption by Jesus Christ, and of the Fall of Man by the Sin of Adam.

The 195, to *Diodorus* then Bishop of *Tarsus*, was Written before the Second Letter to *Amphilochius* wherein it is cited at Canon 63. There a Question of Importance is handled, viz. Whether it be lawful for a Man to Marry his Wife's Sister after her Death? A Man of St. Basil's Diocese had done it, and alledged for his Justification a Letter of *Diodorus* who defended his Action. St. Basil answers it in this Letter, and opposes to *Diodorus* the Custom of the Church which did not at all permit it. He answers a passage of *Leviticus*, Ch. 18: which seems to allow these Marriages. He answers, I say, First, That though that were so, yet there are many things forbidden in the Gospel, which the Law permitted; and Secondly, That the Levitical Law does not indeed forbid, but neither does it positively allow these kind of Marriages. He adds, that if it is not lawful to a Son to Marry his Mother-in-Law, nor for a Father to espouse his Daughter-in-Law, neither ought it to be allowed to a Man to Marry his Sister-in-Law, no more than to a Woman to Marry the Brother or the next-a-kin to her Husband; because Man and Wife are so closely united by Marriage, that the Kindred of one become the Kindred of the other. He would not have them object that passage of *Genesis*, *Encrease and Multiply*, because it does not respect the New Testament. He observes, That Second Marriages are a Remedy against Fornication, and not an inlet to immoderate Lust.

The following Letter to *Parergorius* is upon a like Subject. He admonishes this Priest who was 70. years old, to put away a Maid that lived with him, as was ordained by the Canon of the Council of *Nice*. He protests, that tho' he should write to him an hundred Letters, he should always continue suspended from his Ministry, 'till he had put her away; and that if notwithstanding this, he would still intrude upon the Exercise of his Office, without amending this Fault, he should be Excommunicated, and so should those also that received him.

We may joyn to these two Letters, the 76. Epistle of St. Basil, to the Bishops under his Jurisdiction, wherein he reproves a thing which was practised by some of them, who under Pretence of Piety, received the Money which was offered them by those whom they Ordained. He condemns this Practice as Simonical, and threatens to depose those that should do it for the future. He observes, that those Bishops excused themselves from Simony, because they received not this Money before Ordination, but only after it. But, says he, to receive Money before or after, is always to receive it, and under what Pretence soever they do it, they always make a gain of Spiritual Gifts: Now to do this in the Church of God, wherein we believe, that we have the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; to do this there, I say, is a shameful Traffick. These are the very Words of St. Basil; I add nothing to them.

The 203, and 204, are addressed to those of *Tarsus*. In them he ordains, That the *Macedonians* in order to their Reception into the Church, should make profession of the *Nicene Faith*; and he anathematizes all those that believed the Holy Spirit to be a mere Creature.

The 244, is against a certain Bishop who neglected to punish a Rape. He enjoyns him to cause search to be made after the Maid; to restore her to her Parents; to declare him Excommunicated who had ravished her; to throw him out of the Church, him and his Family, for the space of three years; not to suffer him to be present at the publick Prayers; and in case he should skulk in some little Village, with the Woman he had ravished, and the Inhabitants would not deliver them, or would defend them, that then they also should be interdicted Divine Offices. In the 345, he speaks of a crafty Man, who being summoned before the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, defended himself with so much Eloquence, that he made himself pass for an innocent Man. In the 245. he speaks of the manner of Excommunication in his time; he

St. Basil. he says, That the Sinner ought first to be rebuked privately. Secondly, in the presence of two Witnesses; and lastly, ought to be accused to the Church; and if he did not then obey, he ought to be Excommunicated. He says, That his Soul was set upon it to separate this Impostor, him and all his Family out of the Church.

The Letter 289. addressed to *Cæsarea*, a Lady, is about frequent Communion. He begins it with declaring, that it is good and profitable to Communicate every day. He says, That in his own Church there was a Communion four times a-Week, on *Sunday, Wednesday, Friday* and *Saturday*, and also on other Days, when the Anniversary of some Martyr is celebrated; That in former times the Faithful themselves Communicated in their Houses, and that this Custom cannot be blamed. That it is still in use in *Egypt* and at *Alexandria*, where the Faithful carry the Communion to their Houses; That all the Hermits do the same thing; That we must believe, that the Priest having offered the Sacrifice, and distributed the Eucharist to those that are present, tho' they take it one after another in parcels, yet 'tis always the same. For, says he, in the Church it self, the Priest gives one part of it into the Hands of the Faithful, and they put it into their Mouth; and is not this the same thing, as for them to receive all at once many parts of it from the Hand of the Priest?

It was in one of the last years of his Life, that he invited the Bishops of *Pontus*, by Letter 291, to come to his Synod which he held at the Feast of St. *Euphysius*. There is also a Letter, which is the 337, wherein he blames one of his Suffragans, because he did not come to this Synod, and orders him to come thither for the future. In Letter 302. he commends a Lady called *Theodora*, whom he calls a Nun: wherein he observes, That 'tis an easy thing to embrace that kind of Life, which is conformable to the Gospel, but 'tis not so easy to observe it even in the smallest things, to do nothing but to please God, to preserve her Modesty always in all her Conversation and Behaviour, to eat no more but what is precisely necessary, and to keep nothing that is superfluous: That 'tis not sufficient to attain a perfect Humility, not to be lifted up when we are admired or commended, or when we have some Excellency either of Mind or Body; but in order to Perfection, we must preserve an inviolable Purity, we must pray continually and fervently; in short, we must have Charity for our Brethren, a contrite Heart and an humble Spirit; we must manage our Austerities with Discretion, and always have the Thoughts of a future Judgment present before our Eyes.

The 317. to a Bishop named *Optimus*, contains an Explication of that Passage of *Genesis*, *Whosoever shall kill Cain, &c.* where he first gives the natural Sense of it, affirming, that this passage means only, That whosoever should kill *Cain*, should deliver him from the Vengeance of God which was seven times more severe than Death. He enlarges afterwards upon the Mystical Sense, and upon the Signification of the number seven, which he takes to denote Remission of Sins. He finds out seven Sins in the Actions of *Cain*, and seven Punishments of his Sins. He refutes those that think that *Lamech* killed *Cain*, and says, That when 'tis said in *Genesis*, *Whosoever shall kill Lamech, &c.* the meaning is, that *Lamech* was more guilty than *Cain*, because that he having before him the Example of God's Vengeance against a Murderer, was not thereby deterred from this Crime. He adds another Mystical Explication, that for the Expiation of *Lamech's* Crime, there was not only a necessity of the Deluge which happened in the seventh Generation after *Cain*, but also of the Death of Jesus Christ which happened seventy seven Generations after *Lamech*. At last he explains that Passage of the Gospel, wherein *Simeon* tells the Virgin when he saw the Infant Jesus, *That a Sword should pierce thro' her Heart*; where, by a Sword he understands the Anxiety and Trouble of Mind, that the Virgin was to endure during the Passion of Jesus Christ. As these Explications will not be relished by all the World, so St. Basil gave them only for the Satisfaction of that good Bishop who had consulted him.

In the 323. to *Nectarius*, St. Basil admonishes him to hinder all Canvassing at the Election of the Bishops.

In the 335. he congratulates the Bishop *Sophronius*, because he continued in the Simplicity of the Faith of his Ancestors. He says, That to maintain this Simplicity we must revive the Credit of the Primitive Christians; but now there were few Persons that were free from Curiosity, and would confine themselves to that Simplicity of Faith, which teaches us to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the 340. he reproves a Suffragan Bishop, called *Timotheus*, for concerning himself about Civil Affairs, after he had embraced a Monastick Life. The 343. and 344. are addressed to a Monk called *Urbicius*; in the second he refutes the Error of those who affirm that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was changed into his Flesh.

The 383. to a Superior, treats of the manner how he should admit a Person who would make Profession of a Monastick Life: He orders him to receive him according to the Rules of the Holy Fathers, after he had taught him

to understand the Obligations, the Duties and the Troubles of a Monastick Life.

In Letter 387. he prefers the Creed of the Council of *Nice* to all the Creeds that had been made since that Council. He says, That it did not expressly determine the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, because no body had then expressly opposed it; and then he proves that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature.

In the 388. he informs *Callisthenes*, That he was not obliged to keep the Oath which he had made in heat of Passion to punish his Servants.

In the 391. to *Amphilochius*, he answers many Questions which this Bishop had put to him. First, he explains that Passage of the Gospel, *No Man knoweth of the Day of Judgment, but the Father only*; and says, that the Sense of this place is, that the Father knows it of himself, because he is the Fountain and first Principle of this Knowledge, whereas the Son of God receives this Knowledge from his Father, in which sense 'tis also said, *That there is none good but God only*. He explains in what sense the Scepter was always in the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' it be said, that *Jechonias* was the last of the Princes of *David's* Family. He refutes the Opinion of the *Encratites*, who affirmed, That it was unlawful to eat of some kind of Meats. He says, That the Triple Immersion observed in Baptism is a Figure of the Three Days that Jesus Christ was in the Sepulchre. He distinguishes *Essence* from *Subsistence*; He gives to the three Hypostases of the Divine Persons, the Names of Paternity, Filiation and Sanctification; He condemns those that admit but One Hypostasis, as being not far off from the Heresie of the *Sabellians*. At last, he says, That Corporeal and Temporal Goods, are not good in themselves, tho' they ought to be preferred to the Evils that are opposite to them: But he avers that God sends these good things according as he thinks fit for the Good of Men: That there is such a just Man to whom these Evils are necessary, that he may be just; and there is another just Man to whom God gives these Temporal Good Things for a Recompence; and there is such a Wicked Man to whom God denies them, because they would harden him; but there are other bad Men to whom he gives them in order to their Conversion.

In the 399. to the same Person, he says, That the Spirit of a Man is good of it self; but it can apply it self to Good or Evil, and to that which is indifferent; That 'tis given to it to know the Truth; That God is this Truth which it ought to know; And, that he is to be known as far as an infinite Being can be known by a finite Mind. This Letter is against the Error of *Aetius*, who believed, that the Essence of God might be perfectly known.

In the following Letter he proposes also one of the Sophisms of this Heretick, who thus objected to the Catholics: Do you know whom you adore? If you say that you know him, What then is his Substance? If you know him not; How then do you adore him? St. Basil answers, That the Attributes and Operations of God may be known, but we cannot comprehend his Essence nor his Nature: That by Faith we believe his Existence, which also may be known by his Power and its Effects, and yet both Faith and Reason teach us that he is Incomprehensible.

In the 401. he solves also another Sophism of *Aetius*, who ask'd Whether Knowledge were before Faith, or Faith before Knowledge. He answers, That Knowledge is the Principle of Faith, because the Existence of God is known by the Creatures; and Faith follows this imperfect Knowledge, as Adoration follows Faith. He proves also, that the Works of God and the Effects of his Power may be known, but that we cannot perfectly know his Essence. He explains many Significations of the Word *Know*. In the 408. Letter, he speaks of the Relicks of the Martyrs, as well as in 241.

In the 410. he says; That we ought to be content with the Faith, which we made Profession of at our Baptism, and to confine our selves to the Words that are taken out of the Holy Scripture for expressing it; That we should shun all new Expressions, because our Salvation does not depend upon the Words, but the Orthodox Faith.

The 412. is against a Deacon named *Glycerius*, who had got into Orders, to serve the Cure of a Church in *Venesa*, together with a Priest. This Deacon after he was Ordained had neglected his Ministry and had gathered together a multitude of Virgins, to whom he had made himself Patriarch: For St. Basil makes use of this very Term, and says, That he had taken upon him the Habit: St. Basil adds, That he did not this for Piety, nor Devotion, but to get Money; That thus he had disturbed the Church to which he belonged, and despised the Parish-Priest that Governed it: That being reprov'd for this Disorder by the Parish-Priest and the Bishop, he had fled with a Company of Virgins and Young Men, himself being at the head of them; That this happened when there was an Assembly of Bishops in the place, and that he had abused the Parents who demanded their Daughters back again. St. Basil prays him to whom he sent this Letter, who had written

St. Basil. ten to him in favour of this Deacon, to persuade him to return, to send back the Virgins, or at least not to detain those by force who desired to return. He promises also Pardon to *Glycerius*, if he returned with a Letter from him to whom he wrote, and a Resolution to behave himself more Modestly; if not, he declares him Suspended from his Function.

In the following Letter he still presses this Friend to procure the Return of *Glycerius*, and the Young Women whom he had carried away with him, and bids tell them, That they needed fear nothing. At last, in the last Letter superscribed to this *Glycerius*, he exhorts him to return, and promises to Pardon his Fault upon their Account that had begged it for him; and chiefly for the sake of his Parish-Priest, who had interceded for him. He declares, That he should lose the Dignity of a Deacon, if he absented himself any longer.

The 417, is written to a Judge, upon a Robbery that was committed in his Church. Some Garments of the Poor were taken away, and the Robbers were discovered by those that looked after the Fabrick of the Church; whereupon *St. Basil* condemned them to make Restitution. Nevertheless, they were accus'd before this Judge; and *St. Basil* wrote to him, That he had judged them, and that the Cognizance and Punishment of any thing that happened in Churches, belonged to Bishops.

The 418, and 419, are written to a Receiver of the Taxes, to pray to him to relieve the Poor.

These are all the Letters of *St. Basil*, which concern Religion; The others are Letters of Civility, of Recommendation, or Consolation, which have no respect to the Affairs of the Church; of which I shall here give you a Catalogue.

The Letters of Civility, of Compliment and Congratulation, &c. are the 83, the 142, and those that follow to the 164; the 169, and so on to the 181; the 120, and so on to the 244; the 248, 268, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, and 312; the 328, &c. to 335; the 341, 350, 351, 354, 355, 356, 359, 363, 369, 378, 384, 386, 389, 390, 407, 425, and 426, and the three Letters of *Libanius* and *St. Basil*, published by *Cotelerius*.

Those of Recommendation or Request, are the 11, 84, 215, &c. to 220, 221, 232, 236, 237, 247, 248, 267, 333, 352, 353, 357, 360, 365, 366, 367, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 380, 381, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428; and the two published by *Cotelerius*.

The Letters of Consolation are 186, 188, 189, 201, 202, 347, 362. I say nothing of the Letter to the Emperor *Theodosius*, published by *Cotelerius*; because 'tis evidently Supposititious. All these Letters are written very pleasantly, and they may be compared for their Style and Wit, to those of the most able Writers of Letters.

We have reserved the Letters of *St. Basil* to *Amphilochius*, to be particularly treated of, because they contain Decisions upon principal Points of Discipline, which are not to be considered as the particular Opinions of *St. Basil*, but as the Laws of the Church in his time: And therefore they are not written in the form of particular Letters, but after the manner of Synodal Decisions, which are called Canons.

The 1st. of these Canons is concerning the Validity or Invalidity of the Baptism of Hereticks. *St. Amphilochius* had asked him particularly, whether it was necessary to rebaptize those who had been baptized by the *Novatians*, or the *Montanists*? He answers him, That as to the first of those Hereticks, he should follow the Custom of the Churches where he lived; because there were different Opinions upon that Subject. As to the baptism of the *Montanists*, he believed that it could not be accounted Valid, and he wonders that the great *St. Denys of Alexandria*, who was so well skilled in the Canons, could be Ignorant of this Truth. To explain his Answer, he distinguishes Three sorts of Persons that were divided from the Church; The Hereticks who differed in Matters of Faith, the Schismatics who separated upon Points of Discipline, and some of the Disobedient Christians who withdrew from the Church. He maintains, that the Ancients were persuaded that the Baptism of Hereticks was absolutely Void; He adds, that the *Peperians* were Hereticks, and therefore their Baptism could not be Valid. As for Schismatics, he observes, That *St. Cyprian* and *Emilian* subjected them to the same Law with Hereticks, because being separated from the Church, they had not the Holy Spirit, and so could not give it. He seems also to like this Opinion well enough: And yet he adds, That since the Bishops of *Asia* had thought it convenient to admit the Baptism of Schismatics, he would not hinder it. But though the *Enekrates* were Schismatics, he declares, that their Baptism ought not to be approved, and that those ought to be rebaptized, to whom they had given Baptism, because they gave it with Precipitation, on purpose to hinder the receiving of it from the Church. Nevertheless he confesses, that if the contrary Custom were established, it ought to be followed; and that the Decisions of the Ancients should be observed. In short, he recommends this upon the whole Matter, That none of those who

returned to the Church, should be permitted to approach the Holy Mysteries, 'till they had received the Unction. [That is, 'till they were Confirmed.]

St. Basil.

In the 2^d. Canon, *St. Basil* condemns to a Penance of 10. years, a Woman that had procured an Abortion, and he judges her to be guilty of Murder, whether the Child had Life or no. He observes, that the time of Absolution should be regulated by the fervour of the Penance, as well as by the length of it.

In the 3^d. Canon he declares, That if a Deacon commits Adultery, after he has been received into the Order of Deacon, he ought to be turned out of his Ministry: but he would not have him put under Penance, nor separated from the Communion of the Laity, because we ought not to punish the same Fault twice, and a Clergyman is sufficiently punished by his Deposition, and so much more than a Layman who is deprived of Communion, because he can be readmitted afterwards into the Church; whereas a Clergyman cannot be restored when once he is depos'd: But in conclusion, the most Effectual Remedy of all Sins, is to forsake Sin, and abstain from Pleasure.

The 4th. Canon is concerning those that are many times Married. He condemns 3^d. Marriages as a kind of Fornication; and says, That the Custom of his Church, was to Excommunicate those who Married the third time, for Five Years; That in other places, they were only put under Penance for two or three Years. He enjoins the same thing to Bigamists, for one or two Years; though he would have neither the one nor the other reduced to the lowest Penance; but that they should be the first Years in the Rank of Hearers; and that the last Years they should partake of the Prayers, though they were still excluded from the participation of the Eucharist, till their Penance was finished, and they had given Signs of their Conversion.

In the 5th. he ordains, That Hereticks should be received who were converted at the Point of Death, provided they gave Signs of their sincere Repentance.

The 6th. is against Concubinage.

The 7th. is against Murders, Poisoning, Adulteries, and against other more infamous Crimes. *St. Basil* says, That all who are guilty of these Crimes, are to be treated with the same Rigor. However he thinks that we ought to have Pity on those who have done Penance for Thirty Years, and that we should receive them without delay; especially if they still bewailed their Sins, and gave signs of Conversion.

In the 8th. Canon *St. Basil* treats very largely of Murders, and distinguishes the different Kinds of them, as well those that are Voluntary, as those that are Involuntary. This Canon is more Curious than Useful.

The 9th. Canon is about Divorce. He lays it down as a Principle, That the Law of Jesus Christ is equal both to Men and Women, and that it does not allow of the Separation of a Man and his Wife, but in case of Fornication: But he says, That the present Custom is not altogether agreeable to the Law of Christ, because it does not allow Women to Separate from their Husbands upon any account whatsoever; so that it seems to excuse from Adultery a Woman that should Espouse a Man whose Wife had divorced herself; but on the contrary, if it was a Husband that quitted his Wife to Espouse another, that Man should commit Adultery, both he that Married to this last Woman, and she that was Espoused to him.

In the 10th. *St. Basil* is against Ordaining those who had Sworn never to take Orders, though there be, says he, a Canon which seems to permit it; but he observes, that we must consider the Form of the Oath, the terms in which it was conceived, the Disposition of the Person that made it, and all the lesser Circumstances, to see whether he is obliged by his Oath or no; and if no way can be found to dispense with it, then he ought not to be Ordained. After this, he explains a particular Question which had been propos'd to him by *Amphilochius*; as far as it can be discovered by *St. Basil's* Answer, it seems to have been this.

One *Cyrinus* a Priest of the Church of *Mindana*, whereof *Longinus* was Bishop, was obliged by Oath never to quit that Church; yet he was made Parish-Priest to a Village very near it, which was in another Diocese. *Longinus* seeing himself deprived of a Priest who did very much assist him, earnestly desired his Return, and said, That unless he returned to him, he should quit his Church. 'Tis also probable, that the Priest had some remorse of Conscience for having violated his Oath. *Amphilochius* demands of *St. Basil*, what was to be done in these Circumstances? and this Saint gave an Advice full of Wisdom, That they should joyn to the Diocese of *Mindana*, the Territory of *Musilia*, where this Priest was made Minister by the Bishop *Severus*: And he says, That by this means, he still belonging to the Church of *Mindana*, might fulfil his Oath, and might assist the Bishop *Longinus*, who had demanded him back again. He blames the Conduct of the Bishop *Severus*, who had acted against the Canons, in removing a Priest from one of his Brethren, and had made him guilty of Perjury.

In the 11th. Canon, he Ordains, That a Penance of 11 Years, should be imposed upon him who commits Murder, though it was done without any Premeditated Design.

In the 12th. he declares, That the Canons wholly exclude all Bigamists from Ecclesiastical Functions.

In the 13th. he says, That the Fathers did not punish as Murders those that were committed in War, because they judged that those should be pardoned who were obliged to defend their Country, their Life and their Honour; But he adds, That 'twas advisable for such as had their hands defiled with Human Blood, to continue three Years out of the Communion of the Church.

The 14th. imports, that if he who had been an Usurer, would distribute to the Poor all the Profit he had made by this shameful Trade, and keep himself from the Passion of Covetousness, he might be advanced to the Priesthood.

The 15th. and 16th. are not Canons which concern Discipline; but an explication of some difficulties about the literal sense of some passages of Scripture, which had been proposed to him by *Amphilochius*.

The 2d. Letter begins with Canon 17th. It contains a Decision in favour of one named *Bianon*, who was ordained Priest contrary to the Oath he had made. St. Basil says, that he had already made this Rule for the Priests of *Antioch*, that these kind of Persons should not publicly exercise their Priestly Function, but only in Private. He adds, That he of whom he there speaks, might have a Dispensation from this Law; because he was not at *Antioch*, but *Iconium*.

In the 18th. St. Basil observes, that the Ancients did not treat the Virgins consecrated to God who abandoned their Profession, more rigorously than Bigamists, and that they imposed upon them only a Penance of one Year; but he adds, That the Church and the number of Virgins increasing now every Day, it was necessary to treat them as Adulterers. He gives this Advertisement, that he speaks of Virgins which have consecrated themselves to God, and renounced Marriage; That their Profession should commence from such an Age, at which they were perfectly come to the use of their Reason; because no regard was to be had to such Promises as were made before that time; That we ought not to admit any into the Number of Virgins consecrated to God, but those who were 16 or 17 Years old, and even then after they had been tried a long time, and Passionately desired to be received, and that we ought to reject those who were brought by their Parents before they had arrived at this adult Age, before they had a Judgment sufficiently ripe, and before they could give any assurance of their fixed Resolution.

In the 19th. Canon, St. Basil observes, that Men make no Vow, no Profession of Virginity as Virgins do; That those who enter into a Monastical state, seem tacitly to embrace Celibacy; but to oblige them to it, it was necessary that they should be asked, and that they should make Profession of it: and then if they should pass to a Voluptuous Life, they should be punished as Fornicators.

In the 20th. he says, that we ought not to punish the Women that Married after they had made Profession of Virginity while they were without the Church, being Infidels, or Hereticks, or Catechumens; because we ought not to search after the Sins committed before Baptism, since that Sacrament Pardoned them.

The 21st. is also about the Difference which Custom had put between the Faults of Husbands and Wives. He observes, that a Man who is unfaithful to his Wife is not looked upon as a Fornicator, provided she with whom he committed the Sin was not Married; That the Husband cannot for this be parted from his Wife, though the Wife might be from her Husband, if she should commit the same Sin with a Man. He confesses, that 'tis difficult to give a Reason for this Proceeding; but he says, 'tis the Custom.

In the 22d. Canon, he obliges those who have forcibly carried Maids away, to restore them to those to whom they were contracted, or to their Parents; and declares, that they must not be received into Communion before they have restored them. He condemns those who detain the Women whom they have secretly or by force corrupted, to the same Punishment with Fornicators, which is to endure Penance for four Years; that for the 1st. Year they shall be excluded from the Prayers, and obliged to stand at the Church-Gate; that for the 2d. they shall be in the rank of Hearers; that for the 3d. they shall be in the number of Penitents; that in the Last Year they shall be present with the People at all the Divine Service, without being capable of partaking of the Oblation.

In the 23d. Canon concerning those that married two Sisters, he refers *Amphilochius* to that which he had written in his Letter to *Diodorus*, of which we have already spoken.

The 24th. is against Widows, who being received into the number of Deaconesses, Married afterwards. He would have them more severely punished than Bigamists, if they be above 60 Years old; but he excuses them, if they be younger, because it was the Bishop's Fault, to receive them too young.

By the 25th. Canon it is provided, that he who shall Marry a Woman after he hath abused her, shall be put under Penance, but he shall have leave to keep her for his Wife.

In the 26th. he declares, that Fornication is never Marriage, and that it cannot lawfully be the Beginning of a Marriage; and therefore it would be better to part those who have committed this Sin, than to Marry them together; but yet if they have a mind to Marry, they should not be hindered, lest some greater Mischief should follow.

The 27th. is upon occasion of a Priest, who through Ignorance was entangled in a Marriage within the Prohibited degrees. St. Basil thinks that he ought not wholly to be deprived of the Honour and Dignity of Priesthood: but he forbids him to exercise his Function, and would have him be satisfied with that place of Honour which is left him, without being able to give the Blessing, to distribute the Body of Jesus Christ, or to do any part of his Sacerdotal Function.

The 28th. Canon is against some Persons that had made a Vow not to Eat Pork. St. Basil says, that this Vow was ridiculous; and admonishes *Amphilochius*, to exhort those who made it, not to make any more such kind of Vows, and to allow themselves to Eat indifferently all kinds of Meat.

The 29th. is against those great Lords, who take an Oath to prejudice those that are subject to them. The substance of it is, that pains should be taken to correct this Fault; and the means to do it, was to teach them that they ought not to make such kind of rash Oaths, and that they ought to beware of executing the evil they have sworn to do.

The 30th. Canon is against Ravishers. St. Basil says, that there is no antient Canon that concerns them; but that his Opinion is, that both they and such as are Complices in their Crime ought to suffer Penance for three Years time.

The 31st. declares, that a Woman can never Marry, though her Husband does not appear, as long as she is not sure of his Death, and that if she does, she commits Adultery. The 36th. ordains the same thing to Soldiers Wives, who Marry again when they have no more news of their Husbands; yet he thinks them more excusable, because they have more reason to believe that they are Dead.

The 32d. ordains, that Clergymen who Sin mortally, should be degraded, but not turned out of Communion.

The 33d. That a Woman who takes no care of the Fruit of her Womb, and who is brought to Bed in the middle of the Street, should be punished as one guilty of Murder.

The 34th. That Women guilty of Adultery who voluntarily confess it, or are partly convicted of it, should not be defamed, lest their crime coming to Publick Notice, should be the cause of their Death; but that they should be ordered to stay out of Communion, till the time of their Penance be over.

The 35th. is, that when a Husband is forsaken by his Wife, it should be enquired whether there was an y Fault in him; and if there was not but she only was in the Fault, then they ought not to Deprive the Husband of the Communion of the Church, but only punish the Wife.

The 37th. is, that if a Man who had espoused another Man's Wife, Marries another Woman, after the former was taken away from him, he is guilty of Adultery against the first, but not against the second.

The 38th. is, that Young Women who follow those that have abused them, without the Consent of their Parents, are guilty of Fornication; And that though it may seem, that their Fault is made up when the Parents afterwards consent to it; yet they ought to be put under Penance for Three Years.

The 39th. That she who stays with him, whom she had committed Adultery with, is to be accounted guilty of the Crime as long as she continues with him.

The 40th. That a Slave who Marries without the consent of his Master, has committed Fornication; because the Contracts and Promises of all those, who are under the Power of others, are void without their consent.

The 41st. That the Marriage of a Widow that is free cannot be nulled.

The 42d. contains this general Maxim, that the Marriages of all those who are under the power of another without his consent, are not Marriages, but Fornications; and therefore, that the Marriages of the Sons and Daughters of a Family, are void without the consent of their Fathers, as that of Slaves is without the consent of their Masters.

The 43d. declares, that he who has given a Mortal Wound to another, is guilty of Manslaughter, whether he first attacked him, or did it in his own defence.

The 44th. That a Deaconess that hath committed Fornication with a Pagan, ought not to be Excommunicated, but only deprived of the Oblation for the space of Seven Years; after which she shall be received, if she lived chastely during that time.

In the 45th. He observes that the Name of a Christian will stand him in no stead, who leads a life unworthy of a Christian.

In the 46th. he says, that a Woman that without her

St. Basil. knowledge espoused a married Man, whom his former Wife was parted from, and afterwards separated from him, may Marry again to another; but that it were better if she continued as she was.

The 47th Canon is about the Baptism of Hereticks. It seems in some Points to be contrary to the first; but when the Matter is well examined, 'tis easie to reconcile them. He observes, That the *Encratites*, the *Saccophorians*, and the *Apotactites*, ought to be treated as *Novatians*. Now he seems to have said the contrary in the first Canon, where he affirms, that it was absolutely necessary to re-baptize the *Encratites*. This Difficulty made an Author of our Age believe, That a Negative Particle must be added in the Canon. The Reason which St. Basil alledges to prove this Proposition, seems to confirm this Conjecture; for he adds, That there are Canons which have regulated what concerns the former, tho' differently, whereas there is none which speaks of the latter. But after a full Examination of the Words of this Canon, I find that 'tis not necessary to change any thing in it. Take the true sense of it as follows: St. Basil says, That the *Encratites*, *Apotactites*, and *Saccophorians*, ought to be treated after the same manner as the *Novatians*: That is to say, That with respect both to the one, and the other, we must follow the Custom of the Church where we live; and the Reason which he gives for it, is, because there is no Rule and Determination about their Cause, since the Canons are found different about the former, and there is nothing ordered about the latter. He adds, That in his Country they were all re-baptized; but if this Rebaptization was forbidden in the Province whereof *Amphilochius* was Bishop, as it was at *Rome*; and yet he found the Reasons were convincing, which he had brought to prove that the *Encratites* must be re-baptized, then he ought to call a Council to make this Regulation.

In the 48th Canon he counsels Women divorced by their Husbands, not to marry again, since Jesus Christ hath said, That he who putteth away his Wife, except for Fornication, committeth Adultery, when he espouseth another, and is the cause of her committing Adultery, by marrying again.

In the 50th Canon he says, That the Laws do not forbid, nor punish third Marriages, and yet the Church looks upon them as shameful Actions.

The 3d Letter to *Amphilochius*, is also a continuation of Canons. St. Basil speaks in the Preamble of a Journey he had made a little before into *Pontus* about the Affairs of the Church. He thanks *Amphilochius* for the Letters he had written to him; he declares to him, that he desired to see him, and that he would do all that lay in his Power to come and meet him; but that perhaps he might be obliged to go soon to *Nazianzum*, because of the Departure of St. *Gregory* who was gone from it, tho' no body knew the Reason of his going. He acquaints him, That he of whom he had spoken before (probably to make him Bishop of some City depending upon the Metropolis of *Amphilochius*), was fallen sick; That there was no other Person that he could call his Eyes upon. He counsels him rather to put into that place, one whom the Inhabitants of the City desired to have, tho' he had been but lately baptized. He repeats what he had said in the 10th Canon concerning those that had taken an Oath that they would not be Bishops.

The 51st Canon ordains, that Clergy-men should not be otherwise punished for their Crimes but by Deposition, whether they were in sacred Orders, which are given by Imposition of Hands, or in inferior Orders.

The 52d is against Women that voluntarily suffer their Infants to perish.

The 53d ordains that a Widow-Slave that procures her being taken away forcibly to be married again, should undergo no other Punishment but that of Bigamists.

In the 54th he refers us to what he had said in the former Letter concerning involuntary Manslaughter; He adds, That it belongs to the Bishop's Prudence, to encrease or diminish the Penance according to Circumstances.

In the 55th he declares, That those who set upon Robbers, ought to be deprived of Communion, if they be Laymen, and deposed if they be Clergy-men.

In the 56th he imposes 20 years Penance upon voluntary Murders; and in the 57th 11 years Penance upon those that are involuntary. In the 58th he imposes 15 years Penance upon Adultery; In the 59th 7 years upon Fornicators. In the 60th he condemns Virgins who break their Vow of Virginity, to the same Punishment with Adulterers. In the 61st he imposes one years Penance upon him that shall accuse himself of Robbery, and two years upon him that is convicted of it. In the 62d and 63d he imposes the same Penance as upon Adulterers, upon those that commit infamous Crimes. In the 64th he imposes 11 years Penance upon Perjury. In the 65th he imposes the same Penance upon Poysoners. In the 66th 11 years Penance upon those that dig up the Dead. In the 67th the Penance of Murderers upon those that commit Incest with their Sisters. In the 68th the Punishment of Adulterers is decreed against those that marry their Kinsfolk within prohibited Degrees. In the 69th he ordains, That a Reader who shall have to

do with a Virgin to whom he was contracted, shall be deprived of his Ministerial Function, and become incapable of rising to a higher Order. He adds, That if he has committed this Sin with another Virgin than her to whom he was contracted, he shall be deposed, and that the same shall be observed with respect to other Ministers. The 70th ordains, that Deacons and Priests who have polluted their Lips, if they confess their Crime, shall be suspended for some time from their Ministerial Function. The 71st That those who shall be convicted of those Crimes without their own Confession, shall be punished as Malefactors. The 72d That those who meddle with Divination, shall be punished as Murderers. The 73d That he who has renounced the Faith of Jesus Christ shall not be received until the point of Death. In the 74th St. Basil tells him, That the time of Penance may be shortened to those who fulfil their Penance with Fervor and Humility. In the 75th he imposes 12 years Penance upon him that hath committed Incest with his Sister by the same Father and Mother; and says in the 76th That the same Law should take place against those who marry their own Daughters-in-Law. The 77th ordains 7 years Penance against those who divorce their Wives, and marry others. The 78th decrees the same Punishment against those who marry two Sisters, tho' at different times. The 79th condemns those that marry their Mothers-in-Law to the same Punishment with those that marry their Sisters. In the 80th he says, That the Ancients spake nothing of Polygamy, because they looked upon it as a brutish Sin, to which they thought that Men could not be subject; he believes it worse than Fornication, and he imposes upon those that shall be guilty of it a Penance of 4 years. In the 81st he imposes 8 years Penance upon those that being taken by the *Barbarians*, were forced by Torments to eat of Meats sacrificed to Idols; and 11 years upon those that did it without any constraint. In the 82d and 83d he condemns the Perjured, and those that meddle with Pagan Superstitions, to 6 years Penance. In the 84th and 85th he declares, That all those Canons are to be understood of those who are willing to do Penance and amend themselves; but for those that continue in their Crimes, we ought to have no Conversation with them, and never to receive them into the Church, lest we be Partakers of their Crimes. There is at the end of this Letter, a Fragment of another Letter of St. Basil, written to the same Person against the *Encratites*.

For observing some Order in the other Writings of St. Basil, we may divide them into three Classes. The first shall comprehend those that are upon the Scripture; The second, those that concern Doctrine; and the third, those that are about Morality.

Cassiodorus assures us, That St. Basil made Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Holy Scripture; of which there remains now but a small Number. The nine Homilies or Sermons upon the beginning of *Genesis*, are the first of his Works. St. *Jerome*, *Photius* and *Suidas*, mention them. There are added to those nine Homilies, two others about the Formation of Man, which at first were attributed to St. Basil, and afterwards were ascribed to his Brother St. *Gregory Nyssen*. But they cannot belong to this last, who has treated of this Matter in a particular Work: But there is no convincing Reason, why they may not be attributed to St. Basil upon the Credit of ancient Manuscripts. 'Tis true that those Authors we have just now cited, mention but nine Homilies of St. Basil upon the *Hexameron*; and that *Cassiodorus* observes, That he did not explain what concerns the Creation of Man; but perhaps those Authors had not seen these two Homilies, which St. Basil composed long after the others. Besides, let Men say what they please, these have the Style of St. Basil, and are like enough to the first, tho' they are not altogether so large. After these Homilies, there ought to follow the 30th Homily about Paradise.

Cotelerius has published in Greek in his first Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, a Homily upon these Words in the 6th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *Suffer not your selves to be overwhelmed with Sleep*, which is not unworthy of St. Basil, and has his Style and Air.

The first of the 22 Homilies upon some Psalms, which is a Preface to all the Psalms, is wholly the same with the Latin Preface, that is prefixed to St. *Austin's* Commentaries upon the Psalms: Either therefore we must say, That St. *Austin's* Preface was translated into Greek; or rather, That St. Basil's was translated into Latin, and plac'd at the beginning of St. *Austin's* Commentaries. These Homilies are quoted in *Niceta's Catena*; and by some others; and there is no doubt but they are St. Basil's. Yet Father *Combes* rejects the second Homily upon Psalm 28, which is an Abridgment and Repetition of the preceding, and which is wanting in many Manuscripts. He passes also the same Judgment on that upon Psalm 37; and he affirms, that the Style of it is different from that of the others. In some Latin Editions of St. Basil, there are published under the Name of St. Basil, Commentaries upon the Psalms; but 'tis plain they are none of St. Basil's, because they are Extracts out of St. *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret*.

St. Basil.

The Commentary upon the first six Chapters of *Isaiab*, seemed doubtful to *Erasmus*, because he thought that they were written in another Stile. *Tilmannus* who has translated them into Latin, has undertaken to defend them against the Conjecture of *Erasmus*; and he proves that they are this Father's by the Authority of four Modern Greek Authors, which are *Metaphrastes*, *Antonius*, *Maximus*, and *St. John Damascene*. *Fronto Ducens* adds to these four, the Patriarch *Tarasius*, in his Epistle to Pope *Adrian*, and the Author of the Greek *Scholia*, upon the Epistles of *St. Paul* attributed to *Oecumenius*. The Authority of these Modern Greeks would be of no great Moment, if this Work had evident Marks of Forgery, or if the Stile of it were altogether different from that of *St. Basil*; but it must be confessed, that tho' it is not so elegant as the Work of the Creation, yet it is not much different from the Stile of *St. Basil*, neither is it unworthy of this Father. *Rivet* has found in it a difference of Opinion, which might make it be rejected, if it were more considerable. He observes, That *St. Basil* in his Letter 80. to *Eustathius* the Physician, affirms that the Witch of *Endor* made the Soul of *Samuel* really to return, whereas the Author of this Commentary upon *Isaiab*, on Ch. 8. affirms, That it was the Devil who assumed the Shape of *Samuel*. Some have answered, That this Epistle to *Eustathius*, was *St. Gregory Nyssen's*, but we have shewn, that 'tis rather *St. Basil's*. Therefore all that can be said is this, That *St. Basil* might change his Opinion about a thing of so small Consequence as this is.

The second Class of *St. Basil's* Works comprehends his Dogmatical Books. The first of these Discourses are the Books against *Eunomius*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Jerome* and *Photius*, all assure us, That he wrote against this Heretick, but they say nothing of the Number of the Books. We have at present five of them. The three first are written in the same Stile and after the same Method, and there can be no doubt but they are *St. Basil's*. The two last are more dry and scholastical; but we ought not to wonder at that. In the first he overthrows the principal Arguments of *Eunomius*; and in these two last, he insists upon the Refutation of the subtleties and sophistical Arguments of this Heretick upon many Passages of Holy Scripture, as he had promised to do in the second Book. There is no Cause therefore to reject these Books as supposititious. They were quoted as Genuine by the Greeks and Latins in the Council of *Florence*.

The Book of the Holy Spirit to *Amphilochius*, is that Treatise of all the Works of *St. Basil*, which most of all Displeases the Protestants; because it contains such things as do not favour them. *Erasmus* who took great Liberty to condemn every thing that did not please him, made no scruple to reject this, in the Preface which he prefixed to his Version. He was wearied with translating it, and the Stile appeared to him perplexed in several Places. These are the Reasons on which he grounds his Judgment about this Book to which he had added many things in the same Preface; That tho' 'tis true, that there are some things in it, which are not unworthy of *St. Basil*, and which sufficiently discover that they belong to him; yet there are other things in it which are none of his. The greatest part of Protestant Criticks, being dissatisfied with that necessity of Tradition which this Book evidently proves, have gladly received this Opinion of *Erasmus*, and have also added some other Conjectures of their own to his, to reject this Book entirely. Nevertheless, *Casaubon* being more impartial than the rest, has plainly declared in his Writings against *Baronius*, that he was not of *Erasmus's* Opinion. And indeed 'tis certain that *St. Basil* did write a Treatise of the Holy Spirit; he says it himself in his Letters. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of it. *St. Jerome* and *Suidas* mention it. *Theodoret* quotes that Book which we have at this Day, in his first Dialogue, and in the Refutation of the Anathematisms of *St. Cyril*. After this Author, *St. John Damascene* in his third Discourse of Images, the II. *Nicene Council*, Act. 4. *Photius* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Burchardus* in the *Decretals*, *Euthymius Zygabenus* in his *Panoplia*, *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Anastasius of Nice* Quest. 84, and *Nicophorus* B. XII. Ch. 20. quote it also. Moreover, the Reasons of *Erasmus* are very weak: For first he accuses the Author of this Work of raising his Stile too high, as if this were not ordinary with Authors, and particularly with Writers of Controversy. He reproves him for discovering his Ability in the Logick of *Aristotle* and *Porphyrie*. Could he do otherwise, having to do with Adversaries which made use of these Arms? Lastly, *Erasmus* affirms, That the Stile is different from *St. Basil's*; but he pronounces this Sentence upon slight Grounds, and without a sufficient Examination of the Matter; for those who read this Work, find no such difference of Stile in it; but on the contrary they find a great agreement between it and his other Books. *Scultetus* pretends, that what this Author says of the Authority of Tradition, is contrary to the Doctrine of *St. Basil*; but it is a Groundless Allegation. Neither is it true, that he lays down in this Book other Positions than those which he has explained in other places, concerning the descent of Christ into Hell, and concerning Baptism. If *Scultetus* had

well considered what he affirmed with so much boldness, he would have changed his Opinion.

No body doubts but the two Books of Baptism are *St. Basil's*, tho' they be not cited by the Ancients.

The Book of Virginitie has the Stile of *St. Basil*, and what *St. Gregory Nazianzen* says of *St. Basil's* Writings concerning Virginitie, does perfectly agree to it. It is also cited by *Suidas*. Yet Mr. *Hermant* believes it supposititious, because it is address'd to *Letorius* Bishop of *Melitine*, since while *St. Basil* was living, that See was possess'd by *Otreius*, who lived after the Council of *Constantinople*, as appears by the Law which the Emperor *Theodosius* made after this Council. It may be said, that *Letorius* was his Predecessor; but there is more probability that he succeeded to him. Either therefore we must say, that the Dedication of this Book is corrupted, and then we must read *Otreius* for *Letorius*, or else that *Letorius* was not yet Bishop.

Among the 31 different Homilies of *St. Basil*, there are 11 of them which are Dogmatical: viz. The 9th. wherein he proves that God is not the Author of Sin; The 12th. upon the beginning of the Proverbs; The 15th. concerning Faith; The 16th. upon the Beginning of the Gospel of *St. John*; The 17th. upon Baptism; The 25th. of the Human Birth of Jesus Christ; The 27th. against the *Sabellians*, the *Anomeans* and the *Arians*; The 28th. against those who accuse us of Worshipping three Gods; The 31st. of Free-will. All these Homilies have *St. Basil's* Stile, and no Body doubts but they are his.

But there is more Difficulty about *St. Basil's* Books of Morality. *St. Jerome* and *Suidas* mention in general the Asceticks of this Father; but *Sozomen*, Ch. 15. B. III. of his History, says, That they were written by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*. On the contrary, *Photius*, Vol. 191, of his *Bibliotheca*, attributes to *St. Basil*, the great Rules, small Rules, and their Prefaces.

The Ascetical Books attributed to *St. Basil*, are as follow. The First is a Discourse which may serve as a Preface and Introduction to all his Ascetical Discourses. The Second is a Treatise about the Monastical state, and the renouncing the things of this World. The Third is a Discourse of the Ascetical Life. The Fourth is a Treatise of Faith. The Fifth is a Treatise of the Judgment of God, and a little Preface which in some Manuscripts, makes a part of the Book about Faith. We must also add two other little Discourses published by Father *Combesis*, in the Second Volume of *St. Basil*, Restored. These Tracts are as preliminaries to the great Ascetical Treatises, which are his *Morals*, the *Ascetical Book*, the *Great Rules* explained very largely, which are in number 55, the *Little Rules* abridged, which are continued unto number 313, some Canons concerning the Punishment of Monks and Nuns, and the Monastical Constitutions. To these Books we may joyn his Epistle to *Chilo*, and the following Letters, as well as 411, and some others which concern the Monastical State, of which we have spoken among the Letters of *St. Basil*. 'Tis not certain whether all these Books that we have mentioned be *St. Basil's*; but 'tis agreed on all hands that the Constitutions, and the Ascetical Treatises are his: But many adhere to the Testimony of *Sozomen*, who attributes the Little Rules, and also the Great ones to *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*. Yet I see nothing which can confirm this Opinion, and it seems to me that they bear so great a Relation to the other Ascetical Works of *St. Basil*, that it may be affirmed with much probability, that they all belong to the same Author. *Ruffinus* who has made an Abridgment of them attributes them to *St. Basil*: They are cited under his Name in the 5th. Council; and in short, *Photius* acknowledges all these Treatises for Genuine. Even in his time they made but one Body divided into two Parts: The First contained the Discourse of Judgment, and that of Faith which is a Continuation of it: The Second Part contained the *Morals*, the 55 Great Rules, the 313 Short Rules, and the Titles of these Rules. This shews that all these Books belong to the same Author, and that they compos'd but one Book, entituled *Asceticks*, whereof the first Part is not entire. As to the three Discourses which precede that which is entituled, *Of Judgment*, they are distinct Treatises which have no Relation to the other Ascetical Books: The Treatise of Judgment ought to precede that of Faith, and both the one and the other are a Preface to the Asceticks. The Book of a Monastick Life, and the Constitutions are distinct Works, as well as the Rules concerning the Punishment of Monks.

Of the Moral Homilies, the first is that about Fasting, cited by *St. Austin* in the first Book against *Julian*, where he recites also some other Passages which this Heretick had taken out of a Treatise of *St. Basil* against the *Manichees*, which we have not at present. The second Homily of Fasting, which *Erasmus* has condemned too slightly, is cited by *St. John Damascene* and by *Euthymius*. The third Homily upon the same Subject published by *Cotelerius*, is not unworthy of *St. Basil*, tho' it be not so Elegant. The Fourth Homily is upon these Words, *Take heed to your selves*. The Fifth is concerning Thanksgiving, which some have believed not to be *St. Basil's*. The Sixth is upon these Words, *I will pull down my Barns*. The Seventh to Rich Men.

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The Eighth upon Famine and Barrenness. The Tenth of Anger. The Eleventh of Envy. The Twelfth upon the beginning of the Proverbs. The Thirteenth contains an Exhortation to Baptism. The Fifteenth is upon Drunkenness. The One and Twentieth was recited at *Laciza*. The Two and Twentieth of Humility. The Three and Twentieth, that we ought not to set our Hearts upon the things of this World. The Four and Twentieth prescribes Rules to Young People about reading Prophane Books: And the Eight and Twentieth is of Penance. To these we may add the Panegyricks, which are the Panegyrick of the Holy Martyr *Juliza*, that of St. *Gordus*, and that of St. *Mamas*. There is also one upon *Barlaam* a Martyr of *Antioch*; but it has more of the Style of St. *Chrysostom* than of St. *Basil*; and 'tis more probable, that it was recited at *Antioch*, where the Memory of St. *Barlaam* was held in singular Veneration, than at *Cæsarea* of *Cappadocia*.

The 24 Moral Homilies collected by *Simcon Logothera*, are Extracts out of several places of St. *Basil*.

The Latin Discourse of Consolation, and the Advertisement to his Spiritual Son, seem to me, to have neither the Style nor Genius of St. *Basil*. The Treatise of the Praises of a Solitary Life, is taken out of the Treatise of St. *Peter Damian*, upon *Dominus vobiscum*. I say nothing of the Grammar attributed to St. *Basil*, which is an Abridgment of Grammar by a Modern Greek.

There remains now no more but the Liturgies attributed to this Father, which are three in Number. The First is in Greek, and Printed by *Morellus*. The Second was translated from the Syriack, and published by *Masius*. The Third was translated from the Arabick by a *Maronite* of Mount *Libanus*. But tho' 'tis certain that St. *Basil* compos'd a Liturgy, as St. *Proclus*, the Council in *Trullo*, and *Leontius*, assure us: Yet it cannot be positively affirmed, that any one of those which we have is the Liturgy of that Father, as he compos'd it: On the contrary, there is great probability, that it has not been preserved in its Purity, and that many things have been added and changed in it, as usually happens to those kind of Works. It is observed also, that *Petrus Diaconus* cites a Famous Prayer taken out of the Liturgy of St. *Basil*, which is not to be found in any of those Liturgies, which now go under his Name.

The Homilies of St. *Basil* upon the six Days of Creation, are in *Photius's* Judgment the most Excellent of all his Works. And indeed, he handles this Matter in a very grateful manner; they are filled with many Embellishments of Rhetorick, with agreeable Descriptions, sublime thoughts, curious and Learned Remarks, and solid Reflexions. He explains the Words of Holy Scripture literally, without having recourse to Allegories; and yet he sets off this Explication with so many Ornaments, that 'tis very delightful. He resolves many Questions about the Nature and Difficulties of *Moses's* Relation: He intermixes from time to time some Moral thoughts. It appears that he preached these Sermons to his People in the Afternoons.

The Homily of a Terrestrial Paradise, is also a continuation of this Work; he describes it most Eloquently, and understands it in a Spiritual Sense of a State of Righteousness and Holiness.

In the Homily upon the Words of the Proverbs, *Give no sleep unto your Eyes*, published by *Cotelerius*, St. *Basil* exhorts to watchfulness, and the practice of Good Works.

His Homilies upon the Psalms are Written in the same Style, but they are more filled with Morality. He departs sometimes from the Literal Sense, and does not always apprehend the true Sense of the Prophet. Yet he does not make use of obscure and forced Allegories; but all that he says is Intelligible, Natural, Useful, and Pleasant. The Commentary upon *Isaiah*, is not so lofty, nor so full of Morality, but 'tis very Intelligible and very learned.

The Five Books against *Eunomius*, are a most compleat Work of Controversy; he recites the Arguments and Words of this Heretick, and refutes them very solidly and very clearly.

In the Two first Books, he refutes the principal Arguments which this Heretick used to prove that the Son was not like to his Father. He Answers them very clearly, and discovers the Falshood of this Heretick's reasonings.

In the Third he answers the Objections which he made against the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

In the Fourth he proves, that the Son of God is not a Creature, but is truly God.

And Lastly, in the Fifth he proves the same thing of the Holy Spirit.

He handles the most Intricate matters of Theology, in a manner very learned and Profound, and yet without perplexing and entangling them with the Quirks, the Difficulties and Terms of the Schoolmen.

He proves also the Trinity of Divine Persons, and their Equality, in the 16th. Homily upon the beginning of the Gospel of St. *John*, and in the Book against the *Sabellians*.

He particularly Establishes the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, in the Treatise of the Holy Spirit, addressed to *Amphilochius*. He compos'd it upon occasion of a complaint that some Persons had made against him, that at the conclusi-

on of his Sermons he had said, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost*, instead of saying as some do, *In the Holy Ghost*. *Amphilochius* had asked him the proper Signification of these Terms, and the difference between the one and the other Expression. St. *Basil* commends him for this Exactness, and observes that 'tis very useful to search out the proper Sense of the Terms and Expressions which we use.

In the 2d. Chapter he makes this Observation, that those who will use different Terms in Glorifying the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, do it for no other end, but to conclude from thence the Dissimilitude and Inequality of the Three Persons of the Trinity.

In the 3d. Chapter he shews, that the difference of these Terms, of *whom*, by *whom*, and in *whom*, have no place but in Philosophy, and we ought not to use them when we speak of the three Divine Persons.

In the 4th. he shews, that this Particle, of *whom*, signifies in Scripture the Efficient Cause, since 'tis said that all things are of God.

In the 5th. he shews, that the Scripture says of the Father, by *whom*, and of the Son, of *whom*, and that it uses the same expressions when it speaks of the Holy Ghost.

In the 6th. he answers those who affirm, That we cannot say, the Son of God is *with* his Father, because he is *after* his Father. St. *Basil* maintains, that the Son of God is not at all inferiour to the Father, neither in respect of Time, nor in respect of the place he holds, nor in respect of Honour and Glory, being Eternal as the Father, Infinite as the Father, and having a Glory and Majesty equal to that of the Father.

In the 7th. he proves that this Expression, *with the Son*, is not new; That the Church has used it to denote the Majesty of his Divine Nature, as she has also used that other, *by the Son*, to signify the access which we have to God the Father by his Son, and therefore we ought to use the former Expression when we sing the Praises of God; and the latter when we thank him for the Favours he has done us.

He explains this Distinction in Ch. 8. and there he recites many Names of Jesus Christ.

In 9th. he explains his Judgment concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which he received by Tradition, and which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. He proves that the Holy Spirit is a Spiritual Person, Eternal, Infinite, Unchangeable, &c. who strengthens us, and gives us life by his Gifts.

In the 10th. and 11th. he refutes those that would not joyn the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son. He proves the contrary by the Institution of Baptism; and accuses those that would not add the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son, Of Violating the saving Sacrament of Baptism; Of Prevaricating in the Vow which they had made, and of Revolting from the Religion which they had once professed.

In Chapter 12th. he answers the first Exception of his Adversaries, who said, that Baptism given in the Name of Jesus Christ was sufficient. St. *Basil* answers, First, that the Name of Jesus Christ denotes the whole Trinity, because it signifies the Anointed of the Lord. Now he says, that the Word *Anointed*, designs him that does Anoint, and him by whom he is Anointed. Secondly, that Faith is inseparable from Baptism, because Faith is perfected by Baptism, and Baptism supposes Faith; That the Profession of Faith precedes Baptism, which is as it were the Seal of it. Lastly, he maintains that 'tis not sufficient to Baptize in the Name of Jesus Christ, but that we must invoke the three Persons of the Godhead according to Inviolable Tradition, and that we ought to add nothing to, nor take any thing from this Invocation.

In the 13th. he refutes a Second answer of his Adversaries, who say, that tho' the Holy Spirit were oftentimes in Scripture joyned to the Father and the Son, yet it would not follow from thence, that he was equal to them, since the Angels are there sometimes joyned with God. St. *Basil* answers, that there is a great Difference between the manner in which the Scripture speaks of Angels, and of the Holy Spirit, because it considers the former merely as Ministers, whereas it considers the Holy Spirit as the Fountain of Life, and joyns him with the Father, because of the Unity of Essence.

In the 14th. he resolves also a third Difficulty: It was objected to him, that tho' Men be re-baptized in the Name of the Holy Spirit, yet it does not follow, that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son, since 'tis also said in Scripture, that they were all baptized into *Moses* in the Cloud. St. *Basil* answers, that this Expression of St. *Paul*, signifies not only, that *Moses* and the Cloud were the Figure of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, but that the Truth is much more Excellent than the Type.

In the 15th. he answers a fourth Sophism: We are baptized in Water, said the Hereticks, and yet we do not Honour the Water as the Father and the Son. St. *Basil* answers, that this Objection is ridiculous, and that those who make it are mad; that 'tis not the Water that Bap-

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St. Basil. tizes us but the Spirit; that the Water indeed is joyned with the Spirit, as the Sign of the Death and Burial of the Old Man, but that 'tis the Spirit who gives a new Life; That Baptism is administered by dipping three times into the Water, and by invoking the Trinity three times, to signify our dying to Sin, and the giving of Life; That the Baptism of Jesus Christ is very different from that of St. John, which was only the Baptism of Water, whereas that of Jesus Christ is the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and of Fire. Last of all, he says, that the Martyrs who suffered Death for Jesus Christ, needed not the Baptism of Water in order to their receiving the Crown, being baptized in their own Blood. He speaks also in this place of the Fire of the Day of Judgment, which he calls the Baptism of Fire, that shall try all Mankind.

In the 17th. and 18th. he shews, that the Holy Spirit is joyned to the Father, and to the Son, as a Person equal, and not as one Inferiour. To prove this he uses the Rules of Logick, having to do with an Adversary, against whom he must use these Arms.

In the 19th. he proves, that we would celebrate the Glory and Praises of the Holy Spirit, as we do those of the Father, and of the Son, and that we should give him the same Honours.

In the 20th. he refutes the Opinion of those who say, That the Holy Spirit is neither a Lord nor a Servant, but that he is Free. He shews that this Opinion is very absurd; for either he is a Creature or not; if not, then he is God or Lord; and if he is, he must be a Servant, for all Creatures have a Dependence upon God.

In the 21st. he shews by many Testimonies of Scripture, that the Holy Spirit is there called Lord.

In the 22d. He proves his Divinity by many passages of Scripture.

In the 23d. he alledges the Miracles attributed to the Holy Spirit, to prove that he is God.

In the 24th. he shews, that we should Glorify the Holy Spirit, as we do the Father and the Son.

In the 25th. he answers those who object, that the Scripture never uses this Expression, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*; and he shews, that to say, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*, signifies nothing else but, *the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; That the erroneous way which they would have us use, is not to be found in the Holy Scriptures; *Glory be to the Father by the only Son in the Holy Spirit*; That the Particle *in* has the same Sense in this Place as the Particle *with*; That the Fathers made use of the Particle *with*, as being most proper to oppose the Errors of Arius and Sabellius, and that 'tis less capable of an ill Sense; That notwithstanding he is not tyed up to this Expression, provided we be willing to render Glory to the Holy Spirit.

In the following Chapter, he goes on to explain with much subtilty the Difference between the Particles *in* and *with*.

In the 27th he proposes this Objection, *We ought to receive nothing but what is in the Holy Scripture*: But these Words are not to be found, *Glory to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit*. In answer to which, he First sends his adversaries back to what he had said in Ch. 25. Afterwards he adds, 'That in the Church there are some Opinions and Practices founded upon the Testimonies of Scripture; but then there are also some which are founded only upon unwritten Tradition: That the Scripture and Tradition have an equal Authority for the establishing of Piety and Truth, and that none who follow the Ecclesiastical Laws resist them: that if we should reject all Customs that are not founded on Scripture, we shall greatly prejudice Religion, and reduce it to a superficial Belief of some particular Opinions. 'Tis easy, says he, to give examples of this, and to begin with that which is most common. Where find we it Written, that we must make the Sign of the Cross upon those who begin to Hope in Jesus Christ? What Book of Scripture teaches us, that we must turn to the East to make our Prayers? What Saint has left us in his Writings, the Words of Invocation, when we Consecrate the Bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of Blessing? For we do not content our selves with pronouncing the Words set down by the Apostle St. Paul, and the Evangelists, but we add, several Prayers, both before and after, which we consider as having much Efficacy upon the Sacrament; and yet we have them not but by Tradition. We Consecrate the Water of Baptism, the Oyl of Unction, and him also who is to be baptized; where is this Written? Is not this a Secret Tradition? Is it not Custom which has taught us that we must Anoint him who is to be baptized? Where has the Scripture taught us that we must use three Dippings in baptizing? We must say the same of the other Ceremonies of Baptism, as of Renouncing the Devil and his Angels. Who has obliged us to do these things? Whence have we learned them? Have we them not from the Tradition of our Fathers? Who observed them, without divulging or publishing of them, being persuaded that Silence kept up a Veneration for the Mysteries? What

St. Basil. necessity was there of putting that in Writing which it was not lawful to reveal or to explain to those who were not yet baptized?' Afterwards he gives the Reason of some Usages which he had mentioned. He observes also, That Christians pray to God standing from Easter to Whitsunday; that they kneel and afterwards rise up. He gives Mystical Reasons for these Customs, which are so forced, that 'tis easy to perceive, that there is no better Reason to be given than Custom and Practice. Lastly, he concludes, That since there are so many things which we have by Tradition, we ought not to reprehend one simple Particle which the Ancients made use of.

This he proves in the 29th. Chapter, where he Alledges the Authorities of St. Irenæus, St. Clemens Romanus, the Two Dionysii, Eusebius of Casarea, Origen, Africanus, Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian and Meletius, besides the Prayers of the Church, and the Consent of the Eastern and Western Churches. Towards the end of this Chapter he complains of the Hardships which his Calumniators make him suffer. In the last, he describes the miserable State of the Church. He compares it to a Fleet of Ships tost with a great Tempest, which is cause of Shipwrack to many of them, and points out the Troubles and Miseries wherewith the Church was afflicted very admirably: This Chapter alone is sufficient to shew that this Book is undoubtedly St. Basil's.

He proves also the Divinity of the Holy Spirit in Homily 17th. upon Baptism, and he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity in Homily 15th. of Faith. He enlarges upon the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. He treats also of the same thing in Homily 29. against those who accuse us of worshipping three Gods.

In Homily 19. St. Basil treats of that famous and difficult Question, *Why do the Just suffer, and why is there any Evil, if God takes Care of things here below?* St. Basil answers, That all this is done by the Permission of God; That Diseases, Calamities, Pain and Death are not real Evils; That Sin which is the only Evil, comes not from God, but from our selves; That God exposes Men to sufferings, either to cure them, or to punish them, or to make them serve for an Example; Or lastly, to make them good and deserving: And moreover, that God is not the first Author of Diseases, Pain and Death, because he created Man free from them, and these things entred into the World only by his Sin. But why (may some object) did not God make him impeccable? He answers, because in order to the honouring of God, and meriting from him, 'twas necessary that we should obey him voluntarily and freely; That the Devil was the cause of his own Perdition, by using his Liberty amiss; That the Tree of Life and Death was placed in Paradise, to try the Obedience of Man; and that it was his own fault that he made an ill use of it. He observes that the Demons dwell in the Air, and are incorporeal.

The 31st. Discourse which is of Free Will, has some Connection with the preceding. Therein he teaches, first, That Men deceive themselves, if they imagine that they can overcome Temptations, by the sole Power of their own Liberty, without the Assistance of God; That Free Will can indeed choose for us Good and Evil; but God only can enable us to do Good; That we must therefore beg the Assistance of the Divine Power, which cannot be obtained without refraining from worldly Pleasures: That by the Sin of the first Man, we are become like Beasts; That we must labour to be of the number of the Children of God, and to excite in us the Fire of the Holy Spirit, which Jesus Christ came to bring down upon the Earth, and which descended on the Apostles at the day of Pentecost; That we must pray God that this Fire may descend upon us, that we walking always in the Light, may never fall, and that we may be as the Lights of the World.

In Homily 25. of the Nativity of the Word, he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation. He says, That the Word was not changed by uniting it self to the Human Nature; That he was made Man to redeem us; That he took a Body in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit; That his Body was made all at once; That Mary was a Virgin tho' she was married to St. Joseph. After this, he examines this Question, Whether she knew her Husband after she brought forth Jesus Christ into the World? He says, that this is not a Fundamental Article of our Faith; but that those who have a love for Jesus Christ, cannot endure to hear it said, that the Mother of God lost her Virginity, and became the Mother of a Man. He explains the Difficulties which may be raised against this Doctrine, from the Particle, *Until that*, and from the Character of *First-born*, which is given to Jesus Christ. Afterwards he explains some Circumstances of the Birth of Jesus Christ. He believes that the Wise Men were Persians; That the Star which they saw was not an ordinary Star, and that they knew it signified the Birth of Jesus Christ, as well by the Prophecy of Balaam, as because they saw the Power of the Devil very much diminished. Lastly, he exhorts his Auditors to celebrate with Joy the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

St. Basil.

In the first Book of Baptism, he proves, First, That we must not baptize any but those that are well instructed and persuaded of the Faith of Jesus Christ, and who have renounced the World, their Vices, their Passions, and if need be, their Life. Secondly, he shews, That in order to Salvation, 'tis not enough to be baptized, but that we must also keep the Commandments and do good Works. He shews afterwards what difference there is between the Baptisms of *Moses*, of *St. John*, and of Jesus Christ. He says, That the Baptism of *Moses* separated some Men from others, but did not pardon them; That the Baptism of *St. John* being received with a Penitent Heart, conferred Remission of Sins; but the Baptism of Jesus Christ is much more excellent and efficacious: That by this Baptism we die unto Sin and live unto Righteousness; That we are crucified and buried with Jesus Christ; That we are raised again together with him; That Sin hath no more Dominion over us; That we are filled with the Holy Spirit, and clothed with Jesus Christ. At last, he adds, That after we are baptized, we have need to be nourished with the Food of Eternal Life; that's to say, with the Eucharist, which we ought to receive with most holy Dispositions, lest we should eat and drink our own Damnation.

In the 2d. Book he proposes many Questions. The first is, Whether he that is baptized be obliged to die unto the World and to live unto God? He answers, yes, he is. The second is, whether he that performs the Office of a Priest, ought to be pure in Heart? He answers, that if *Moses* removed from the Sacrifices of the Old Law, all those that were impure, Purity is yet more necessary to him that touches the Body of Jesus Christ.

The third Question is, whether it be lawful for one to receive the Eucharist when he is unclean? *St. Basil* answers it after the same manner as he did the preceding.

In the 4th. he teaches, That we must obey the Commandments, tho' it seems to us, that there were some Actions of Jesus Christ or the Saints contrary to them; and that we must never seek for Excuses nor Pretences to dispense with the Observation of the Law. He adds in the 5th. that all Disobedience to the Commands of God is punishable, and that it deserves the Divine Vengeance.

In the 6th. he proves that a Man sins not only by doing Evil, but also by omitting to do Good when we are obliged to do it.

In the 7th. he advertises us, That we must regulate the Inward Man, before we give unto God any External Worship.

In the 8th. That we must not only perform the things commanded; but also do them in the manner which is enjoined, in the order and time prescribed.

In the 9th. he shews, that we ought to shun the Society and Conversation of Wicked Men.

In the 10th. he treats of Scandal. He defines it, that which seduces us from the truth, and draws us into Error or Impiety; or, that which hinders us to obey the Commands of God as long as we live: So that every thing may be called Scandal which is contrary to the Will of God. He adds, That 'tis also Scandal to do a thing, tho' it be lawful, when it is the cause of the loss or fall of the Weak. He observes also, that there is sometimes a Scandal taken without cause.

In the 11th. he shews, that 'tis never lawful to do those things which are forbidden by the Law of God, nor to obey those that command such things, and that we must never use our Reason to exempt our selves from Obedience to the Law of God.

In the 12th. he shews, That we ought not only to take care of those persons that are under our Conduct; but that our Charity also must extend to all other Christians: and that a Bishop ought in case of Necessity to help all the Churches.

In the last, he proves by Scripture, That we must endure all and suffer all, even Death it self, rather than fail in our Duty, or disobey the Law of God. This Treatise appears to be rather of Morality than Doctrine; but tho' he treats there of Moral Questions, yet he handles them Dogmatically, and founds his Decisions upon all the Testimonies of Scripture which belong to his Subject.

The Treatise of true Virginity contains many Precepts for preserving Virginity. In it he extols very much the state of Virgins, and discovers the Dangers to which they are exposed. There are in this Treatise some Passages which may offend nice Ears; but 'tis to be considered, that 'tis addressed to a Bishop, and not to the Virgins themselves; setting that aside, 'tis very eloquent, and very well written.

In Homily 28. of Penance, he proves against the *Novatians*, that those who have sinned after Baptism, have still the Remedy of Penance; but he admonishes them that they ought not to sin in hopes of doing Penance; that commonly those who sin with this disposition of Mind are deprived of Repentance; that in truth there is hope of Pardon when they have sinned; but still it is like a Wound that can be healed, which leaves some Scar for ever behind it.

We are now insensibly fallen into the Homilies of Mora-

lity, out of which we shall make our Extracts, before we come to the Ascetical Treatises.

St. Basil.

The First is a Homily about Fasting. After he has in the First Part admonished us, that we must Fast with a pleasant Countenance, then he Exhorts Christians to Fast, alledging many Authorities and Examples to that purpose. He shews the Necessity of Fasting, and answers the Excuse that is most commonly alledged for dispensing with it, which is the want of Health or Sickness. 'Do not alledge to me, says he, your Indisposition; Don't tell me that you cannot endure Fasting; 'tis not to me that ye alledge these Excuses, 'tis to God, from whom nothing can be hid. But tell me, can you not Fast, say you? Alas, can you fill your selves with Victuals, can you charge your Stomachs with all sorts of Meats? Do not the Physicians prescribe to those that are Sick Abstinence and Dieting themselves, rather than abundance of Food? How come you then to say, that you can Eat very much, and that you cannot Diet your selves?' At last, *St. Basil* says, 'That our Fasting should be accompanied with Abstinence from Evil; that we must fast from our Passions and Vices; and that without this, bodily Fasting is unprofitable. Take heed, says he, that you make not your Fast to consist only in Abstinence from Meats: true Fasting is to refrain from Vice. Tear in pieces all your unjust Obligations; Pardon your Neighbour; forgive him his Debts. Fast not to stir up Strife and Contention. You eat no Flesh, but you devour your Brother; You drink no Wine, but you cannot refrain from doing Injury to others; You wait till Night to take your Repast, but you spend all the Day at the Tribunals of the Judges. Woe be to you who are Drunk without Wine: Anger is a kind of Inebriation, which does no less trouble the Mind than real Drunkenness.' He speaks afterwards against those who use Fasting, to prepare themselves for larger Drinking and Eating, or who indulge themselves as much as they can after they have Fast-ed, as if it were to redeem the time they have lost. He gives a natural and frightful representation of Drunkenness, sufficient to beget a horror of it; he dissuades from it also from the Consideration of the Body of Jesus Christ which they are to receive. He says, that Fasting and Abstinence are Ornaments to Cities, secure the Tranquility of Publick Assemblies, the Peace of Families, and the Preservation of our Estates: He says, that to be persuaded of this, they needed only to compare the Night of this present Day in which he Preached, with the Night of the next Day, (From whence it appears that this Day was a Publick Fast.) At last he wishes, that in these Days wherein Christians are called to the Practice of Fasting, they might learn to know the Efficacy of their Temperance to prepare them for that Great Day wherein God will reward their Virtue.

The Second Homily is also an Exhortation to Fasting. Therein he condemns those who allowed themselves great Liberties in Eating and Drinking before their Fasting. He says, that all Christians of all Ages and Conditions are obliged to it. Lastly, he speaks of the principal Disposition for profitable Fasting, which is to abstain from Vice.

The third Homily about Fasting published by *Cotelerius*, is shorter than the two preceding; but it is written upon the same Principles, and upon the same Subject.

In the Third Homily upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*, *St. Basil* recommends that Vigilance and Care which one ought to have over himself, that is to say, over his Soul, and his Behaviour. He says, that this Care is necessary for Sinners that they may amend their ways, and for the Innocent, lest they should fall: that the first have need to watch over themselves to cure themselves. 'You have committed,' says he, a great Sin, you must then endure a long Penance, you must shed bitter tears, you must pass whole Nights in watching, you must Fast continually. Though you have committed but a slight Sin, yet you must watch over your selves to do Penance for it; for it often happens, that those who have but a slight Sickness, become dangerously Sick when they neglect it.' After this he shews, that this Watchfulness is necessary to fulfil the Duties of all States and Conditions. He reproves those that watch for the Faults of others, but never think of their own. He shews, that this Watchfulness is necessary to every Man in whatsoever state he is, and that it is a Remedy to all our Evils, and to all our Passions. 'If you are ambitious, says he, if you are lifted up above measure, either upon the account of your great Riches, or because of your Nobility; if you take Pleasure in your Beauty, if you are inspired with a Passion for Glory, if you are Lovers of Pleasures, you have nothing to do but to take heed to your selves, and you may know that you are Mortal, that you are Dust, and shall return to Dust. If Anger transports you to do brutal Actions, take heed to your selves, and you shall presently be ashamed of that Condition to which Anger has reduced you. In short, this Watchfulness which you should have over your selves, will make you know God. You will find some Footsteps of him in your selves: your Soul will make you know that he is Spiritual; you will admire him who has made such an excellent Piece of Workmanship, and the more

St. Basil.

St. Basil.

more you consider the Perfections of your Soul and Body; the more sublime Idea you will conceive of the Greatness, the Power, and the Wisdom of God.

The 4th Homily, intituled, of *Thanksgiving*, is about the Joy which St. Paul prescribes to Christians in these words of his Epistle to the *Thessalonians*: *Rejoyce always, pray without ceasing, giving thanks to God for every thing.* He explains in what sense Christians ought always to be Joyful: He says, that in order to their having this Joy, they must be like St. Paul; that is to say, they must live in Jesus Christ, and their Joy must not depend upon changes of Fortune, but it must be solid, and depend upon their own Good Conscience, and their hope of Eternal Happiness, which renders those Happy who are most Miserable in the Eyes of the World. He shews, that the Joys of this World are Afflictions to those that are Good; and on the contrary, the Afflictions of this World are an occasion of Joy to them. He explains in what sense Jesus Christ wept, and why the Saints have Power to weep. At last he exhorts all Christians to be no more sad, for the loss of this World's Goods; but on the contrary to rejoyce in the hope of those Good things that are to come.

He continues the same Subject in the following Homily which was made upon the Festival of St. *Julita* the Martyr. This Saint had a Law-Suit with a Man, which she commenced for all her Estate. 'Twas promis'd her, that she should gain her Cause, if she would renounce Jesus Christ, but she was assured that she should lose all if she should not agree to this Proposition. She answered with Courage: *You shall sooner take away my Goods, and deprive me of my Life, than ever make me speak one single Word against my God.* This Answer caus'd her to be condemned to the Fire wherein she expired; but her Body could not be burnt by the Flames. This is the History which St. Basil relates in this Sermon, upon which Occasion he pursues the preceding Discourse, and continues the Explication of the Words of St. Paul. He says, that the continual Prayer which God requires of us, does not consist in a vocal repeating of Prayers, but in the Design that one has to do Good. So according to him, if a Man would pray continually, he ought always to be united to God in his Actions and in every thing to follow his Will. At last, he says, that we must thank God and praise him for every thing, and that neither Losses, nor Diseases, nor Wrongs, nor Afflictions, nor the Death of our Relations, nor the other Miseries of this Life ought to hinder us from praising God, and giving him thanks continually; that in Adversity we ought to thank God, because 'tis good for us to be humbled; and we ought to praise him in Prosperity, saying to him in the Words of the Royal Prophet, *O my God, what shall I render unto thee for all the Benefits that thou hast done unto me.* He recites many Motives of Consolation in Adversity, taken from the Mercies of God, the Hope of future Happiness, the Wisdom of God, the Submission that is due to his Will, and the Miseries of others. And lastly, he assures us that nothing but Sin should make us weep, and that if Charity obliges us to mourn with those that mourn, that is only by a kind of Condescension which should not last long. At the end of this Homily, he reproves those who make themselves drunk to drive away Sadness.

The three following Homilies are about Riches, and against Covetousness. The First is upon the Words of the Rich Man mentioned in the Gospel, who seeing the Superabundance of his Goods, said, *I will pull down my Barns, and I will build larger.* He begins with this Remark, That Men have two great Temptations in this Life, great Adversity, and great Prosperity. That *Job* overcame the first, but the Rich Man in the Gospel was overcome by the last. After this he makes Reflections upon the Actions and the Punishment of this Rich Man, and says, they ought to teach us to be bountiful towards the Poor, and to make good use of our Riches. He observes, that we are only Stewards of our Riches; that all we have is for others; that we should imitate the Earth which brings forth her Fruit for others; that the good which we do will turn to our Profit; that 'tis more glorious to give than to receive; that 'tis an accursed thing to withhold Corn for a time of Dearth; that 'tis a piece of Inhumanity to despise the Poor; that Riches are unprofitable if they be not distributed; that the Thoughts of the Covetous are vain and senseless; and that they take a great deal of Pains to heap up Riches which they never enjoy. After this he answers the Objections of Covetous Men. One says, I will give to-morrow, to exempt himself from giving to-day. Alas! What do you know whether you shall be alive to-morrow in this place? Another says, I am Poor, I have need enough my self of all my Means. Yes, you are poor, you are destitute, but it is of Charity, of Bénévolence, of Faith, of Mercy. A third says, whom do I wrong, I detain nothing but what is mine own; and here St. Basil is angry with this wicked Maxim. And I, says he, demand of you, Why do you say, that those Riches are your own? From whom did you receive them, and from whence did you bring them? Did not you come naked out of your Mother's Womb, and shall not you return naked to the Dust? From whence then did this present Wealth

come? If you say it came by chance, you are impious; if you confess that you received it from God, tell me, why did it fall to your Lot rather than another's? God is not unjust in the unequal Division of Goods which he makes amongst Men. Why then are you rich, and why is this Man poor? 'Tis that you who are rich, may receive the Reward of dispensing your Goods faithfully, and that the poor Man may receive the Recompence of his Patience. And therefore when you appropriate to your self that Wealth which belongs to many particular Persons, and of which you are only a Steward; you are a Robber, you detain that which is none of your own. Yea, the Bread which you keep to your self, whereof you have more than serves for the use of your Family, belongs to the Poor who die for Famine; the Garments which you keep lock'd up in your Wardrobe, belong to the naked; the Money which you hide, belongs to the ruined, &c. These are fine Discourses, you will tell me, but Gold is yet a much finer thing. Thus does the Covetous Man talk, when he hears us preach. For, as it is some times seen, that the unchast hearing us speak contemptuously of the Passion of Lust, do thereby receive a new Fire which stirs them up more violently than before; so also the Covetous hearing us discourse against Riches, conceive a greater Love and Passion for them. But what think they of these terrible Words of Jesus Christ, *Go ye cursed into Eternal Fire; for I was a-hungry, and you gave me no Meat, I was a-thirst, and you gave me no Drink, &c.* Not only those who take away another's Goods shall be then condemned, but also those who do not distribute of their Riches to the Poor.

The second Homily is against those who have an insatiable desire of Enriching themselves. The Subject of this is the History of the Rich Young Man, who went away sad, when our Saviour bid him sell all that he had, and distribute the Price of it to the Poor. He shews by this Example, that 'tis unprofitable to keep the Commandments, if one does not give Alms; and that all other Virtues will avail nothing, if one's Heart be fixed to this World by an immoderate Love of Riches. He shews, that what is necessary, is not very much; and at the same time he proves, that the greatest part of rich Mens Expences are superfluous. He gives a very pleasant List of them in particulars, and which suit well enough with the manners of our Age. He dissuades from Avarice by the fear of Death and of Judgment, and by the meanness of Riches, and the bad Effects which they produce. Afterwards he refutes the most common Pretences which are made use of to excuse Covetousness. The first is founded upon the Uncertainty of what may come to pass: We know not, say they, the Accidents that may happen, or the Necessities we may be reduced to. But, says St. Basil, is not the use of your Treasures yet more uncertain? And tho' it were not, can you make use of this Excuse, while you spend your Wealth upon a thousand Superfluities? But I want it, say you, for my Children. This Excuse for Covetousness is plausible. You cover your selves with the Pretence of your Children, that you may satisfy your Lusts. Is it from you, that your Son received Life? Is it not from God who guides and preserves him? Ought he then to hinder you from obeying his Commandments? The Riches that you leave him, will, it may be, be the Occasion of his Ruin: Who knows whether he will make a good or bad use of them? Is not your Soul nearer to you than your Children? 'Tis for the good of that, that you should bestow the chief Part of your Riches in distributing to the Poor; and then afterwards, give to your Children what they stand in need of for their Livelihood. Those who have no Children, pretend the Necessities of this Life, as a Cloak for their Avarice. They would use what they have, they would neither sell any thing, nor give any thing away. St. Basil declares, that this Temper of Mind, is contrary to the Respect which is due to the Faith of Jesus Christ, and that it makes it void, whilst it forms to it self a Rule and Conduct contrary to the Maxims of the Gospel. At last, he refutes the Pretence of those who think to exempt themselves from giving Alms in their Life-time, by leaving their Goods by Will as Legacies to the Poor. Miserable Wretches that you are, says he to them, you will not then be liberal and charitable towards Men, till you cease to live! What Recompence can you expect for a Liberality which comes after Death? O brave Piety to practise no good Works but with Ink and Paper! You deceive your selves, and you think to fulfil the Commands of the Gospel in dying. Abraham nevertheless will tell you then; My Son, you enjoyed your good things and Pleasures in your Life-time: Do not your Actions shew, that you could have wish'd your selves to be immortal; that you might always have enjoyed your Riches, and that if you had been so, you would never have remembered the Commands of God, and the Precepts of the Gospel; and therefore it is to Death, and not to you, that the Poor ought to give thanks for the Good you have done them. Do not deceive your selves, God will not be deceived, he will not be thus mocked; that which is

St. Basil. dead is not to be offered unto the Sanctuary, offer up a living Sacrifice. He that offers up only the remains of the Sacrifices is an ungrateful Person.

St. Basil treats also of Alms in a Homily, which was made upon the occasion of a great Famine and Dearth. After he has described these Calamities, he says, that the hard heartedness of the Rich to the Poor, was the cause of them. The Fields are barren, says he, because Charity is waxed cold. He observes, that publick Prayers were made, but in so bad a manner, and with so much distraction that they were not heard; That Children were sent to them, whereas the Heads of Families should have come themselves, to beg God's Mercy for their Sins. He relates the Example of the *Ninivites*; he exhorts Persons of all conditions to give Alms according to their ability. 'You are poor, says he, but you may find many poorer than you: You have Corn for two Days, and there are some who have it only for to Day. If you are Good and Charitable, divide equally what you have left, with him that has nothing; be never the more backward to give him because you have but little left for your selves; you prefer your private Interest and Advantage to the common danger of many poor People. For though you had no more but one Loaf, if a miserable Wretch shall beg of you one Morfel of it, do not refuse him, and when you give it to him, lift up your Hands towards Heaven, and say these Just and Charitable Words: "Lord, I have but this one Loaf which you see, and I see my self in danger of having no more; but I prefer thy Commandment to the Love of my self; and of the little that I have, I give a Charity to my Brother, who is sore pinched with Hunger. Give also an Alms on your part, O my God, to your Servant, who runs a hazard of wanting Victuals. I know your Goodness, and put my Trust in your Sovereign Power; you will not long delay the Relief of your Liberal Hand, but scatter abundantly in a few Days the gifts of your Magnificence." 'Tis certain, adds he, that those who rely upon Divine providence, are like the Springs and Fountains which are not dry'd up by drawing from them, but send forth their Waters with a greater Force than before. If ye are Poor, lend your Money upon Interest to God who is Rich.' Afterwards he represents the Misery and Pain of Hunger, and describes in a most moving manner the Extremity of a Man languishing for want of Food, to beg the greater horror of the Cruelty and Barbarity of Covetous Rich Men, who suffer their Brethren to die for Hunger when they are able to assist them. He observes, That in a time of publick Necessity especially, we must give considerable Alms; and that we must expiate our Sins by Charity to the Poor. At last, he admonishes the Poor not to throw themselves into Despair, but to put their Trust in the Mercy of God, who has sometimes plentifully fed the Just after an extraordinary manner. He exhorts them to suffer with Patience like *Job*, to consider their Misery as the Trial of their Virtue, to give thanks to God, to bestow something to the Poor, even of their Necessaries, assuring them that this is the way to procure the Multiplication of their Loaves, as God did formerly multiply the Cruise of Meal to the Widow of *Sarepta*.

To these three Sermons may be joyned the Homily wherein he proves, That we must not set our Hearts upon the Riches and Pleasures of this World. There he shews, that the only Care which we ought to be concerned for, is that of our Souls; that we ought to rid our Minds of the Love of Riches, and give bountifully to the Poor. After this he describes a Fire, which it was feared might have burnt down the City: He conjures those that escaped this great Calamity, to relieve those that suffered; and exhorts these last to Patience by the Example of *Job*, whose History he explains.

The 10th. Homily is against Anger; where first he excites a horror of this Passion, by giving a Description of its mischievous Effects; and then he shews, That we can have no just Excuse for this Passion of Anger, by shewing that all the Pretences which are alledged for it are false. The first is an Injury which we may think we have received. But St. Basil shews, that we ought not to render Injury for Injury, and that we must not imitate our Enemy, nor follow his Footsteps and Example. He adds, That whatsoever outrage has been done to us, we need do no more but remember that we are Dust, and shall return to Dust, to convince us that we have deserved all sorts of Reproaches and Disgraces: That by shewing Meekness we revenge our selves of our Enemies, that we acquire the Glory of being mild and patient, and that Silence upon this Occasion deserves the Rewards of Heaven. Reproaches are another Cause of Anger: But St. Basil shews, That even this is ill-grounded, because these Reproaches are either true or false; if they are true, we are to blame if we trouble our selves for them; if they are false, our Anger for them gives Cause to suspect that they are true. But he called me poor, says one: 'If that be true, says St. Basil, bear with it; if it be false, What does it concern you? 'Tis no shame to be poor, for you came naked into the World, and Jesus Christ being rich would appear poor in it. He treated me as a Fool and an

Ignorant Fellow, will another say. Yet many more reproachful Words were spoken of Jesus Christ. But yet, How can we forbear being angry, when we are abused, and buffeted, when we are beaten and torn in pieces? Will others say. Jesus Christ did also suffer more than all this, answers St. Basil. Lastly, St. Basil prescribes Rules to avoid Anger, as not to think more highly of our selves than others, to hearken with a Philosophical Temper to the Discourses of a Man that is truly angry with Sin, with the Devil, with Error, with the Enemies of God; to practise Humility, and consider the Miseries of Men. He concludes with some New Reasons to dissuade Men from Anger.

The 11th. Homily is against Envy. In the first Part, he reckons up the Reasons which may inspire a Man with hatred of this Vice. He says, That 'tis a Vice proper to the Devil, which gnaws and consumes him in whom it is found, tho' he receives no Profit by it; and which is always accompanied with Melancholy and Vexation of Spirit, and that an envious Man is the unhappiest Man in the World. Lastly, he describes all the troublesome Consequences, and miserable Effects of Envy; and he says, That the best way to cure this Vice, is to have no great Esteem of the things of this World, to despise its perishable Goods, and to place all our Happiness in the Hope of a future Life, to believe that nothing but Virtue is a solid and true Good, and to desire nothing else.

The 14th. Homily is against Drunkenness. It was composed upon the occasion of a Disorder which happened upon Easter-Eve. Probably there had been at that time some prophane Recreations; the Men and Women without any Reverence for the Vigils of so Holy a Festival, had made Feasts, and the Women had assembled, and were come to dance and sing, even to Places where the Bodies of the Martyrs were kept. St. Basil having seen this Disorder, was sensibly touched as he says of himself at the beginning of his Discourse; That after so many Exhortations, after seven Weeks fasting, after being present so many times at the Service of the Church and the Sermons, during the time of Lent, they had destroyed in one Day the Fruit of all his Labours. He says, that he knew not whether he should hold his Peace, or whether he should speak; That he should have held his Peace, but that he feared the Chastisement of *Jeremy*, for having refused to Preach to an unbelieving and rebellious People; That Drunkenness was the Source of this Disorder, and that he must now Preach against this Vice. This is in Effect the Subject of this Homily, wherein he possesses Men's Minds with a great Horror of this Crime, and describes the pernicious Effects of it. Towards the end of it, he returns to the Excesses of the preceding Day. He cries out against their Songs and Dances, against their immoderate Laughter, against their Apparel, which was neither decent nor modest; and he exhorts those of his Hearers who had been of this Company, to cure themselves of Drunkenness by Fasting, to sing Psalms instead of the merry Songs which they had sung, to turn their Laughter into Mourning, and their Dancing into Kneeling; and in short, to leave off their sumptuous and magnificent Apparel, and to put on that which is more agreeable to Modesty and Christian Humility.

The 22d. Homily is of Humility. He begins it with observing, That Man lost his Dignity by the Sin of *Adam*, and that he cannot recover it but by Humility: That the Devil uses all his Endeavours to destroy this Virtue, and to deprive us of it, by possessing us with a great Esteem of Riches, of Honours, and the Advantages of Body and Mind. But he shews, That a Man ought not to glory in all those things, which are no ways permanent, but pass away in a Moment; That the only true Glory of man, is to know God, to be fully persuaded of his own Misery, and to believe that we are justified only by Faith in Jesus Christ; and that we ought to attribute all to God. This is the great Principle of St. *Austin* about Grace, which St. Basil explains in this place, adding that we can do nothing without the Assistance and Grace of Jesus Christ; that 'tis a Folly and Stupidity to think that the Grace of Jesus Christ is a Natural Power; That St. *Peter* who answered with a Spirit of Pride to Jesus Christ, telling him, *Though all your Disciples should be offended yet will I never be offended*, was abandoned to human Weakness, and so fell into Sin. He speaks afterwards of the other part of Humility, which is, not to exalt our selves above others, not to esteem our selves more than them, not to despise them because of their Faults; but to believe our selves much greater Sinners than they. He exhorts his Auditors to imitate the Life of Jesus Christ which was a continued Course of Actions of Humility; he would have a Christian imitate his Master, and give Signs of Humility in all his Behaviour. Your Humility, says he, must appear in the Plainness of your Apparel, in the Modesty of your Ornaments, in your Gait, in the Frugality of your Table, in the Tone of your Voice, in the Simplicity of your Furniture, in the Order of your House, in the Manner of accosting and saluting your Brethren. Take heed that you do not discover in your Discourse and in your Actions a stately and affected Way, and be affable

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to your Friends; mild towards your Domesticks, patient with the Passionate, and courteous to Inferiors. Comfort the Afflicted, visit the Sick, despise no body, be pleasant in your Requests, cheerful in your Answers, complaisant and easy to all the World; do not praise your selves, do not despise those who praise themselves, hide as much as you can your own Merit and Virtue, accuse your selves of your Sins without waiting for the Reproof of others, be not troublesome nor severe in your Reproofs, neither let them be given in Anger; condemn not your Neighbour for small Faults, have a Compassion and Tenderneſs for those that have sinned. In short, shun the Praises of Men, by all the ways that others use to purchase Glory, and think not to please any but God only. In a word, put on Humility, and by this means you shall arrive at Glory, Jesus Christ will acknowledge you for his Disciple, and will glorify you.

The Subject of the 21st. Homily which was pronounced at *Laiza*, in a publick Assembly, is more complex than that of the preceding. There he exhorts those to whom he speaks, to remember the spiritual Discourses which were read to them in the Morning, for finding out Remedies against Temptations. He recommends to them, to have no regard to the Condition of Men in this World, but to consider all Christians as Brethren, to treat the Poor and Rich alike, and the Small as well as the Great, because nothing but Sin puts a Difference between Men. He dissuades them afterwards from the three principal Vices, which are Anger, Envy, and Covetousness. He repeats in this Homily many things which are found in those whereof we have already spoken. He observes in it, that these kind of Assemblies meet every Year; That the People who cannot have Preachers every day who are able to teach them these things, may learn them at least once a Year by coming to these publick Festivals.

The 30th. Homily is an Exhortation to the Catechumens who delay or neglect to receive Baptism. He says in his *Exordium*, That tho' one may lawfully receive Baptism at any time, yet the time of *Easter* is the most proper time for receiving it: That for this Reason, the Church as a good Mother, invites at this time all the Catechumens to receive Baptism. He exhorts them to receive it, First, because if the Jews ran with so much Earnestness to receive the Baptism of St. John; 'tis very fit that they should shew yet more Earnestness to receive the Baptism of Jesus Christ, which is far greater, more excellent, and more effectual than that of his forerunner. Secondly, because 'tis dangerous to delay, and oftentimes Men are surprized by Death, and because without Baptism, we can have no part in the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can we be delivered from the Tyranny of the Devil. If one were to distribute, says he, Gold and Silver; if he were to give Temporal Favours in any Place, all the World would run thither: Wherefore then do ye not run to Baptism? If one promises to remit all the Debts of another, will not the Debtor run to receive his Promise? When therefore the Business is to receive Remission of your Sins, What Reason have you to delay? If one be guilty of many Faults, Grace is promised in greater Abundance to those who have more Sins. If you be afraid of sinning, Why do you trouble your self about the time to come? Seeing you are well conducted through the time past, after having lived to the World, you must live to God: Baptism is the sign by which a Christian is known; it changes a Man entirely. He must not put off living well till Old Age, which is nothing but to mock God, by giving him the last years of Life, after he has bestowed the Prime of his Years upon the Devil and the World, upon his Pleasures and his Sins. Temperance in Old Age is no longer a Virtue, 'tis a sign of Weakness which will never be rewarded: Moreover, he is not certain that he shall be in a Condition to receive Baptism, he may die suddenly, he may fall into a Sickness, which shall take away his Speech and his Senses: 'Tis very difficult when a Man is sick to lift up his Head to Heaven, to raise himself, to kneel down, to pray, to hearken to what is taught him, to understand it, to make profession of it, to make an Agreement with God, and to renounce, as he must, the Devil. There is nothing but the Love of Licentiousness that can dissuade Men from receiving Baptism; because the Laws of Christianity punish Vice severely, and exact of Men a most regular way of Living: These require that we should be upright in Heart, moderate in our Words, humble in our Thoughts and Actions, and pure in our Intentions. They forbid all Passion and Revenge, they command us to love our Enemies, to yield to Violence, to suffer Persecution, to die to Sin, to mortifie our Body, and to be crucified with Jesus Christ. But, you will say, this is hard and difficult; 'Tis so; but what Happiness is there in this World, which is easie to obtain? Who hath ever won the Prize without Trouble? Can one hope for the Reward of a brave Man by spending his Life in Pleasures? Can one obtain the Victory without running? We must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven through much Trouble and Labour. Those who do the Works of the Devil, have they less Trouble than we? Are they more exempt from Labour, &c.

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But, 'tis difficult, say you, to preserve the Treasure of Grace, and the Innocence of Baptism: Must we then refuse a good thing for fear of being deprived of it? If you watch over your selves, if you be constant in Praying, in Fasting, in Singing of Psalms, and in the practice of the other Exercises of a Christian, you shall preserve your Treasure. Afterwards, he represents in a lively manner, the Remorse which they shall have at the Day of Judgment who shall see themselves condemned for want of receiving Baptism. He represents the Despair which shall seize upon them; and concludes from all these motives, that they ought quickly to purge away their Sins by Baptism. This Exhortation is admirably suited to the Christians of our Age, who delay from day to day to do Penance for their Sins, and forsake their Disorders.

The 24th. Homily to Young Men, about Reading Gentile Books is very curious. He does not absolutely forbid the Reading and Study of Prophane Books; but he desires, First, that they would not dwell upon them, and that they would not look upon this Study as the principal Thing of their Life, but that they would be persuaded, that the principal Knowledge is that of working out their own Salvation; and that this Knowledge is to be learnt in the Holy Scripture. 2. That they should Read Prophane Books with Discretion, and not give Attention to the Evil that is in them, but only to the Examples and Discourses which may be Useful, and which lead Men to Virtue. He relates a great Number of Examples and Instructions, which he drew from all sorts of prophane Authors. These are all the Moral Homilies of St. Basil; I have now only to speak of his Panegyricks; for that of *Julia* is rather a Moral Discourse than a Commendation of that Saint.

In the *Exordium* of the Panegyrick of St. Gordus. St. Basil says, that Christians celebrate the Festivals of Saints, and praise their Actions, to glorifie God in his Servants, to rejoyce the Righteous, and to excite all the Faithful to their imitation. He observes that the Saints have no need of our praises; That 'tis sufficient to relate their Lives, that so their Virtues may serve for a Pattern to others. He adds, that the Nobility of Extraction, the Family, the Education, the Masters are the Subject of Praise in Prophane Panegyricks; but Christians have no other Subject of Praise, but the peculiar Virtues of those whom they commend. After this, he gives an account of the Life of St. Gordus. He says, that this Saint was of *Cesarea*, and that he had the Command of a Hundred Men in the Emperour's Army; That in his time a furious Persecution was raised against the Church, which St. Basil describes; That then this Saint of his own accord quitted his Office of Captain, and retired into a Solitary Place; That after he had been there exercised, purified and prepared for the Combate, he came into the City one Day, when all the People were assembled to see a publick Show which was presented upon the Theatre, and declared who he was; that being led to the Tribunal of the Judge, he made profession of Christianity; that nothing could shake his Constancy, but he went with Courage to the place of Punishment; and that after he was fortified with the Sign of the Cross, he boldly received the stroke of Death. St. Basil describes this History very eloquently, and introduces this Martyr, saying many fine things, and well-worthy of his Constancy. I wonder that he did not excuse his Zeal for coming and presenting himself to the Combat, which seemed to be contrary to Christian Prudence, to the Rules of the Church, and the Determinations of the Holy Fathers. 'Tis believed that this Saint suffered Martyrdom under *Licinius*.

The History of the Forty Martyrs related in the following Homily, happened also under this Emperour. St. Basil begins it with saying, That the Martyrs could not be praised too much for the Three Reasons which he alledged in the preceding Panegyrick: First, because we testify by this Remembrance of those who were the Servants of God, the respect we owe to our common Master. Secondly, Because we celebrate the Praises of the Martyrs, that we may make our own Wills suffer Martyrdom. And Lastly, That Men may be induced to imitate their Virtues.

These 40 Martyrs were 40 Soldiers, who being at *Sebastea* during the Persecution of *Licinius*, declared that they were Christians. When the Governor of the City saw, that their Constancy could not be shaken, nor they persuaded by fair means, to change their Religion, he ordered them to be exposed in the Night all naked to the rigour of the Air, at a time when a Pond near the City was quite frozen over: They resolved all to endure this Torment with Constancy; but one of them being overcome by Pain, renounced the Faith of Jesus Christ, but he lost his Soul, and could not save his Life; for he was no sooner put into warm Water to bring some heat into him again, but he expired. However, God permitted that the Number of the 40 Martyrs should be compleat, for one of their Guards perceiving the Angels who distributed to each of them a Crown, made profession of being a Christian, and put himself in their Number, and was Baptized in his own Blood, and saved by his Faith. The next Morning they were all Burnt, and their Ashes thrown into the River. This is the History

St. Basil. of the 40 Martyrs, as it is related by St. Basil. 'Tis commonly believed that they were exposed all Night in the Pond; but this proceeds from a mis-understanding of St. Basil's words, who says expressly, That they were exposed to the Air in the Middle of the City, at a time when the Pond hard by was all frozen over. 'Tis this which makes the Confusion. He adds one notable Circumstance, That the Mother of one of those 40 Martyrs exhorted her Son to suffer boldly. Lastly, he says, that those 40 Martyrs protect the City of *Cesarea*; that the Christians can find assistance by their Prayers; that if we should ardently desire for us the Prayers of one Martyr only, we ought much more to beg the Intercession of 40; That whether we be in affliction, or in a joyful condition, 'tis good to have recourse to them, either to be delivered from Evil, or to be continued in Prosperity; That they hear the Prayers of Mothers who Pray for their Children, and of Women who pray for the Return or Health of their Husbands. Let us pray then together with these Martyrs, says he, concluding his Discourse, let us joyn our Prayers with theirs.

In the Panegyrick of the Martyr *Mamas*, which is the 24th. he praises this Holy Martyr who had been a Shepherd; seeing that he probably had but little to say of him, he enlarges in this Homily upon the Praises of Shepherds, and gives a Catalogue of the Great Men, who had kept Flocks. Towards the end, he makes a Digression against the *Arians*; 'tis believed that this *Mamas* suffered under the Emperor *Aurelian*.

The Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Barlaam*, is a very short Discourse; wherein he praises this generous Confessor, who had endured with Constancy the Burning of his Hand, rather than suffer the Incense to fall into a little Box, which was upon the Prophane Altar of an Idol.

The Ascetical Treatises of St. Basil are very useful, not only to the Monks, but also to all those that make profession of Piety, and contain the Rules of the Morality of Jesus Christ, which agree to all the World.

The three First Treatises which are at the beginning of the Asceticks, are distinct Discourses which have no Reference to them; though the First is entituled, *A Preface to the Asceticks*. 'Tis an Exhortation to those who have embraced a Monastick Life, wherein he endeavours to persuade them, that they are engaged as Soldiers in a Spiritual Warfare, and that they ought to fulfil all the Obligations of it. The Second also, is, *An Exhortation to a Monastick Life*; wherein he represents the Advantages of Celibacy, and of the Practices of Religion.

The third, which is entituled, *Of a Monastick Life*, contains many Precepts which concern those who retire from the World.

These three Treatises are distinct Discourses, but the two following of Faith and Judgment are the Preface, or the First Book of the Asceticks. We must begin with the Book of Judgment, and joyn to it that of Faith, which ends with a little Preface to the Asceticks; and all these make only one Preface to the whole Work. He declares there, that having been educated in the Christian Religion, and instructed from his Youth in the Doctrine of the Holy Books, when he came to the Years of discretion, he perceived that there was much Union among the Professors of Arts and Sciences; but that he found great Divisions in the Church of Jesus Christ, that he was sometime in doubt which Party he should choose; and that meditating upon this Subject, he came to know that the greatest Evil was Schism and Division, which proceeded from the Ignorance and Sin of those who did not obey the Commands of God, and followed not his Law: That having afterwards reflected upon the terrible Judgments of God upon these Persons, he believed himself obliged to adhere to the Faith of the Church, and to meditate on those Precepts of the Holy Scripture which concern the manners and behaviour of Men: That being then persuaded, that nothing but Faith working by Love, would avail any thing, he believed that 'twas Necessary after the Explication of the Faith of the Church, and the Doctrine which is to be held concerning the Trinity, to write a Book of Manners.

This Conclusion of the Book of Judgment, shews that after it, followed the Treatise of Faith; wherein he says many fine things concerning the Virtue of Faith, and then Expounds the Doctrine of the Church, and makes Profession of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, whom he affirms to be of the same substance with the Father. He Exhorts those to whom he wrote, to keep to the Simplicity of this Faith, which is founded upon the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and he prays God that they may always continue inviolably fixed in it. At last, having explained this Faith, he declares, that he has collected into one Body many Precepts taken out of the New Testament.

These Precepts are comprised in 80 Rules, divided into several Chapters. To these must be joyned the 84 Great Rules and the 313 Small ones, which are answers to several Moral Questions, that comprehend all that is most Excellent in Christian Morality. These are they which make up the Body of St. Basil's Ethicks or Asceticks, divided into two Books, as we have observed. They may be consulted

concerning all the Offices and Actions of a Christian Life. They may be useful to all States and Conditions, and one may say that St. Basil has there collected, and methodically digested all the Practical Part of the Gospel. Upon which Account *Photius* had Reason to say, that whosoever shall follow these Precepts, shall undoubtedly be saved.

The Book of the Instructions of Monks, and of Monastical Constitutions, are two Books distinct from the Asceticks, which contain many Precepts and Rules for the Monks, that are not so general nor so useful to all the World as the Treatise of Morality.

To know the Genius and Doctrine of St. Basil, we can address our selves to none better than to his Faithful Friend, *Gregory Nazianzen*. See then how he speaks of him. He compares his Eloquence to a Trumpet sounding in the Air, to a Divine Word which shall be spread over the whole Earth, to a wonderful Whirl-wind raised after a very Surprising Manner. He says, that he has dived into the most hidden Secrets of the Holy Scripture, which he has made use of to instruct all Men, and to make them lose the Relish of things present, and fall in Love only with things to come. That his Writings are the Object of the Admiration of all Persons, and the Pleasure and Study of all Men of worth. The Authors that wrote after him, says he, say nothing but what they have drawn out of his Works: The Ancients are neglected, and nothing is minded but what he has said anew. In a word, he alone is sufficient to make an able Man.

When I read his Treatise of the Creation, adds St. Gregory, methinks I am present with the Creator; when I light upon the Books which he wrote against Hereticks, methinks I see the Fire of *Sodom* which reduced those criminal Tongues to ashes; when I peruse what he has written of the Holy Spirit, I acknowledge the God whom I possess, and I make no Scruple to publish boldly the Truth; when I read the Explications of Scripture which he has made for the Illiterate, I understand the deep Abysses of Mysteries; when I hear his Panegyricks of the Martyrs, I despise my own Body. I fancy my self present with those whom he praises, and I feel my self excited to the Combat; when I set my self to read the Discourses which he has written concerning Morals, and the manner of living Well, my Heart and my Soul are purified; that they may become the Temple of the Holy Spirit; they reform me, they instruct me, they change me, and lead me unto Virtue. We are not here to think, that St. Gregory Nazianzen in saying all this, heightened the Matter as an Orator, or flattered him as a Friend; what he says is very true, and there is not any Author whose Writings make a greater Impression than those of St. Basil: He describes things so lively, he explains his Reasons with so much force, he urges them so vigorously, he makes such loathsome Portraits of Vice, such persuasive Exhortations to Virtue, he gives so large and so profitable Instructions, that 'tis impossible to read his Writings, but one must feel himself instructed and Convinced of the Truth, and he cannot but conceive a Love for Virtue and a Hatred of Vice. His Discourses are not void of Thoughts, and full of Words, as for the most Part those of Orators are; but Eloquence is there joyned with Doctrine, they instruct, they Divert, and they Move at once. His Style is Pure and Significant, his Expressions are Lofty, his way of Writing Elegant, Clean and persuasive; his Discourses appear always Natural, flowing Gently, and without Affectation: He persuades Pleasantly, he explains things with great Clearness, he knows how to give them so probable a turn, that he may be taken for a Pattern; and he comes near *Demosthenes*, and the ablest Orators of Antiquity, in the Judgment of the learned *Photius*; and even in the Judgment of *Erasmus*, he excels the Antient Greek Orators, and is free from their Faults. He was fit for all kinds of Writings. His Commentaries upon Scripture are most instructive and most Natural: He excels in his Panegyricks. The force and Subtlety of his Reasoning appear in his Treatises of Controversy; his Discourses of Morality are instructive and Moving. In short, tho' his Asceticks have not the same loftiness as his other Works, yet there one may find the same Purity of Phrase, and the same Clearness; but his Method renders them sometimes a little obscure. In a word, whatever Subject he treats of, he does it always very learnedly. He had all the Properties of a Divine, understanding perfectly the Holy Scripture, the Tradition of the Fathers, and the Canons of the Church: He was a very able Rhetorician, a very profound Philosopher, and a very subtil Logician. He understood also the Mathematicks, and his own continual Sicknes made him a Physician: He understood Philological learning to Perfection, and made use of it to very good purpose. He knew all that was most Curious in the Poets, the Historians, and prophane Orators, as may appear from many places of his Writings, and chiefly from his little Tract of reading prophane Authors. In a word, that which is indeed admirable is, that he joyned with this learning, a profound Piety, and a singular Prudence. He was Sweet and Affable to all the World, Charitable towards the Poor, and Compassionate to others in Misery. He was accus'd of being Proud, but

St. Basil. but St. Gregory Nazianzen who suspected him of this Vice, vindicates him from it in his Panegyrick. He was of a very infirm Health, and subject to many Diseases; he speaks of them in the most part of his Letters, and also in some of his Homilies. St. Gregory Nazianzen informs us, that he was pale, that he wore always a great Beard; that he was reserved in his Speech, often thoughtful and pensive, had a particular way in his Apparel, in his Bed and his Meat, which some would imitate after his Death.

The Doctrine of St. Basil is very Pure and Orthodox. He has explained the Mystery of the Trinity against the Hereticks, clearly and beyond Contest: tho' at the beginning he was reserved in his Expressions about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, yet he always owned it, and never spoke contrary to what he thought. He never us'd any other Precaution, but to be silent upon that Point, when he thought it not necessary to speak of it, or that it would be to no purpose. He was one of those who troubled himself most to distinguish the three *Hypostases* in God; that is to say, to prove, that *Hypostasis* and *Person* signify the same thing. As to the Mystery of the Incarnation, he acknowledged in Jesus Christ two Natures without Confusion, and yet united in one and the same Person. He rejected the Error of the *Apollinarians* and *Theopassians*, and maintained with the Church that the Properties of the human Nature do by no means agree to the Divinity. He affirmed several times, that the Cause and Reason why the Son of God was made Man, was the Salvation and Redemption of Mankind, polluted by the Sin of Adam. He knew the Greatness of that Fall and the miserable Effects which it produced, as Concupiscence, Sickness, Death, &c. He established the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ without which it is impossible to do Good. He is the only Person of the Greek Fathers who spoke most clearly of it, and attributed least to Free-will, tho' he owned it. He admitted the Efficacy and Necessity of Baptism: Yet he believed that this Sacrament might be supplied by Faith and Charity, and by the Baptism of Blood, and that it signified nothing, at least to those that had not Faith, and were not well dispos'd to receive it: He mentions the Unction that accompanied it, and approves the Ceremonies that were joyned with it: He called the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: Tho' he was of Opinion, that we should Communicate often, yet he requires Holy Dispositions in those who receive this Mystery. He speaks of the Ceremonies and Prayers that were made use of for the Offering, and of the Manner in which it was distributed to the Faithful: He observes, That they carried it and kept it in their Houses, and that they believed it was always Consecrated. He commends Fasting, and speaks of Lent as a Fast to which we are obliged. He has also observed, That it was attended with Abstinence from Meat. He speaks of the Usage of Invocating Saints and Martyrs. He is persuaded that they pray for us, and that their Intercession is very profitable. He prefers Celibacy to Marriage. He approves of Vows and a Monastick State. He acknowledges the Authority of Traditions, as well as that of Scripture. However, he has some particular Opinions, as when he maintains in the First Homily of the Creation, that the Angels were created long before the World; and when he affirms in another place, that all Men shall be Purified at the Day of Judgment by Fire. But there are very few of this sort of slight Errors in this Author. There were also some Expressions objected to him which appeared Hyperbolical or less Exact; but 'tis easy to give them a good Sense. I shall not stay to make a large Enumeration of his Opinions, which I have explained at length in the Extracts out of his Works. I conclude therefore with giving a Catalogue of the Translations and Editions of the Works of this Father.

The First Edition of the Works of St. Basil in Greek is that of *Frobenius*, printed at *Basle* in the Year 1532. It contains the Homilies upon the Creation and the Psalms, 29 different Homilies, the Book of the Holy Spirit, and some Letters. After it followed the Edition at *Venice* made by *Sabius*, in the Year 1537. in which are added the Three first Books against *Eunomius*.

At last, in the Year 1551, almost all the Works of St. Basil were printed in Greek at *Paris*, by the Care of *Janus Cornarius*; who also printed them in Latin by *Frobenius* in the Year 1549.

Wolfgangus Musculus made a New Edition at *Basle*, in 1565, by *Oporinus*, and added the Commentaries upon *Isaiah* and 20 Letters. *Gothofredus Tilmannus* a *Carthusian* of *Paris*, was the first Roman Catholick that took Pains to make a Latin Edition of St. Basil's Works. He Revis'd and Corrected the Versions, and Translated some Books over again, and made a larger Latin Edition of St. Basil than all the foregoing, which was printed at *Paris* in 1566, and re-printed at *Antwerp* in 1578, and at *Paris* by *Sonnus* in 1603. This is the largest of all the Latin Editions of this Father's Writings.

The First Edition in Greek and Latin was in the Year 1618, printed at *Paris* in three Volumes: In the Greek Text was Corrected by many Manuscripts from *England*, and by some out of the King of *France's* Library. At the End of the third Volume there are the Notes of *Fronto Ducens*, and of *Morellus*, with the various Readings, Collect-

ed by *Schottus*: The last Edition of 1638, is not so fine and correct as the former: But it contains more by 200 Letters, than had ever been printed before.

Besides these Editions of the most part, or all St. Basil's Works, there are also some particular Treatises printed apart, some in Greek and some in Latin, and their Editions are not to be neglected, because commonly the Great Editions are made from them; but 'tis difficult to gather them all together. These are all that I could find. The Homilies of the Creation of *Eustathius's* Version, printed at *Paris* by *Badus*, Corrected by *Faber* in 1520. Some Homilies translated by *Volateranus*, printed at *Cologne* in 1531. The Asceticks translated by *Fumanellus*, were printed by *Gryphius* in 1540. The Rules in 1575 at *Cologne*, and all the Asceticks in 1560. The Book of the Holy Spirit translated by *Erasmus*, at *Basle* in 1532. The Homilies upon the Creation at *Leipsick* in 1566. The Books against *Eunomius* of *Beza's* Version in 1520. The Discourse of Fasting at *Paris* in 1613, at *Rome* in 1532, by *Galesinius*. The Homily upon the Nativity, and of Anger, in Greek, at *Paris*, in 1587. That of Drunkenness at *Hanover* in 1594. The Homily upon the 40 Martyrs, Greek and Latin, by *Stenius* at *Heidelberg* in 1604, and with the Notes of *Vossius* at *Mentz*, in 1614. The Letter of Communion is in the same Volume. The first Letter to St. Gregory, at *Paris* in 1562, of *Budaus's* Version. Some Greek Letters at *Venice* in 1499. Some others at *Paris* and *Haguenaw* in 1528. Some Select Letters by *Stenius* at *Paris* in 1531. A Letter to a Virgin upon her Fall by *Cartenus* at *Paris* in 1574. The Canonical Epistles with *Balsamon* in 1561. The Letters of *Julian*, at *Amsterdam* in 1567. The Letter or the Treatise of Reading prophane Authors, at *Strasburg* in 1507; at *Basle* in 1532; at *Paris* in 1533, and 1621; at *Rome* in 1594. The Treatise of a Solitary Life, at *Paris* in 1631. The Liturgy in Latin, translated by *Hervetus*, at *Venice* in 1548, in Octavo; in Greek in the same City, in 1601, and 1620; at *Antwerp* and *Paris* in 1560; that of *Masius* by *Plantin*, in 1569; that of *Victorius Scialagh* the *Maronite*, at *Ausburg* in 1604; the Graminar at *Florence* in 1513; at *Basle* in 1562, and 1585, in Octavo. The Discourses of St. Basil Collected by *Simon Logotheta*, or *Metaphrastes*, by *Morellus*, in 1556, 1558, and at *Franckfort* in 1598. The third Homily of Fasting, and the Homily upon the 8th. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, published by *Cotelerius* in his first Volume of the *Greek Monuments*, and some Letters in the third. [Dr. Hammond published a Prayer made by St. Basil, for Forgiveness from God to these who have done us wrong, in Greek, from a Manuscript in the Bodleyan Library, in his *Practical Catholickism*.]

I have nothing further to do, but to speak a Word or two of the Translators of the Works of St. Basil. *Ruffinus* has made in Latin an Abridgment of his Ascetical Rules. *Eustathius* and *Dionysius Exiguus* translated his Homilies upon the Creation. After them *Argyropilus* translated it anew, and his Translation reviewed by *Tilmannus*, is that which is printed in the Greek and Latin Edition. The Homilies of Fasting, and those upon *Isaiah*, and the Books of the Holy Spirit, are of *Erasmus's* Version. The Translation of the first Homily against Covetousness is by *Volateranus*. The Book of Virginitie was translated by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*.

Beza and *Georgius Trapezuntius* translated the Books against *Eunomius*; the Asceticks are translated by *Fumanellus*; the Letters to *Amphilochius* by *Hervetus*; the Letter to *Chilo* by *Tilmannus*. The last Letters were translated by *Hoeschelius*. Father *Combefis* took care to print in 1674, the Translation of St. Basil's Sermons; and it had been very happy if he could have spoken Latin as well as he understood Greek. The same Father before his Death made a Review of the Greek Text of all the Works of St. Basil, and their Versions, which was printed at *Paris* in 1679. This Work may be of great use for making a new Edition of St. Basil: It would be very advantageous to the Church, and the Commonwealth of Learning, that any one should undertake it. In general, one may say, That all the Translations which we have mentioned are full of Faults, some more, some less: Some of them must be corrected exactly, and others done anew; the Greek Text should be reviewed and corrected by many Manuscripts, and the Books ought to be ranged almost in the same Order that we have used in our Extracts, and some Notes added to explain the Text, and some Observations upon the History and Discipline: 'Tis a Work that I would willingly undertake, if God should give me Strength; if I could think that it would be well received by the Publick, and that some Printer would be willing to be at the Expence of it. We see every Day multitudes of little French Books appear in publick, and scarce any antient Books printed, either in Greek or Latin. The Booksellers indeed say, 'tis not their Fault, but the Fault of the Publick, because the former sell well and go off, and they are enriched by them; whereas the latter remain in their Shops, and so they are undone; the Fault therefore is to be attributed to the Giddiness of Men in this Age, who have lost all Relish of Antiquity, and are pleased with nothing but Novelty: True and solid Learning is not in Fashion in this Age, but Men satisfy themselves

St. Basil. with a superficial Knowledge of things: The Study of any thing that is solid is laid aside; and Antiquity is learned from the Moderns, and 'tis rare for any one to go up to the Fountain-head. This is a most deplorable Unhappiness to Learning in general, and 'tis to be feared that this superficial Study of things, will throw us into a worse State, than the Ignorance and Barbarism of the preceding Ages.

But since French Books sell well, the greatest part of the Letters and moral Homilies of St. Basil, ought at least to be turned into French, which would be no less useful, and more pleasant than the Ascetical Books which have been translated by Monsieur Hermant, who has also written in French the Life of this Saint after a most Exact and Learned Manner.

St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

St. Gregory Nazianzen. **S**T. Gregory of Nazianzum, was born in this City, in the Year 318. [He was born at Arianzum a small Village near Nazianzum, where his Father had an Estate.] His Father called Gregory had been engaged amongst some Hereticks, who were called *Hyphistarians*, because they professed to worship only the most high God, and yet they observed some Ceremonies of Pagans and Jews. His Wife *Nonna* converted him, and caused him to be baptized by *Leontius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, about the time that the Council of *Nice* was assembled. Soon after he was chosen to be Bishop of *Nazianzum*, and governed that Church for the space of 45 Years. His Son Gregory applied himself to the Study of human Learning; he began his Studies in *Palestine*, and from thence went to *Alexandria*, where he studied Rhetorick, and at last to perfect himself, he went to *Athens* about the end of the year 344. After he had stayed there some time with St. Basil, he departed from thence after him to return into his own Country; where he was baptized, and took Care of his Father's Affairs. After this he retired with his Friend St. Basil into some solitary places in *Pontus*; but he was obliged to leave this Retirement to return home to his Father's Assistance. The Old Man being surprized had signed the *Constantinopolitan* Creed; whereupon the Monks and other Catholics of his Bishoprick separated from his Communion, and the Division had continued, if St. Gregory the Son had not come to *Nazianzum*, and restored Peace there. In this Journey 'twas, that he was Ordained Priest by his Father; and after he had reconciled their Minds, he returned again to his Retirement, out of which, nevertheless, he sometimes came to preach unto the People.

St. Basil being Bishop of *Cæsarea*, Ordained him, as we have already said, Bishop of a little City called *Sasima*, but he was quickly disgusted with so tedious a Habitation, and departed from it in great Anger against his Friend. [Dr. Cave says, that he never went to see it.] He returned to *Nazianzum*, where he was obliged to take Care of that Church in Conjunction with his Father, and to be as it were his Coadjutor; which he did upon Condition, that he should not be his Successor: And therefore his Father being dead, he withdrew from *Nazianzum*, lest he should be detained there by Force. He went to *Seleucia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*; where he arrived about the year 376, and found the City full of *Arians*, who stirred up the whole City into an Uproar against him. He entered into the Church of *Anastasia*, which was the only Church then remaining to the Orthodox; he assumed the Government, and took Care to instruct them, and to preserve this little Flock. Being very eloquent, he converted in a little time a great number of *Arians*, and increased the number of Catholics. Peter Bishop of *Alexandria* understanding this good Success of his Labours, wrote to him very honourable and candid Letters, and confirmed him in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. While things were in this Condition, one *Maximus* a Cynick Philosopher, attempted to get himself made Bishop of *Constantinople*; and finding a Priest that joyned with him, he gained Peter of *Alexandria*, who Ordained him Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thither he came afterwards in the year 379, with some Mariners, accompanied by some Bishops of *Egypt*, and entered by Force into the Church. The Clergy and People having a great Affection for St. Gregory Nazianzen, run into the Church, and drove *Maximus* out of it, who went to wait upon the Emperor *Theodosius*; but not being received favourably by him, he was forced to return to *Alexandria*, where he did all that lay in his Power to usurp the See of that City. But having no better Success there than at *Constantinople*, he retired into the West, and presented himself before the Council of *Aquileia*, where he shewed the Communicatory Letters which he had from Peter of *Alexandria*; and the West being perfectly governed in all Matters relating to the East by the Church of *Alexandria*, he was kindly received there, and the Council wrote in his Favour to the Emperor.

In the mean time St. Gregory who loved Retirement, bid Adieu to his People, recommending to them, that they should keep the Doctrine of the Trinity, and remember him; but his People being resolved not to suffer his Departure, he was forced to promise them, that he would continue at *Constantinople*, till the coming of the Bishops, who were quickly to assemble there. The Emperor *Theodosius* having made his publick Entry into *Constantinople*, in the Month of November, 380, drove away from the Churches De-

mophilus the Arian Bishop, and ordered St. Gregory to enter into the Great Church. The People urged him to take his place in the Episcopal Throne, but he would not do it; and to quiet the Tumult, and the Acclamations of those that were present, he told them wisely, that they must in the first place give thanks to God for the great Happiness that had befallen the Church. After this he continued in the Government of the Church of *Constantinople*, and was confirmed in this See by the Authority of the first Council of *Constantinople*, whereof *Meletius* was President. But after his Death, the Eastern Bishops, who had hitherto maintained St. Gregory, began to murmur against his Ordination, being dissatisfied with his opposing the Ordination of *Flavianus* in the room of *Meletius*. When he heard them speak of it, he proposed to resign, which Proposal being received with greater Easiness than he expected, he was forced entirely to resign the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. When the *Egyptians* arrived he did it with a great deal of Generosity, tho' he was extremely troubled to quit so dear a Church; for he never spoke of it afterwards but with Grief, and testified a kind of Indignation against those Bishops who forced him away from this See. He withdrew immediately to *Nazianzum*, where he died about the year 389.

The principal Writings of this Father are his Discourses or Sermons, which are composed with great Art and Eloquence. We have 55 of them extant.

The 1st. is an Apologetical Discourse, wherein he gives an Account of his retiring into *Pontus* immediately after he was Ordained Priest, and of his Return to *Nazianzum*. He fled for fear of being made Bishop, and therefore in this Discourse he blames those who would all on a sudden mount up into the Episcopal Throne, and carry on Intrigues to obtain that Dignity. *I am ashamed*, says he, *of those who being no more perfect than others, (nay, I pray God they be not worse) dare with sacrilegious Hands, and a prophane Spirit approach the Holy Mysteries; and who endeavour to obtain the Sovereign Dignity of Priesthood, when they are not in a Condition even to come near to Holy Things. They push forward and involve themselves in much trouble; that they may have access to the Holy Table, not considering it as an Employment that engages them to Virtue, but as a means to live at their own Ease: In so much that they never think of discharging their Office after an unblameable manner, but of exercising such a Dominion as shall be subject to no body. Never did this Ambition reign more in the Church of Jesus Christ than it does at present. I know it will be in vain for us to endeavour to put a Stop to it, but I count it a Duty of Piety to testify our Detestation and Shame of it.* Afterwards he describes very eloquently, the Difficulties and Troubles of the Episcopal Office. He says, That this Office is more troublesome and painful than can be imagined; That 'tis a most difficult thing to govern Souls; That 'tis the greatest and rarest thing in the World, to know how to command well; That nothing is more dangerous than an Obligation to answer for others; That a Bishop ought not only to be free from Faults, but also to be very virtuous; That he ought to be still perfecting himself from day to day, and that Virtue should be natural to him, for if it be forced it will not continue long; That the Science of Governing Men without Violence and Fear is the Science of Sciences, *ars artium, scientia scientiarum*; That 'tis infinitely more difficult to cure Souls than to heal the Diseases of the Body, because the Cure of the Soul depends entirely upon the Will of the Sick; That the Physician of the Body has leave to use Iron and Fire, and the most violent Medicines, for recovering the Health of the Body; but the Love which Sinners have for themselves will not allow these sort of Remedies to be used, when their Souls are under Cure; That they shun them; That they are resolved to continue in their Sins, and are ingenious to hinder their Recovery; That they hide their Sins or excuse them, or else impudently defend them; That the Physicians of the Body know by sensible and external Signs, the Diseases which they undertake to cure; but the Physicians of Souls have invisible and hidden Maladies to heal; That the End of the Physician for the Body is to restore Health, which puts Men in a Condition to enjoy the Good Things and the Pleasures of this World; but on the contrary the Design of the spiritual Physician is to withdraw Men's Affections from this World, and fix them upon God; That for this End God was made Man, and suffered so much upon Earth. From all this he concludes, That the Profession of a spiritual Physician

St. Gregory
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fician is more difficult than the Practice of an ordinary Physician. He adds also to prove the same thing, the great Diversity of spiritual Diseases, and the different Dispositions of those who are to be cured, who require an infinite number of different Remedies. 'Some, says he, will be reformed by Discourse, and others by Example; Some must be pushed forward and others kept back; Praises are useful to some, but others have need of Rebukes; Some must be exhorted, and others must be chid; Some must be reprov'd in Secret, and others in publick; Some must be severely punished for small Faults, and others must be gently handled; Some must be frighted with the fear of the Judgment of the Great Day, and others must be allured with Hopes of Mercy: In a word, great Moderation must always be observed and all Excess avoided. 'Lastly, he represents the Difficulties of discharging the Duty of Preaching as we ought, which he calls the first and principal Employment of the Ministers of Jesus Christ.' He says, That all the World undertakes to preach, and yet 'tis a Folly to believe that all those who undertake it are capable of it; that this sacred Ministry, requires a sublime Soul, a perfect Knowledge of the Doctrines of the Church, and a very good discerning Faculty. He declaims against those who thrust themselves into this Ministry, before they have meditated long upon the Holy Scripture, and studied their Religion. He proposes as a Pattern to Preachers, the great Apostle St. Paul; he Collects together a great many Passages of Holy Scripture against False Prophets, against Priests that are unworthy of their Function, and against those that abuse the Word of God; he does not forget the Charge which Jesus Christ draws up against the Pharisees; That they were like painted Sepulchres which appeared outwardly very Fair, but inwardly were full of Filthiness; and then he makes this important Reflection. 'This, says he, is what I think upon Day and Night: These are the Thoughts which macerate me, which consume and confound me. I am so far from dreaming of Governing others, that I think of nothing but appeasing the wrath of God, and purifying my self from my own Faults. One should be pure himself before he undertakes to Purify others; he should be filled with Wisdom, before he attempts to Instruct others; he must have Light that he may be able to Communicate of it to others; he must not be far from God, who would draw others to him; he must be Holy, that he may Sanctify others; he must be Prudent that he may give them Advice. But when shall we be so, will the People say, that are always ready to undertake every thing, who build those Buildings slightly which presently fall down again? when will you place your Lamp upon a Candlestick? when will you improve your Talent? This is what they say who have more Friendship for me than Piety. You ask me when I shall be in a Condition to guide others: I tell you, that the Oldest Age is not too long a Term to prepare ones self for so Excellent and so Difficult an Employment; That 'tis better to be slow than forward in this Case; That tho' I have been Consecrated to God from my Infancy; tho' I have Meditated from my Youth upon the Law of God, tho' I have been Exercised in the Practice of Virtue, yet I acknowledge my self altogether incapable of Governing a Church, chiefly at a time, when the best thing a Man can do is to shun it, that he may escape the Tempest, wherein all the Members of the Church are divided, Charity seems to be wholly extinguished, Bishops have but the empty Names of Bishops; all the World publickly Slights them, and some Defame them; there is no fear of God remaining, but Impudence Reigns every where, and 'tis counted a piece of Piety to treat others as Impious. Our Judges are Enemies to God, Holy things are trampled under Foot, and the Mysteries are laid open to the Profane. Strangers, and Infidels, who were not permitted to enter into our Churches, do now come even into the Sanctuary. The Gate is opened to Detraction and Calumny, and he that rails best at his Neighbour, passes for the Honestest Man. The faults of others are observed, not to bewail them, or bring a Remedy to them; but, on the contrary, to make such Bloody Reproaches as increase the Wickedness of those who have committed them. Men are not judged good or Evil by their Virtues or Vices, but by the Friends they have on their side. The same thing is praised to Day and blamed to Morrow, some admire what others detest, and all their Sins are easily pardoned who are willing to embrace Impiety. This is the height of Iniquity to which we are arrived: But 'tis not the People only who are thus disorderly, but the Curse of the Prophet seems to be fulfilled, *The Priest is become like the People.*' After this he deplores the Misery of the Catholics, who are divided, and contended about useless and trivial Questions. He observes, That one is obliged, when the Faith is the matter under debate, both to separate from those who teach Impiety, and to suffer any thing rather than approve it; but that 'tis a folly to break the Peace, and stir up troubles about Questions which are not of Faith. At last he returns to his Subject, and having represented the Dangers which one runs

in the Priestly Office, the difficulty there is of Discharging it well, and the terrible Judgments of God upon those that perform it amiss; he concludes, That he had reason to prefer a Solitary Life, Calm and Free from Cares, to a Life full of Troubles and Dangers. But after he has justified his Retiring, he gives the Reasons why he returned into his own Country. The First is the Affection and Friendship which he had for his Country-men. The Second is the Afflicting of his Father and Mother. The Third which he explains by the comparison of *Jonas*, is his fear lest he should resist the Will of God, who seemed to call him to the Priestly Function. Here he gives two admirable Rules about the Conduct which Men ought to observe, either for avoiding or accepting of Sacred Orders. He says, we must be afraid of engaging our selves rashly; but then we must also be afraid of refusing the Call of God; and that we may keep the middle between these two extremes, we must be of such a Disposition, that we neither seek after Ecclesiastical Dignities, nor refuse them when they are offered, if we know our selves Capable. That 'tis Rashness to seek after them, and Disobedience to refuse them; but we must neither condemn those who shun them for fear, nor those who accept them from a Principle of Obedience; That the Dignity of the Priesthood astonishes some, and others trust to the assistance of him who calls them; That *Abraham* obeyed readily; That *Moses* refused to obey; That *Isaiah* immediately obeyed the Command of God who ordered him to Prophesie, but *Jeremiah* excused himself from doing it by Reason of his Youth. 'These Reasons,' adds he, Charm me, they bend my Soul; they soften my Heart, I can no longer resist, but I humble my self under the Almighty Hand of God, and accuse my self of Sloth and Negligence: If there was any fault in it I beg Pardon; I have been Silent, but I shall not always hold my Peace; I have now retired to consider my self and to indulge a little to my grief, but I will now praise God in the Assemblies of his People; I will be yours, my Brethren; I will be yours O Holy Flock; I submit to you, my Father, I offer you the Sacrifice of Obedience; but give me your Blessing, guide me by your Prayers, lead me the way by your Judgment: Let us beg of God all the Graces Necessary to Conduct the Flock together in the way of Eternal Salvation.' He wrote this Discourse at his leisure time, about the Year 362.

The 2d. Discourse of St. Gregory Nazianzen, is upon the *Nazianzenes* neglecting to come to hear him Preach, when upon their Invitation he had left his Solitude to live among them; he complains of their Negligence, and desires them to behave themselves answerably to the Affection that he had for them. St. Gregory Preached this Sermon immediately after he was Ordained Priest in the Year 362.

The 3d. Discourse is against the Emperor *Julian*, where he employs all the Torrents of his Eloquence. He observes, That this Emperor did in vain endeavour to hinder the Christians from Studying good Learning, and applying themselves to the Liberal Sciences, since this could not hinder them from Confessing the Name of God. He bewails the unhappiness of those who were overcome by the Persecution of this Emperor; he praises the Providence of God who had destroyed him. He relates that *Gallus* and *Julian* having undertaken each of them to build a Church in honour of the Martyrs, this last could not compass his Design, and that his Structure fell down while it was a building, which St. Gregory does not fail to attribute to the Vengeance of God, who would not suffer the Martyrs to be honoured by him who was to make so many himself. He says, that while *Julian* followed the Study of Learning he discovered what he had in his Mind; that he Disputed eagerly for the Pagan Opinions; That he loved every thing which alienated Men from the Christian Religion, and that he did not conceal his Opinions from those that were inclined to the same Impiety with himself; That after his Brother *Gallus* was Created *Cesar*, all *Asia* was a School of Impiety to him; That he had the most pernicious and dangerous Masters, that he could find out, and that he busied himself in Magick.

St. Gregory declaims against *Constantius*, and accuses him in a Rhetorical way for leaving the Empire to *Julian*. But he excuses him afterwards, to whom he gives excessive Praises, by saying; That he was Surprized; That he gave way too much to his own goodness and Natural Baseness; and that in short, it was not in his power to hinder *Julian* from being Emperor, who seized the Government against his will; That he revolted from him; and that *Constantius* was troubled at his Death; That he had even raised *Julian* to the Dignity of *Cesar*. He says, that after *Julian* had usurped the Empire, he perfectly declared against Christianity; That he effaced his Baptism by impure Blood, and profaned his Hands by Sacrifices, as if it were to wash and purify them from the unbloody Sacrifice of Christians, by which they partake of the Body, the Divinity, and Sufferings of Jesus Christ. He relates, that one Day this Impious Man while he was Sacrificing, saw a Cross encircling the Entrails of the Sacrifices; That at another time, having entered into a subterraneous Place to Consult with the Devil, being

St. Gregory Nazianzen. frightened with the Noise which he heard in the Cave, and the Spectres which he saw, he made the Sign of the Cross without thinking of it; That at this Wonder-working Sign, all the Devils fled and the Noise ceased. Then St. Gregory describes the Arts which Julian, used against the Christians. He says, That Julian being persuaded that open Persecutions did not only encrease the constancy of Christians; and that the Martyrs did Honour to their Religion, he had recourse to Impostures and Tricks; that he allowed the People to Abuse and use Violence to the Christians, and reserved to himself the ways of Moderation, to allure and persuade them; That he changed his Court and gained the Soldiers over to his Side; That he removed Christians from all Offices, that he enticed some by hope of rewards, and seduced others; That he sent some of them into Banishment, and in spight of his affected Gentleness he had exercised the greatest Cruelties upon others. He adds, that this Tyrant had a Design to shut out Christians from all Protection of the Law, and to forbid them to make use of it, alledging this for a Reason, That their Law commanded them to bear Injuries Patiently, and to render Evil for Good. *for evil*

St. Gregory answers this Raillery, by saying, that if Christians had a Law, which obliged them to bear with Evil, yet there was no Law in the World which permitted any to do it. And besides that, there were among Christians Two sorts of Precepts; that some of them do so oblige that it is absolutely necessary to obey them; but there are others which do not oblige, but Christians are free to fulfil or not to fulfil them; that all the World cannot arrive at that perfection which consists in the Observation of the Evangelical Counsels, and that one may be saved, by observing only what is commanded as necessary to be done. In this place he makes a Digression about the Moderation which Christians observed when they were in Power, and this he exposes to the Cruelties which the Pagans have exercised. *There was a Time, says he to the Pagans, when we had the Authority in our Hands as well as you; but what have we done to those of your Religion; which comes near to what the Christians have suffered from you? Have we taken your Liberty from you? Have we stirred up the Fury of the Mob against you? Have we put Governors in Places on purpose to condemn you to Punishment? Have we attempted the Life of any Person? Have we removed any Body from the Magistracy, or from their Offices? In a Word, have we done any of those things to you which you have made us suffer, and which you have threatened against us? I cannot conceive how St. Gregory could reconcile all those things with what he had said before, that Constantius did very ill to suffer Julian to live, and leave the Empire to him, because he was an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and was to Persecute it; and that in this, Constantius made a very ill use of his Gentleness and Goodness. Afterwards he speaks of the Prohibition which Julian had given to Christians, to study human Learning. It belongs to us, says he, to Discourse, it belongs to us to understand the Greek Tongue, as it belongs to us to Adore the Gods: But as for you, Ignorance and Barbarism is your Portion; and all your Wisdom consists in saying, I believe. St. Gregory answers him, that the Pythagoreans who had no other reason to give for what they affirmed, but the Authority of their Master, would not have jested in that manner, upon what the Christians answer when they are ask'd about their Doctrine, This is what I believe; that this only signifies, that 'tis not lawful to doubt of what is Written by Persons Divinely inspired, and that their Authority is of greater force than all the Reasons and Arguments of the World; but that it does not follow from thence, that Eloquence, Terms of Art, and Skill in Languages, belong only to those who Profess to acknowledge many Gods: For, says he, if this be so, either the Greek Tongue is confined to the Religion, or to the Nation: It cannot be said, that 'tis confined to the Pagan Religion; For, Where is that commanded? Who are the Priests that have enjoyed us to Study human Learning as an Action of Religion? neither can it be said, that 'tis confined to the Nations that profess to Adore false Gods: for it will not follow, because the Greek Tongue has been used among those that profess the Pagan Religion, that therefore it is so confined to them who profess that Religion that others cannot make use of it. This is as if one should say, that working in Gold cannot be exercised but by Painters, because there were some Painters that were Goldsmiths likewise: He concludes; that Language cannot be confined to a Profession, nor an Art, nor a Religion, but that they are common to all those that can make use of them. He adds several Curiosities about the Invention of Letters and Sciences, about the Origin of Sacrifices, about Pagan Ceremonies, and the infamous Actions which the Poets attributed to their false Gods. He occasionally answers an Excuse, which the Pagans make to cover the Folly of their Poets, alledging, that they invented what they said concerning their Divinities to please the People, but that under these Veils there was a secret Sense and hidden Mystery. St. Gregory confesses, that there may be in Religion hidden Mysteries, and*

St. Gregory Nazianzen. such Discourses as all the World does not understand; and he acknowledges, that there are some of this Nature among Christians; but then he maintains, that the Veils, Representations, the Appearances, and the Figures which conceal these Mysteries and Truths ought to have the Character of Honesty and not of Infamy: That otherwise this was to do like one that would conduct a Man to a fine City through a Bog, or that would bring a Man into Harbour, by leading him over the Rocks: And besides, that there was no Example produced by the Poets which excited to Virtue, but on the Contrary, they inclined all Men to Vice, whereas the Christian Religion teaches nothing but Virtue and Perfection.

The 4th. Oration is also an invective against Julian. There St. Gregory represents the Visible Judgments which God made use of to punish his Impiety, as well as the sensible manner of protecting his Church, and defeating the Designs of this Impious Man. He relates first, that when Julian would have had the Jews rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, there arose such a Storm as drove away those that undertook the Work, and that having retired into a neighbouring Temple, there came forth a Fire which consumed them. He adds, that there appeared a Sign of the Cross in the Heavens, which was a Mark of the Victory which Jesus Christ had gotten over these Impious Men; and that all those who saw it, or spoke of it, found their Clothes marked with this Sign. He says, that this Miracle, was so publick, that many who saw it embraced immediately the Christian Religion, and were baptized.

But if the Power of God appeared in this Miracle, his Vengeance clearly appeared in the miserable Death of Julian. Before he departed to march against the Persians, he made a Vow, That if he returned Conqueror, he would reduce all Christians under the Power of the Devil: But God who confounds the Designs of the Wicked, did not suffer him to return from this Journey. For being unseasonably engaged, he found himself encompassed with the Army of his Enemies, and having mounted up into a high place to discover it, he received a Stroke of which he died. St. Gregory says, that some reported that he was pierced thorough by a Dart from his Enemies, and others, that it was done by one of his own Soldiers, or that one of his own People thrust him thorough with a Sword. He observes, that at his Death he would have it believed that he was become a God, and that he ordered his most faithful Friends to throw his Body into the River, to make it believed that he was ranked among the Gods; but this was not put in execution. St. Gregory afterwards makes a Comparison between the Funeral Pomp of Constantius and Julian; wherein he observes that the Funeral of Constantius was accompanied with the Ceremonies of the Church, with the publick Prayers sung in the Night time, with Wax-lights and the other Honours which the Christians were wont to pay unto the Dead. He excuses this Emperor, as to the suspicion of Arianism, and throws all the Fault upon the great Officers of his Court. He affirms also, that after his Death, Angelical Voices were heard to celebrate his Praises. He describes the Manners, the Temper, and the Vices of Julian. He says, that he always had a bad Opinion of him; he makes a very disadvantageous Representation of him; he admires the Providence of God, who relieved his Church, heard her Prayers, and confounded the Designs of the Pagans; yet he deplores their Misery; he exhorts Christians who enjoy Repose at present, to remember the time of their Affliction, and to consider it as a Warning from God, that they should sin no more. Upon this Occasion he descends to Morality, and exhorts the Christians to whom he speaks, to celebrate the Festivals after a Christian manner, and to bear Injuries patiently. About the end of this Discourse he returns to his Subject, and Invective against Julian. These Discourses were written some Years after the Death of Julian; and they contain more Strokes of Eloquence, than Principles of Theology and Morality.

The 5th. Discourse is an Apology addressed to his Father upon his Retirement. He confesses, that he had retired for Love of a solitary Life, but that the Friendship he had for his Father, and the Respect he owed to his Old Age, had obliged him to return. He says, that his Father called him back, that he might assist him in the Government of his Diocese, and for that end had given him the Unction of Holy Orders. This Discourse was in the Year 362.

The 6th. Discourse was spoken before St. Gregory Nyssen, who was come to see St. Gregory Nazianzen, sometime after he was Ordained Bishop of Sasima. He complains in the beginning of this Discourse, that St. Basil had in a manner violated the Laws of Friendship, by obliging him to accept of this new Bishoprick. About the end, he exhorts those that heard him, to purify themselves from their Sins, and to subdue their Passions; in Imitation of the Holy Martyrs whose Festival they celebrated. He says, that the best way of solemnizing their Festivals, and the greatest Honour they could do them, was to live regularly and holily. He declaims against the Excesses, and Business that was done at

at the Assemblies on these Festivals. He praises the Martyrs, and gives them the Title of Mediators. He concludes with praying to God, to perfect the great Flocks, and preserve the little ones, and to comfort him by his Grace, and guide him by his Illumination, and assist him in feeding the Flock of Jesus Christ. 'Tis plain, that this Discourse was spoken by St. Gregory in the year 371, at a solemn Festival of some Martyrs, after St. Basil had Ordained him Bishop of Sasima in the year 371.

The following Discourse which was spoken before St. Gregory the Father and St. Basil, was also at the same time, and upon the same Subject. He declares with what Difficulty he had accepted the Bishoprick of Sasima, and prays them to assist him with their Prayers and Advices in the Government of his Diocess.

In the 8th. Homily, he directs his Discourse to the People of Nazianzum, about his Father's choosing him to be his Coadjutor. In it he represents the Obligation that lies upon one to do Service to the Church when he is capable of doing it; and repeats again the Rule which he had proposed in his first Discourse, That we ought not to seek after Offices, but neither should we refuse them, when we are called to them, and they do not exceed our Abilities. He adds, that he intended now to join with his Father, to take care of the Church of Nazianzum, but that he would by no means be obliged to succeed him, and that no body could ever force him to it. That those who command must do it voluntarily, as those who obey must obey willingly, *ut volentes volentibus præsint*; which is most necessary, says he, amongst the Clergy, where we do not use Dominion but Instruction. *Volentium enim non coactorum, pietatis sacramentum est.* This Discourse was in the year 372.

In the 9th. Discourse which was at the same time, he speaks to the People of Nazianzum, in the Presence of a Magistrate, who took care to make an Assessment of the Taxes. In it, he first gives the Reason of his Silence, and then exhorts Christians to withdraw their Affections from the Things of this World, and to labour only for Eternity, by purifying themselves with good Works. He recommends to Pastors to take care of their Sheep. And to the Faithful to submit themselves to their Pastors. He admonishes the Men of Learning, not to trust to their Knowledge and Eloquence, not to affect Knowledge more than is necessary, not to grasp at all Learning, but only so much as may serve them for teaching Truth and Righteousness.

After this, he addresses himself to the Judge, and tells him, That we must render to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the Things that are God's; that is to say, that we must render to Cæsar the Tribute that belongs to him; and to his Ministers, the Rewards which the Law has appointed them; and that more than that does not belong to them. He prays him in particular, to treat his People with Gentleness and Humanity in the Assessment which he was to make. He makes a pleasant Observation, that Jesus Christ came into the World at a time when a Tax was made, or an Assessment of all the Inhabitants of the Earth, to shew that God is always present at those Actions; That he was made Man, and did himself pay Tribute to comfort those that are in Bondage, and to teach them to bear it patiently: But withal, That by thus abasing himself, he taught the Kings and Potentates of the Earth, to treat those that are subject to them with Mildness and Moderation: That Servitude it self was a Burden heavy enough, which should not be increased by Rigor; That Tribute was an Effect of the first Man's Sin, because War which occasioned Tribute, was a Consequence of the first Sin, and a just Punishment of God; but that it ought not to be augmented by over-charging and ill-using the Miserable. He adds, That God makes in the other Life a Book, or if it be lawful to use the Term, a Roll, wherein all Men are set down, without any Distinction of their State and Condition: That there Men shall be treated after the same manner, as they have treated others, and that if the Judge to whom he addresses his Speech, would be favourably treated there, he must treat his People favourably and civilly. After he has spoken to him with this Freedom, he bestows many Commendations upon him; and prays him to exempt the Poor, the Clergy and the Monks. *These Men*, says he of the last, *who are no ways allied to this Earth, who have nothing but their Bodies, and do not so much as possess that entirely, who have nothing for Cæsar, and have all for God, that is to say, who can give nothing but Prayers, Hymns, Watchings and Tears, of which Seizure cannot be made: These Men, I say, who are dead to this World that they may live to Jesus Christ, who have crucified their Flesh with Jesus Christ, and even parted, as one may say, their Soul from their Body.* This is an excellent Description of the ancient Monks, which gives us a great Idea of their Poverty and how much they were disengaged from the World.

The 10th. Discourse of Gregory Nazianzen is a Funeral Oration upon his Brother Cæsarius, wherein he relates his principal Actions, and makes a Panegyrick upon them. In it he commends him, and comforts his Father and Mother. He observes, that the same Ceremony is renewed every year for the Dead. Towards the end, he discourses of the State of the Souls of the Just, from the time of their Death until the

Day of Judgment. He says, that he was informed by the Discourses of the Learned, that holy Souls which are acceptable to God, being delivered from the Bands of this Body, feel an ineffable Joy and Pleasure by considering the Blessedness which they are one day to receive; that they go directly to God, and that they know already, as it were in an Image and Representation, the Happiness they shall receive after the Resurrection of the Body. He adds, that he had often seen in a Dream his Brother all over glorious: *Whether it was, says he, that the Imagination represented him thus, or that this Apparition was real.* He concludes with a Moral Discourse, wherein he shews, that we ought to be so far from Mourning for the Dead, that we ought rather to mourn for our selves, and sigh, because we continue so long upon Earth. He wrote this Discourse sometime after the Death of his Brother, which happened in 368.

The 11th. Discourse is a Panegyrick upon his Sister St. Gorgonia, who died sometime after her Brother. In it he has given an excellent Description of her Virtues, of her Prudence and Wisdom in the Government of her Family; of her Humility, her Zeal, her Charity to the Poor; of her Care for Adorning Churches, her Mortifications, her Diligence in Prayer, her Submission to the Will of God, her Constancy in her Sickness, and her manner of dying which was worthy of a Christian. He observes, that she was baptized a little before she died; but that she had led so holy a Life, that Baptism did not confer any Grace upon her, but was only the Seal of those Graces which she had received. Yet we must not believe that she was not baptized till her last Sickness; for St. Gregory says, that in a former Sickness, when she saw that the Remedies which were used, gave her no Relief, she went into the Church, and there having prayed near the Altar, she mingled with her Tears, what she had reserved of the Antitypes of the precious Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and that she was cured immediately. This Action, which St. Gregory calls a *pious piece of Impudence*, shews that she was baptized some time before her last Sickness. Towards the end of this Panegyrick, he describes the happy State of just Souls which are departed out of this Life; he makes no doubt but they enjoy the Company of Angels, and a most perfect Knowledge of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This Discourse was spoken about 370.

The following Discourse is about the Reconciliation of the Monks of Nazianzum with his Father, which was made, as we have said, about the Year 363. He congratulates their Reunion, and proves the usefulness and necessity of Peace. See how he describes the Habit of Monks, and the Austerity of their Life. 'All that I have seen, says he to them, brings to my Remembrance upon the account of this Fraternal Division, your Watchings, your Fastings, your Prayers, your Tears, your Knees hardened with bearing the weight of your Bodies, your beating of your Breasts, your deep Sighs, your Tears shed in singing forth continually the Praises of God, your Hair cut short and neglected, your naked Feet, your Habits which have nothing of pride, your Girdle which adorns without being an Ornament, your short Cloaks buttoned back, that bold Gate, that modest Eye, that pleasant Smile, that calm Discourse, that Silence which is more instructive than all Discourse, those regular Austerities, those Riches in Poverty, that Glory under Contempt.

The 13th. Discourse is also about the Benefits of Peace. In this as well as the preceding Discourse, he makes some Digressions about the Faith of the Church against Heretics, and he concludes this with a Prayer for their Conversion.

The 14th. is upon the same Subject, where he speaks against the Error of Apollinaris.

The 15th. was preached after a great Hail which fell in Pontus in the Year 372, which wholly ruined the Country. In it he exhorts the People of Nazianzum, to acknowledge that this Judgment was a just Punishment of their Sins; that they ought to consider God as full of Mercy, when they compare it with the Vengeance which God will inflict upon the Reprobate in the other World. He sets down in particular, some of those Sins which God has punished by this Scourge, as the oppression of the Poor, whose Goods were seized upon either by Fraud or Violence, the Usury whereby they had enriched themselves and robbed the Poor, their forgetfulness of God, their rigour towards the Poor, the Contempt which they had shewn of the Exhortations of their Preachers, their vain Confidence in Riches, the Covetousness of the Rich which inclines them to keep up their Corn in their Granaries, that they may sell it dear in a time of Scarcity, their sumptuous Apparel and Household-Furniture. He exhorts them all to implore the Mercy of God towards them, by their publick Prayers, their Fasting, their Penance, and their giving of Alms. He ends this Discourse with praying his Father to appease the Wrath of God by his Prayers, and to beg of him Food for the Body, after he has prayed for the Food of the Soul.

The 16th. Discourse of St. Gregory Nazianzen, is a famous Oration of the Love of the Poor and of Poverty. He wrote it particularly in favour of the Poor in the Hospital which St. Basil had built in Cæsarea, and he spoke it at some solemn Festival about the Year 363. He shews in

St. Gregory Nazianzen. this Discourse that the Love of the Poor and Poverty is a most excellent Virtue: After this he describes in a most pathetic manner the miserable State of the Poor and Sick: He proposes very pressing Motives with a great deal of Eloquence, for touching the Heart of the Rich, and inclining them to assist the Poor and Sick; and he urges with much clearness and strength, the most convincing Reasons for persuading them that they are obliged to it. He concludes with saying, that Alms-giving is not only a Duty of Piety, but of Necessity; that it is not only a Counsel, but also a Precept.

The 17th. Discourse is about some Differences that happened at *Nazianzum*, between the People and the Governor. St. Gregory appeases the People in the first part of this Discourse, and exhorts them to submit without fear to the Orders of the Governor; and in the second part, he speaks to the Governor with a wonderful Frankness to incline him to Mildness and Clemency. He tells him, that he should not take it ill, that he spoke to him with freedom; that the Law of God subjects him to the Commandment of his Bishop. 'For, says he, the Church has an Authority of her own, which is far Greater and more Excellent than that of Princes, unless you will subject the Spirit to the Flesh, and Heaven to Earth. He adds, that he did not doubt but he would take in good part the Liberty where-with he spoke, since he was one of the Sheep of his Flock. I will not therefore, says he, make a long Discourse. You Command by Jesus Christ; 'tis by him that you exercise your Authority; 'tis he who has given you the Sword that you carry; but he has not given you so much Power for any other end, but to terrify the Wicked and threaten them with Punishments. Take care then that you preserve this trust with purity: You are the Image of God, but so are all Men in some Sense. They are all your Brethren, have compassion on them, imitate the Mercy of God, join Mildness with Terror, temper your Threatnings by giving some hopes; many times Men compass their Designs better by Gentleness than by Violence.' He uses many other Arguments of this nature, to mollify the Wrath of this Governor, whose Threatnings had frightened the People of *Nazianzum*. At last, he says, that if these Reasons did not move, but still he should want some more powerful Motive, that he would take the boldness to offer him Jesus Christ, and those Mysteries of Salvation which he communicated with the same Mouth with which he now desired this favour: In short, he conjures him to grant this Favour to the Church of Jesus Christ, and to consider, that God will treat him after the same manner, as he shall treat those who are subject to his Dominion. This Discourse is a Master-piece of Eloquence, which seems to have been recited in the Year 372.

The 18th. Sermon is the Panegyrick of St. Cyprian the Martyr. There are in this Panegyrick some things that relate to the Life of St. Cyprian Bishop of *Carthage*, as what concerned his Studies, his Learning, his Accomplishments, his Banishment and his Death: But there are other Circumstances which cannot agree to him, as when he observes, that he of whom he speaks was a Senator, who made Love to a Christian Lady of Quality, called *Justina*; that he would have made use of Magick to corrupt her; but this Lady having recourse to Jesus Christ, and the Virgin *Mary*, to be delivered from this Persecution, the Devil entred into the Body of St. Cyprian, who was not dispossessed till his Conversion. 'Tis certain that this Accident, and some others which St. Gregory Nazianzen relates in this Discourse, happened not to the Bishop of *Carthage*: And yet he does expressly declare, that he of whom he speaks was Bishop of that City. It must therefore be owned, that St. Gregory compos'd this Panegyrick out of some false Memoirs, wherein these Circumstances were added to adorn the Life of this Holy Martyr by a pleasant Story: Howsoever, St. Gregory greatly values this History, and bestows many Praises upon the holy Martyr, whom he designs to commend. He says, that his Ashes wrought abundance of Miracles, and he exhorts his Hearers to honour this Saint by their Virtues and their good Works. He concludes with a Prayer, which he addresses to him, wherein he desires his Assistance and Protection for governing his Flock, and conducting those of whom he had the Charge. This Discourse seems to have been written when St. Gregory was Coadjutor to his Father, that is to say, about the Year 372.

The 19th. Discourse of St. Gregory Nazianzen, is a Funeral Oration upon his Father, which he spoke in the presence of his Mother and St. Basil. He addresses his Speech to St. Basil after this manner: 'You cannot be come to *Nazianzum* but for three Reasons; to see us, to Visit the Flock, and to provide a Pastor for it. You will satisfy the first by your good Offices in comforting us with a Funeral Oration, wherein you may celebrate the Virtues of my Father, and at the same time shew us, that we must despise this Mortal Life, and look upon Death as an assured Harbour, which shelters us from the Storms and Tempests of this Mortal Life. Thus you may comfort us: But how will you comfort this Flock? You may do it, First, by promising that you will take upon you the

St. Gregory Nazianzen. care of Governing it: Secondly, by shewing that we are not abandoned by this good Pastor, and by persuading us that he is with us, that he is here present, that he still watches over his Flock, that he takes care of it, protects and defends it. For I do not doubt (they are his own words) but he being now much nearer to God, does a great deal more for his Flock by his Intercession, than he did upon Earth by his Teaching.' After this he gives an Account of his Father's Life, and makes a Panegyrick upon his Virtues: Neither does he forget those of his Mother *Nonna*, whom he comforts towards the end of his Discourse, by letting her see that she ought not to value this Life, nor fear Death, and by promising to assist her all the rest of her Days. It seems that all St. Gregory's Brethren were dead, and that he was left alone. There are many remarkable things in this Oration of St. Gregory, but chiefly what he says of his Father's Celebrating the Eucharist tho' he were sick; and that one day when he was in his Bed, he consecrated the Elements which were upon the Altar before the People, repeating as little of the Prayers as he could; and that having pronounced the Words of the Consecration of the Eucharist, and given the People the Blessing, he lay down upon his Bed again. What he says of Elections, is also of great consequence to Ecclesiastical Discipline. He declares, that his particular Advice was, that for avoiding Contests and Canvassings, the Elections should be reserved to the principal part of the People, that is, to the Clergy, or at least that they should have the better share in them. We must not forget the Description which he has given of that Magnificent Church, which his Father built at *Nazianzum*. This Panegyrick was in the Year 373.

Tho' St. Gregory discharged very well the Offices of Natural Affection, by making Funeral Orations upon his Brother, his Sister, and his Father; yet one may say, That he excelled himself in discharging the Offices of Friendship, by his Funeral Oration upon his Friend St. Basil, which is the 20th. of his Discourses. There he describes the Life, the Labours, and the different Employments of this Saint exactly: He praises his Piety, his Faith and his Virtues, and forgets nothing of all that could be said to his Advantage. It may be observed in all the other Funeral Orations, that the Church in the time of St. Gregory Nazianzen believed, that the Martyrs and Saints enjoyed already Eternal Happiness, and the Vision of God; that they took Care of Men upon Earth, that they Interceded for them, and that it was very profitable to Pray to them, for the obtaining of Spiritual and Temporal Favours. St. Gregory could not have spoken this Funeral Oration until after his Return from *Constantinople* in 381.

[By the Character which Mr. du Pin himself gives of St. Gregory Nazianzen, it appears that he was a Man of very great warmth of Fancy; and so it is no wonder if when he believed that Saints were after Death received up into Heaven, that he should in some warmer parts of his Harangues, such as *Allocutions* to the Saints from their disconsolate Friends below, or *Prosopopæias*, where they are introduced Comforting or Strengthening those whom they left behind, say several things that are not too severely to be scanned. His *et sic ad hunc* shews, that he questioned even in his highest Flights whether those Saints whom he was then Commending, understood what he said. And the Consequences are then too manifest to be insisted upon; since no Man ever calmly taught, that the Blessed above can so far concern themselves as to intercede for the Faithful below, that questions whether these Happy Beings have any Knowledge of what is done upon Earth: Only this must be said, that the Excessive Honours which were paid to Saints and Martyrs upon their Anniversaries brought in all those Corruptions which afterwards grew so very Scandalous.]

The Panegyrick upon St. Athanasius was spoken at *Constantinople*. There he relates with much Exactness and Eloquence the principal Actions of St. Athanasius, and excites our Admiration of his Doctrine, his Constancy, his Firmness, his Zeal for Religion, his Love of Peace, and his other Virtues. This Discourse is the 21st. The precise time when it was spoken is not known; but 'tis certain that it was at *Constantinople*, which he designs clearly enough, when he says, that he was in a City very much corrupted, where there were Arches and Theatres.

The Discourse in praise of the *Maccabees*, follows after the Panegyrick of St. Athanasius. He observes at the beginning of this Discourse, that tho' many did not honour the *Maccabees*, as Saints, because they lived not since the coming of Christ; yet they are worthy of the same honour with the Martyrs who suffered after Christ; nay, and their Actions are more admirable. 'For, says he, if they suffered Martyrdom before Christ's coming, what would they not have done, if they had come after him, and had had the Death of Christ for an Example? He adds, that no Man before the coming of Christ, was accomplished with all Virtues, without having Faith in Jesus Christ.' He describes afterwards the Martyrdom of the seven Brethren, and the Constancy of their Mother, and extols those Actions, with the most beautiful strokes of Eloquence: then he sends the Reader to the Book which *Josephus* wrote upon this

St. Gregory Nazianzen. this Subject. The time is not known when this Panegyrick was recited.

The 23^d. Discourse which bears at present the Title of a Discourse in the praise of *Hero* the Philosopher, or barely of a Philosopher, was according to St. *Jerome's* Testimony, a Panegyrick upon *Maximus* the Philosopher, composed by St. *Gregory* before he had any difference with him. We have seen that St. *Basil* also commended this Philosopher in the Letters which he wrote to him. St. *Gregory* in this Panegyrick represents the Idea and Pattern of a Christian Philosopher: There he praises a solitary Life, and yet prefers Labour and Business before unprofitable Study. He observes, that the Church was become more illustrious by Persecutions: He describes the Miseries which it suffered under the Emperors, *Constantius*, *Julian* and *Valens*. He describes the horrible Tragedy that was acted in the Church of *Alexandria*, when *Lucius* invaded it, to force away *Peter* of *Alexandria* the Successor of St. *Athanasius*, very particularly. He says, That this Philosopher was then torn with scourges and sent into Banishment. Towards the End he explains the Faith of the Church about the Mystery of the Trinity. This Oration must have been spoken or written at *Constantinople* in the Year 378.

The 24th. Discourse is addressed to the *Egyptians*, who were come to *Constantinople*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* praises the Piety of the Faithful of *Alexandria*, testifies a great deal of Respect for the Memory of St. *Athanasius*, a great Esteem for his Successor *Peter* who then possessed the See of *Alexandria*, and a great Love for the People of *Alexandria*, whom he makes no scruple to call his People. He declares, that he would willingly be united in Communion with the Christians of *Alexandria*, and because they made some Difficulty of joining with him, he expounds to them his Doctrine concerning the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and insists chiefly upon proving the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Discourse was spoken in the Year 379, before *Maximus* was Ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by the *Egyptians*.

The 25th. Discourse is against the *Arians*: He begins it with declaring, that they ought not to Glory in their Multitude, nor despise his little Flock, because it preserved and maintained the Purity of the Faith. He represents in the following Discourse the Troubles and Confusions which the *Arian* Heresie produced, and charges them with all the Outrages and Cruelties, which they had exercised against the Catholics. He shews, that neither the Magnificence, nor Grandeur, nor Riches, nor Power of the *Arians* rendered their Cause more acceptable in the sight of God. He vindicates himself from the Reproaches thrown upon him of coming to *Constantinople* to make Disturbances: He says, That he did not come thither of his own accord as those who now run after the Promotions of the Church; that he was called to the place; that he only followed the Guidance of the Holy Spirit; and that after he came to *Constantinople*, he did not imitate those who were insatiably Covetous; that he had commenc'd no Law-suit against the *Arians*, neither for their Churches, nor for the Ecclesiastical Revenues, tho' they were unjustly possess'd both of the one and the other; that he had Persecuted no Body; that he had suffered patiently all manner of Injuries and evil Treatment. After he has shewn these things, he makes an Elegant Comparison between the *Arians* and the Catholics of *Constantinople*. 'They have, says he, the Temples, but we have the God that dwells in them, and we our selves are the Temples; they have the People for them, we have the Angels for us; they have for their Portion Assurance and Rashness, we have the Faith on our side; they have Threatnings, we have Prayers; they Persecute, and we Suffer; they have Gold and Silver, and we are in possession of the Holy Doctrine: But our Flock is little? Yes, but it does not go to throw it self upon Precipices; our Sheep-fold is narrow, but it is well-guarded against Wolves; it does not lie open to Robbers, and Strangers cannot enter into it. This little Flock which will every Day grow greater by the Grace of God, gives me no Cause to fear. I see it, I count it easily; I know my Sheep, and they know me; they hear my Voice, they answer me; I call them and they follow me, and they will not follow Strangers, they will not follow *Valentinus*, *Montanus*, *Manes*, *Donatus*, *Sabellius*, *Arius*, *Photinus*; and they continue steadfast in the Faith of the Trinity, in whose Name they were baptiz'd.' This Discourse was spoken by St. *Gregory*, some time after he was come to *Constantinople*.

In the 26th. Discourse, he exhorts those of his Party to observe Moderation in their Disputes with Hereticks. He there lays down a great many very Wise and useful Maxims. He observes, that Peace is the greatest Good than can be enjoyed; that Schisms and Heresies have been raised up by Men of great Wit, but turbulent and designing; that those Men, are the Cause of Wars, Seditions, and other Mischiefs, both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Society; that we ought neither to be too hot, nor too remiss in the Defence of the Faith; that upon the whole Matter, the Order established in the Church between the Pastors and their Sheep, between the Clergy and the Laity, must be inviolably

observed; that 'tis often much better to be silent than to speak of Mysteries, because it is very Difficult to comprehend and explain them; and that 'tis very rare to find Ears fit to hear them, and Minds capable of bearing them; That when we are obliged to speak, we should do it with much Humility and Modesty; That the common People should content themselves with believing, and leave Disputes to the Learned; That Faith and Religion are for the Ignorant as well as for the Learned, and for the Poor as well as the Rich; That the Learned themselves ought to shun useless Questions and Disputes; That among the Hebrews, it was nor allowed to all the Jews indifferently to Discourse of the Law, but they chose such to do it as were judged Capable of it; That some Men had one Gift, some another; in short, That those who take upon them to Dispute and Teach others, being push'd on by a Zeal for the Faith, should not condemn those who by a reasonable Precaution and wholesome Fear are hindred from adventuring to do the like. He concludes all these Reflections in these Words: 'If you will all obey me, as well Young as Old, as well Clergy as Laity, as well Monks as those that are barely the Faithful, you will give over this vain Ostentation of shewing your Knowledge by Disputes, and you will rather take care to draw near to God by an upright and prudent Conversation, by the Purity of your Manners, by your edifying Discourses, that so at last you may obtain Eternal Life.' 'Tis not necessary here to observe, that this Discourse was spoken at *Constantinople*.

In the 27th. Discourse St. *Gregory* vindicates himself against those who accused him of Ambition. In his *Exordium*, he enquires after the Reasons, why the People of *Constantinople* were enticed and as it were charmed by his Preaching. He says, that it could not be his Learning which allured them, for they were satisfied that he had but little of it; That it could not be the Doctrine which he taught them, since he was not the first who had preached it to them, neither had he preached any thing to them which they had not learned formerly from St. *Alexander* their Bishop: 'That neither can they say, that he had gained them by Artificial and Flattering Discourses, as for the most part, says he, they do now a-Days who are of the Priestly Function, who have made an Art of Preaching the Word of God, who have brought the Arts of the Bar into the Church, and the Ornaments of the Theatre into the Chair of the Truth. You know, adds he, and God is my Witness, That we are so great Strangers to this Fault, that they rather accuse me of Rusticity, and of not knowing the World, than of being a Flatterer, and seeking to please Men, since I sometimes Reprove too severely even those who are most Affectionate to me, when they do any thing that I think not reasonable. You know how I mourned, how I cryed, when ye placed me against my Will upon the Throne, violating the Laws of the Church for the Love that you shewed me. I used so great Freedom with those who appeared most zealous for me, that they withdrew in Anger, and changed their antient Friendship all of the sudden into hatred against me. Why then have you so great a Passion for me, but only, First, Because you chose me your selves, and called me to your Assistance; and Secondly, Because you have acknowledged, that I was neither Ambitious, nor Fierce, nor Passionate, nor Proud, nor given to Flattery; and Thirdly, Because you have seen how I have suffered for you all, both from those that openly attacked me, and from those that so cruelly laid secret Snares for me.' After this he vindicates himself from the Charge which his Enemies drew up against him, upon the account of his Eloquence. He says, that 'tis Envy which makes them speak thus. He justifies himself also from the Ambition whereof he was accused; and shews, that he did not ambitiously aspire after the See of *Constantinople*; That he had met with nothing there but Labour and Fatigue; That if he had been free to choose, he should have preferred his Solitude before so painful an Employment; That he was not engaged in it for any other Reason but only to assist the Church of *Constantinople* which was then without an Orthodox Bishop; That he would not trouble himself, tho' Men should Censure him for having other Motives than really he had; That God knows what his true Intention was; That he never sought to please Men but God only; That he loved Goodness for Goodness sake, without any prospect of worldly Interest. At last, He addresses his Speech to all Estates of Men, and makes this brave Remonstrance to them: 'You Kings of the Earth have a Respect for your Crown; Consider the Excellency of Power which is entrusted with you: All the World is subject to your Empire, but the Heavenly things are above you; 'tis God only who governs them: Be you as Gods with respect to your Subjects, make your Empire to consist in this, and not in Gold, in Silver, and in Arms. You Great Men of the Age, who possess the most considerable Offices in the State, be not lifted up because of your Power, look not upon things Temporal as if they were Eternal: Be you faithful to the Emperors, but above all things be faithful to God. You

St. Gregory Nazianzen. that are Persons of Quality make your Manners answerable to your Nobility. You Wise Men, you Philosophers, you Orators, how can you pretend to Wisdom and Eloquence, if you do not Adore him who is the Author and Fountain both of the one and the other? You that love Riches, hearken to the Prophet, who Admonishes you not to trust to the abundance of your Riches; know that you rely upon a Frail thing. You that spend your time in Diversions, mortify your selves by refraining from some things, assist your Sick Brother with that which you have too much of. In short, all you that are Citizens of this Second City of the World, which hardly yields to the First, Govern your selves after such a manner, that you may be the First in Virtue, and not in Debauchery and Licentiousness. This Discourse was spoken some time after Theodosius, and the People had forced St. Gregory Nazianzen to ascend the Episcopal Throne of Constantinople, at the End of the Year 380.

The following Discourse, was spoken after Maximus had endeavoured to render himself Master of the Episcopal See of Constantinople. St. Gregory had retired for some time into the Country to refresh himself: When he returned, being certainly informed of all that was done against him in his Absence, he made a Discourse to his People against this Philosopher: And First, in the Exordium of his Discourse, he declared the Joy he had upon his Return to his Flock, from which he had been separated, and then he falls very severely upon Maximus, and shews, that he was unworthy of the Episcopal Throne which he aspired to: Afterwards he draws a Portraiture of a True Philosopher to set it against that which he had made of Maximus, and describes the several Offices of all Conditions. He returns to his Subject again, by saying, That he feared not his Enemies in the least: For what will they do to me says he? How will they provoke me? They say that I am Ignorant: I know no other Wisdom but the fear of God and the keeping his Commandments. They blame me for Poverty; alas, would to God, that I could even part with that little which I possess. They force me away from my Bishoprick; but did I ever think it a happiness to be a Bishop? They will take from me one of the chief Sees, and one of the Principal Churches in the World. But is it not at this time a piece of Prudence to shun great Dignities, since upon their Account all Churches are embroiled and overthrown, and upon their Account the whole Earth is divided? Alas, would to God, adds he, that there were no places of Dignity in the Church, no Precedencies, no Tyrannical Prerogatives, and that none would distinguish us but by our Virtue. But at present, what Mischiefs do the Disputes about Prerogative and Place, bring upon the Church! How many People are destroyed for these Contentions? I speak not only of the Laity but even of the Bishops. What more will they do unto me? they will hinder me from approaching to the Altars: But I know another Altar, whereof this is but a Figure which can neither be demolished nor broken. Will they drive me away from my House? Will they hinder me from diverting my self? Will they alienate my Friends from me? I have no other House but that which the Piety of another *Shunamite* offered me. As to what concerns Pleasures, all the Evil that I wish to those that design Evil to me, is, that they may enjoy no other Pleasures than what I take. As for my Friends, I have some that will not forsake me, even tho' they should be ill intreated upon my Account. There are others whose Pride I have endured for a long time. Peter has denied me, and it may be he has not yet bewailed his Fault. He concludes with deploring the Misery of his Church.

The 29th. Sermon begins with a Declamation against those who thrust themselves into places of Governing the People, and Preaching the Word of God without being capable. Afterwards he explains the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity very exactly. Above all things he recommends to them that Christians should hold the Simplicity of Faith, without endeavouring to fathom and comprehend its Mysteries. This Sermon was preached at Constantinople.

The 30th. Sermon is about the Election of Eulalius Bishop of Dara. This Discourse is short, and contains nothing Remarkable. It was spoken about the Year 372.

In the 31st. Discourse having spoken of the Mystery of the Incarnation, he explains the Answer of Jesus Christ to the Pharisees, in Ch. 19. of St. Matthew's Gospel, concerning Divorce. He says upon this place, that Jesus Christ condemns the Custom which permits Husbands to forsake their Wives, and does not permit Wives to forsake their Husbands, because in the Sight of God there is no Inequality between the Man and the Woman. He observes, That a Bill of Divorce permitted Husbands to send away their Wives for all sorts of Reasons; but that Jesus Christ did not permit it except only in case of Adultery. He says, That Marriage is commendable, when the Parties are contracted with a design of having Children; but he prefers Virginity to Marriage. He explains in what Sense 'tis said, That all Persons are not capable of Celibacy. Though he owns the Free-will of Man, yet he confesses, that God

must give a Will to do Good, and enable us to obtain the Victory. He occasionally rejects the Opinion of Origen concerning the Pre-existence of Souls. Lastly, he exhorts his Auditors not only to preserve the Purity of Faith as well as of their Bodies, but also to contribute according to their Power to the Establishment of Sound Doctrine. He addresses himself chiefly to the Emperor, and tells him, that if he thought that he did great Service to God, by murdering Murders, Adulteries, and Robberies by his Edicts, he might yet do him greater Service by making an Edict in Favour of the Catholick Faith. This Discourse was in the Year 380.

The 32^d. Discourse is an Oration which he made to the Bishops of the Council of Constantinople in the Year 382. Where, after he has made his Apology for governing the Church of Constantinople, by describing the wonderful Effects he had produced in that Church, he prays them to grant him a Successor, with as much Earnestness, as others desire the Greatest Sees.

The Reasons which he alledges for obtaining Permission to retire, are First, his great Age, the Quarrels of Churches and Bishops, the Envy that some bore to him, the Division of the East and the West, and his Love of Retirement and Solitude. He adds some other reasons which tend to the Confusion of his Enemies, such as the Persecutions which he had endured with Patience, his Frugality, his Modesty, his Humility. At last, he conjures them to create another Bishop who should be more agreeable to the relish of the World. Here he represents very naturally, the Luxury, Ambition, and Arts which were but too common among the Bishops of the great Sees. At last he bids Adieu to his Dear Anastasia, to the other Churches of Constantinople, to the Council, the Clergy, the People, and to the Court. These Adieus are pathetic to those that had an Esteem of him, and are very piquant to those that were his Enemies, and with that he would abdicate his Charge. 'Tis plain that this Discourse is the last of those which he spoke at Constantinople.

The Five following Discourses are Entitled, *Of Theology*, because St. Gregory Nazianzen explains there what concerns the Divine Nature, and the Trinity of Persons: there he Treats of the Rules which ought to be observed in the Administration of the Word of God. He says First, That this Function does not suit all Men; that he who discharges it must be pure in Heart and Mind; That he should not apply himself to it but with a sedate Temper; and Lastly, that he ought not to treat of those Matters before Pagans, nor before those who have no sense of Religion, and who think of nothing but Pleasures. He adds many fine things about the Dispositions and Qualifications that are necessary to a Divine. He blames those who having their Hands tied, that is, who do no Good Works, yet have a wonderful Itch to prate, and those who think to be great Divines, because they understand the Subtleties of Aristotle's Logick, and the Gentile Philosophy, which they make use of nothing to the Purpose when they Discourse about Mysteries.

In the 2^d. Discourse he enquires what may be conceived concerning the Nature of God. He says, that his Existence is known by the Creatures; That his Immensity, Spirituality, and his other Attributes are known; but that it does not follow from hence, that his Essence and Nature can be comprehended; which he proves against Eunomius in the second Discourse of Theology, which contains many great Notions concerning the Nature and Attributes of God.

In the 3^d. he proves the Equality of the Three Persons and the Divinity of the Son, and Answers the most part of Eunomius's Sophisms. The 4th. continues the same subject; and in the 5th. he proves, That the Holy Spirit is a Divine Person distinct from the Father and the Son; That he proceeds from the Father, and that he is not begotten as the Son, tho' he be of the same Substance and the same Nature. He observes towards the end of this Discourse, That under the Old Testament the Father only was distinctly known; that the Son is clearly revealed in the New; that in it also there are found passages enough to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, but that it was fully cleared by the Tradition of the Church. These Discourses seem also to have been spoken at Constantinople. And thus we are come to the 38th. Sermon upon the Festival of the Birth of Jesus Christ. In it St. Gregory admires the Wonders of the Mysteries of the Incarnation: He describes the Fall of the First Man, which he supposes to have been the Cause of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and reckons up the Advantages which Mankind received by this Mystery. At last, He teaches Christians to Celebrate the Festival of Christmas, by purifying themselves from their Sins, by imitating the Virtues of Jesus Christ, and particularly his Patience and Humility.

The 39th. Discourse is a Sermon upon the Festival of Lights, that is, upon the Feast of Epiphany, on which also the Solemnity of the Baptism of Jesus Christ is observed. There he speaks of the wonderful Effects of this Baptism, which had the Virtue of purifying us. He distinguishes many sorts of Baptism; viz. The Baptism of Moses, the Baptism

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of St. John, the Baptism of Jesus Christ, the Baptism of the Martyrs, and the Baptism of Penance which he calls a Laborious Baptism; and taking occasion from this last he Discourses against the Error of the Novatians. Last of all, he adds also to this Baptism which we have already mentioned, the Baptism of Fire, wherewith he says one may be Baptized in another Life.

The following Discourse was spoken the next Day. 'Tis an Instruction about Baptism to those that are to be Baptized: There he observes the excellence of Baptism and its marvellous Effects. He sets down and explains the different Names that are given to this Sacrament. He observes, That it consists in two Things, the Water and the Spirit; that the washing the Body with Water, represents the Operation of the Spirit in purifying the Soul. He says, that Baptism is a compact which we make with God, by which we oblige our selves to lead a new Life; that 'tis very dangerous to break the Promise which we made at Baptism, for there is no more Regeneration, nor perfect Renovation to be hoped for afterwards; that we may indeed cover the Wound by a multitude of Tears and Sighs, but that it would be much better not to need this Second Remedy, because it is very difficult and troublesome; and that we can have no assurance but Death may surprize us before our Penance be finished. *Then, says he, addressing himself to the Ministers of Jesus Christ, you can, as the Gardener mentioned in the Gospel, pray the Lord to excuse the barren Fig-Tree yet a little longer, you can desire him that he would not cut it down, and that he would permit you to Dung it, that is to say, to impose as a Penance upon it Weeping, Watching, lying upon the hard Ground, Corporal Mortifications and making humble Satisfaction; but what certainty have you that God will pardon him. Wherefore, my Brethren, being buried by Baptism with Jesus Christ, let us rise with him, let us descend with him into the Waters, that we may ascend with him into Heaven.* He proves afterwards, that we ought not to delay the receiving of Baptism, and refutes the vain pretences of those who delay it. He says, that Infants are to be Baptized to consecrate them to Jesus Christ from their Infancy. He distinguishes Three sorts of Persons that are Baptized; the First, are those who do Evil wilfully and with Delight; the Second, are those who commit Sin with some reluctance, and without approving it; the Third, are those who live well before they are Baptized, either because they are Naturally inclined to Virtue, or because they would prepare themselves for Baptism. He distinguishes also Three Sorts of Persons among those who do not receive Baptism. Some are Impious and Malicious who live in the greatest Excesses, and have no Veneration at all for Baptism: Others have a great deal of Respect for this Sacrament, but they delay to receive it either thro' Carelessness, or that they may still have the greater liberty to sin: The last are those who cannot receive it, either because of their Infancy, or because of some sudden Accident. As to the first, he makes no doubt but they shall be most grievously punished, not only for their other Crimes, but also for despising Baptism. As to the second, he says they shall be less punished because they are not kept from Baptism by Malice, but by Negligence or Folly. As to the last, he says, that they shall never partake of Glory, but neither shall they suffer the Punishments of Hell; because tho' they were not baptized, yet they were free from Sin, and it may be said of them, that they rather suffered the Loss than were the Cause of it. He says also in the following Discourse, that Infants must be baptized, tho' there be no danger of their death. After this he enlarges upon the Effects of Baptism, and upon the divine Fire which purifies us. He concludes according to his Custom, with an Explication of the Trinity. In this Discourse he mentions Unction, and some other Ceremonies of Baptism. These three Discourses were spoken at Constantinople in 381.

The 41st. Sermon is the first Sermon upon the Feast of Easter, which is very short and contains nothing remarkable. It was spoken at Nazianzum.

In the 42d. Sermon upon the same Festival, having repeated some part of what he had said about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, in his Oration upon the Feast of Christmas he explains the Ceremonies of the Jewish Passover, which he applies to the Passion of Jesus Christ. This place shews that his Allegories are very far fetched. The rest of his Discourse is a Repetition of what he had said in his Sermon upon the Nativity, concerning the Impiety of Hereticks, and an Exposition of the Faith of the Church. 'Tis thought that this Sermon was composed by St. Gregory at Nazianzum, after he returned from Constantinople.

The 43d. Discourse was spoken at the Feast of the Dedication of the Church of St. Mamas, which was near Nazianzum. There he discourses of this Dedication which he calls the New Sunday. He exhorts his Auditors to Virtue, and concludes with saying something of the Life of St. Mamas. This Discourse was made when St. Gregory Nazianzen was Coadjutor to his Father.

The 44th. Sermon of Pentecost begins with an Instruction about the manner of celebrating these Feasts, after which

follow his Commendations of the Number Seven: The rest of the Discourse is about the Holy Spirit and his Gifts.

These are all the Sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen. The following Treatises are not Sermons but Letters.

The 45th. is a Letter written to a Monk called Evagrius, who could not conceive how the Divine Nature or Substance could be simple, being composed of Three Persons. St. Gregory resolves this Difficulty, by saying, That the Essence of God is most simple, and that the Persons tho' distinct, yet are not separated, nor really distinguished from the Divine Essence, which is common to the Three. He explains this by many Examples.

The 46th. is a Letter to Nestorius, who was his Successor in the Throne of the Church of Constantinople; where he bewails the Unhappiness of the Church which is attacked by an infinite number of Hereticks. He writes particularly against Apollinarius, whose Errors he relates as they were taken out of one of his own Books. He accuses him of teaching, That the Word assumed Flesh from all Eternity; of affirming, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ supplied the place of a human Soul, and that it may be said to have suffered and to die as well as the Humanity. After this he observes, that it is not lawful to assemble at the publick Prayers with Persons of these Opinions: Then he exhorts Nestorius to act vigorously against the Hereticks, and to pray the Emperor that he would suppress the Liberty which they now had of meeting and preaching.

The 47th. Discourse is an Allegorical Explication of the Four Animals mentioned in the First Chap. of Ezekiel. The Greeks doubt whether this Book be St. Gregory's: And indeed the Style is very confused, and every thing is handled without any Order or Design, and it seems to be patched up of various Pieces; which makes me believe, with Jacobus Billius, that this Discourse is unworthy of St. Gregory.

The 48th. Sermon attributed to St. Gregory, is a Discourse in praise of the Martyrs, published by Leunclavius, which is in Greek in the last Edition. This Discourse seems not to me to have St. Gregory's Style. Some have attributed it to St. Chrysostome.

The 49th. Discourse of Faith, which is said to be a Translation made by Rufinus from the Text of Gregory Nazianzen, is the Work of some Latin Author, who quotes the Holy Scripture according to the Old Latin Vulgar Version. The Prologue of Rufinus which is at the beginning, is a Preface to the Apologetic, and the Seven Discourses of this Author, and not to the Version of the Treatise of Faith. The same Judgment is to be given of the following Treatise, concerning the Faith of the Council of Nice, which is not to be found in many Manuscripts. The first Treatise is quoted under the Name of St. Gregory by St. Austin in his third Letter; but it must certainly be another Gregory than this of Nazianzum: For undoubtedly this Work is a Latin Author's, since in two places he speaks of the Greeks, as not being one himself. *The Reason, or the Word,* says he, *is called by the Greeks λόγος;* and in another place, *This is what the Greeks call Homousion.* This Treatise therefore must be some Latin Author's who was called Gregory: And there is none to whom it agrees better than to Gregory of Bactica, of whom we have already said, that he wrote a Treatise of Faith. Some have attributed it to St. Ambrose, others to Vigilantius Tapsensis; but the Citation of St. Austin shews that it could not be written by this last, and that it was not written by the first. The following Treatise is also the same Author's, being written to explain the former, as Monsieur Quesnel has shewn in his 14th. Dissertation upon the antient Code of the Roman Church; where this Treatise is inserted.

The 51st. and 52d. Treatises are two Letters to Cledonius, which St. Gregory wrote against Apollinarius, after he returned to Pontus, as is observed by the antient Author of his Life. In the first of these two Letters, St. Gregory complains of Apollinarius, that he and his Disciples published new Doctrines, and that they boasted of their being received by a Synod of Western Bishops, tho' they were condemned in it, and explains the Faith of the Church about the Incarnation, and plainly rejects not only the Errors of Apollinarius, but also those that have been since published by Nestorius, by Eutyches, and by all the other Hereticks. He gives to the Virgin, the Name and Title of, *The Mother of God.* Afterwards he refutes the Objections of Apollinarius, and observes another Error of this Author concerning the Trinity. He affirms, towards the end of this Letter, that we ought not to communicate with this Heretick. In the 2d. Letter he discovers the Tricks and Subtleties which the Apollinarians used to make People believe that they were Orthodox. Towards the end of this Letter he has these excellent Words: 'O strange Folly! He pretends to preach that Wisdom which has been discovered since Jesus Christ. What pity 'tis! For if the Gospel was not known till about 30 Years ago, then the Gospel was of no use, for 400 Years that the Church has been established: In vain have Christians believed and so many Martyrs suffered; in vain have so many holy Bishops governed the Church.

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The Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes* was written by St. Gregory *Thaumaturgus*, as we have observed in speaking of this Father's Works. But we must add here to what we have said in that place to prove it, that not only St. Jerome testifies in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that St. Gregory *Thaumaturgus* wrote a Treatise upon *Ecclesiastes*, but that he cites this Treatise as his, in his Commentary upon the 4th. Chapter, where he quotes a Passage which is word for word in the 4th. Chapter of this Paraphrase.

The Poems of St. Gregory *Nazianzen* were the Fruits of his last Retirement; he wrote them in the last years of his Life: In them is to be found all the Fire and Vigor which one would desire in the Works of a young Man, and all the Thoughts which the Practice of Virtue, for the space of many Years, could inspire into an Old Man of consummate Piety.

The 1st. is a Poem which contains the History of his own Life from his Birth, till his departure from *Constantinople*. There never was any thing of this kind written more pleasantly, more elegantly, and more naturally than this Life is. In the first part he describes his publick and known Actions, where he says many things which are very useful to explain the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, and the Divisions of the Eastern and Western Churches; and there also he discourses against the Ignorance, the Pride, and the corrupt Manners of the Bishops of his time.

In the 2d. Part he describes the Dispositions of his Mind: The former Part relates to History, and this to Morality; and as there are in the former Part many Circumstances that belong to Ecclesiastical History; so this contains many Christian and Moral Thoughts. The former is written in Iambick Verse, the latter in Hexameters.

In his Poem of the praise of Virginity, he handles with much Wit and Eloquence, the Question about the Preheminence of Celibacy above Marriage; and that he may explain this Question the more pleasantly, after he has enlarged upon the Praises of Virginity, he makes an excellent *Prosopopœia*, wherein he brings in married Persons, and those who observe Celibacy, speaking for both their Opinions; each of them says all that can be said on their side in favour of their State, but the latter have the better.

The 3d. Poem contains many Precepts for Virgins; he recommends to them Silence, Modesty, Retirement, Labour, and other Virtues necessary for a Virgin. These two Poems are in Hexameter Verse.

In the 4th. Poem he bewails in general the Misery of Mankind, caused by the Sin of *Adam*, and relates some Circumstances of his own Life. This is in Elegiacks.

In the 5th. having described the Crosses and Sickneses which he had endured in his Life; he submits himself to the Will of God, and offers to him the Remainder of his painful Life.

The 6th. is upon the Vanity and Uncertainty of this mortal Life.

In the 7th. he bewails his Miseries, and prays to God to deliver him from them.

The 8th. is upon the same Subject.

In the 9th. he describes a Dream, which he had about the Church of *Anastasia*.

In the 10th. after having described the Lightness and Hypocrisy of the Bishops of his time, he congratulates himself upon his Departure from *Constantinople*.

The 11th. Poem describes the Vices of wicked Bishops, and deplores the Division of the Church; there he observes, that Persecutions encreased the Church; but Abundance and Riches have done it great Prejudice.

In the 12th. which is addressed to the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, he describes after what manner he was forced away from that City, and testifies his Joy, for that God had recalled him to his Retirement.

In the 13th. he describes the Misery and Weakness of human Nature.

He continues the same Subject in the 14th. wherein he describes the Miseries of Life and the Horror of Death, to teach Men to love nothing but Jesus Christ, and to have no Affection for any thing but the Treasures in Heaven.

The 15th. is also upon the same Subject, wherein he represents the Uncertainty and Instability of this mortal Life and of worldly Riches, to convince Men that there is nothing solid here below, but the Love of Jesus Christ.

The 16th. contains the Beatitudes of the Gospel, and the Rules of a Christian Life.

In the 17th. he wishes many Imprecations upon himself, if he should wander from the Faith of Christ, and the Precepts of the Gospel.

The 18th. is against the Desires of the Flesh.

The 19th. is against the Devil.

The 20th. is an Exhortation which he made to himself, to stir himself up to Conversion.

The 21st. is an Imprecation upon the Devil, and an Invocation of Jesus Christ.

The 22d. is a Prayer to God, to be delivered from this Life of Sin and Death.

The 23d. is a Reflection upon the Uncertainty of Life, and the Contempt we ought to have of it.

The 24th. and 25th. are upon the Weakness and Misery of our Nature.

The 26th. is of the Desire of God.

The 27th. and 28th. is a Lamentation upon the view of his own Miseries and Sins.

The 29th. is a Prayer to Jesus Christ.

The 30th. is a kind of Epitaph.

The 31st. is a Prayer of a Penitent Person.

The 32d. is a Farewel to the Devil.

In the 33d. he makes a Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scripture. He distinguishes those of the Old Testament, into Historical, Poetical and Prophetical; he reckons 12 Historical, viz. The Five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*. He reckons Five Poetical, the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms* of *David*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Proverbs*, and the *Song* of *Salomon*; and five Prophetical, which are the 12 lesser Prophets that make but one Book only, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*; which in all make the number of 22 Books, according to the number of the Hebrew Letters. Afterwards he reckons up the Books of the New Testament, which are the Four Evangelists, upon whom he has this Observation, that St. *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*, St. *Mark* for the *Greeks*, St. *Luke* for the *Athenians*, and St. *John* for those who penetrate into the most Sublime things. He joins with the Four Evangelists the Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, those of St. *James*, the two Epistles of St. *Peter*, and the three of St. *John*, and that of St. *Jude*. He concludes with saying, that these are all the Books of the Holy Scripture, and that all others are Apocryphal.

In the 34th. he describes the Plagues of *Egypt*.

In the 35th. he turns the Decalogue into Verse.

In the 36th. the Names of the 12 Patriarchs are put in Verse, and those of the 12 Apostles.

In the 37th. and 38th. he reconciles the two Genealogies of Jesus Christ, by explaining the Opinion of *Africanus*. 'Tis a very surprizing thing, that he could put this Critical Question into Verse, and make all the Names of the Genealogies of Jesus Christ come into Feet, and yet he has done it, and handsomly enough.

In the following Poems as far as the 46th. he turns some part of the Histories of the Gospel into Verse.

In the 46th. he prefers a Monastical Life to an Hermetical.

In the 47th. he prays *Hellenius* to ease the Monks of Taxes.

In the 48th. he exhorts one *Julianus* a Magistrate to Almsgiving.

The 49th. is written in the Name of *Nicobulus* the Son, who desired of his Father, that he would send him to some famous Academy to follow his Studies there.

The 50th. is an Answer made in the Name of this Father who exhorts his Son to study.

The 51st. is written on the Name of the Son of *Vitalianus*, to appease the Anger of his Father.

The 52d. is against a lewd rich Man.

The 53d. is a Prayer of St. Gregory as he went into the Fields.

The 54th. is of the Silence which he kept during the time of Fasting; there he describes the Mischiefs which too great desire of speaking produces, and the Advantages of Silence.

The 55th. is a Hymn to Jesus Christ upon the Feast of *Easter*, after he had kept Silence all the time of Lent.

In the 56th. he gives to one *Olympias* a Woman ready to be Married, some very useful Precepts for her good Behaviour in Marriage.

The 57th. is upon his Departure from *Constantinople*.

In the 58th. he proves the falshood of Human Virtue, and shews, that without the Grace of God, all our Endeavours are unprofitable to our Salvation. *Without the assistance of Jesus Christ*, says he, *a Man cannot walk in the Way of Salvation: Therefore we must take heed that we do not attribute to our selves what does not belong to us; we must not trust our own strength, how enlightened soever we be; we must not despise those who appear to be less advanced than we in the way of Virtue, as if we were nearer the Design and End of our Course.* He adds many other Reflections, very proper to beat down the Pride of Man, and to humble him under the Almighty Hand of God.

The 59th. is a bitter Satyr against the Monks, who live disagreeably to the Rules of that State, tho' they wear the Habit.

The 60th. is an excellent Prayer in a time of Sicknes.

In the 61st. he exhorts *Nemesius* Governor of *Cappadocia*, to forsake Paganism, and embrace the Christian Religion.

The 62d. is a Collection of very useful Christian Thoughts and Maxims for the Conduct of our Lives.

The 63d. is against the Pomps, the Ornaments, and sumptuous Dresses of Women; and particularly he applies himself to condemn their Painting.

The 64th. is an Epitaph upon St. *Basil*.

After this there are several Sentences or Moral Thoughts, which contain the principal Offices of Life.

A Description of Human Life, and several Rules or Maxims of Morality.

The

St. Gregory
Nazian-
zen.

The following Poem is Dogmatical. St. Gregory explains the principal Articles of the Christian Religion; and he treats of the Unity of God, of the Trinity, of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, of the Creation of the World, of Angels and Devils, of the Nature and Origin of the Soul, of the two Testaments, of the Cause and Effects of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and of the Baptisms of Water and of Blood. After this comes a Treatise in Verse upon Virginity, many exhortations to his own Soul, and Prayers to God.

There are besides 33 Poems written in Iambick Verse upon different Subjects; a Treatise against *Apollinarius*, and some other separate things: the Tragedy, entituled *Christ's sufferings*, wants very much of the Beauty, the Judgment and the Gravity of St. Gregory's Pieces, and so 'tis not without reason that the Criticks judge it unworthy of him.

We have in the second Volume of St. Gregory Nazianzen, at the end of his Poetical Works, a Discourse of this Saint about Bishops; and tho' we have it now only in Latin, yet 'tis plain that 'tis a Translation of a Genuine Treatise of St. Gregory's. There he relates after what manner he came to *Constantinople*, and the Troubles he suffered there for the Establishment of the Faith, he complains of the Ingratitude of the Bishops who forced him away from thence; and then he gives a very disadvantageous Character of them, wherein he represents them either Ignorant and Stupid, or Proud and Ambitious, or Covetous, who think of nothing but heaping up of Riches by all kinds of Ways, or Hypocrites who under the appearance of Virtue conceal the greatest Immoralities.

There is in the greatest part of St. Gregory Nazianzen's Letters, more Wit, Learning and Eloquence, than Doctrine concerning Religion and the Discipline of the Church; yet there are some of them, wherein he pursues some Moral thoughts with a great deal of Eloquence; as in the 17th. wherein he reproves *Casarius* because he stayed in *Julian's* Court.

The 18th. wherein he discourses of the Inconstancy and Frailty of human Life.

The 19th. and 20th. concerning the Reconciliation of St. Basil with *Eusebius* his Bishop.

The 22d. and 23d. are written in the Name of his Father to procure the Election of St. Basil to be Bishop of *Casarea*.

The 26th. is about the Calumny that had been raised against St. Basil, for his disguising his Opinion about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The 31st. and 32d. wherein he complains that St. Basil had made him Bishop of *Sasima*.

The 37th. wherein he Comforts St. Gregory Nyssen upon the Death of his Brother.

The 38th. to a Lady who would force a Bishop away from his Bishoprick, under Pretence that he owed her very considerable Sums of Money, having formerly managed her Estate.

The 43d. wherein he reproves St. Gregory Nyssen, because he applied himself more to the Study of human Learning than of the Holy Scriptures.

The 55th. wherein he declares, that he was afraid of all Ecclesiastical Assemblies, Because I never saw, says he, the End of a Council which was happy and pleasant; and which did not rather encrease the Evil than diminish it. But this Censure which he wrote when he was vexed with the Council of *Constantinople*, which had not treated him very favourably, ought not to pass for a Rule, but only for a Testimony of his resentment which came from St. Gregory in his Passion.

The 59th. and 71st. wherein he exhorts his Brother and *Posthumianus* to make Peace between the Bishops.

The 63d. wherein he exhorts a Particular Person to embrace the Christian Philosophy, and to despise the things of this World.

The 64th. 66th. 67th. and 70th. wherein he exhorts another Person to bear his Pains and Sickness patiently.

The 81st. is an Excellent Exhortation to Patience, and some others. But the most considerable of them all is the

[By Canonical Epistles here, those are meant which were written to determine some particular Question in Discipline, as the Canons of Councils usually did: Of this Nature were St. Basil's Letters to St. *Amphilochius* mentioned above.]

219; to *Theodorus* the Bishop of *Tyanea*, which might be placed amongst the Canonical ones: The Bishop to whom he writes had consulted him about an Oath, or an Affelevation made in Writing in a certain Affair: He who made this Agreement not willing to hold it longer, cited him with whom he had agreed, before a Judge, and made void the Compact in Court. Now it was asked whether this Man should be treated as a perjured Person, since he had not made a Solemn Oath, according to the ordinary Forms. St. Gregory answers in this Letter, that he is not at all of their Opinion, who think that no Oaths but those which are made with the Mouth, and according to the usual Forms, by laying their Hands upon the Holy Gospels; do oblige in Conscience, and that Affeclarations made in Writing do not

bind after the same manner: 'For, says he, if Contracts made in Writing do more bind a Debtor than bare verbal Promises, Why shall not Oaths set down in Writing have at least as much Force, as those which are spoken with the Mouth? In a word, is an Oath any thing else, but the Affirmation of him who promises, or who assures any thing?' From whence he concludes, that this Man who had brought his Action in Law, to have this Compact dissolved, which he was obliged by Oath to fulfil, tho' he gained his Cause, yet was guilty of Perjury, and ought to do Penance for his Sin. This is a very useful Admonition in our time, wherein there is scarce any heed given to Oaths and Affirmations that are made in Writing, as if they were nothing but mere Formalities of Law, and not truly and properly Oaths. St. Gregory teaches the same thing in the Poem made against those who Swear often, where he says upon this Subject, *Is one less obliged by writing than by his Words? and tho' he should not have touched the Gospels, yet does he owe ever the less Reverence for God?*

The Letters of St. Gregory are in number 242, if we comprehend in that number the 10, last published by *Sirmondus*; but there are some of St. Basil's which are mixed among them, as the 30th. the 206th. and 207th. His Testament tho' Antient and Genuine relates only to his Domestic Affairs, and contains nothing but the Disposal of his Estate. This is all that we have to say in particular of the Works of Gregory Nazianzen: The Judgment which may be made of them in general is this:

It cannot be doubted, but this Author won the Prize of Eloquence from all the rest of his Age; for he does certainly excel them for the Purity of his Words, the Nobleness of his Expressions, the Ornament of his Discourse, the Variety of his Figures, the Justness of his Comparisons, the Beauty of his Reasonings, and the Sublimity of his Thoughts. St. *Jerome* and *Suidas* say, that he imitated an antient Author called *Polemon*, but we may say, that his Style approached very near to that of *Isocrates*. How lofty soever it be, it is Natural, flowing gently, and pleasantly; his Periods are full, and hold up to the End; he has a wonderful abundance of Words, and unparalleled easiness of Expression, and a most agreeable turn of Wit. His Orations are compos'd with much Art and Method, for in them he uses such Characters as are most agreeable to his Subject and his Auditors, so that one may say of him, that he was one of the most perfect Orators of *Greece*, yet he affected too many Antitheses, Allusions, Similitudes, Comparisons, and certain other Finenesses of Oratory, which seem to render it Effeminate. Sometimes also his Thoughts and Reasonings are false; but then 'tis covered with the sparkling of his Expressions, and involved in the multitude of his Words. He is extremely Copious, and says but few things in many Periods. There are great numbers of Philosophical thoughts interwoven in his Sermons, and they are full of Illustrations taken from History and Fables. He teaches Morality in such a manner as is more proper for Philosophers than the common People; but he is very Sublime and very Exact in the Explication of Mysteries, a Quality which made him deserve the Name of *the Divine* by way of Excellency. He had much Piety, but little skill in Managing of Business. He was so passionate a Lover of Retirement, that he could not for a considerable time apply himself to any Employment that hindered him from it. He easily undertook great things, but he quickly repented of his Undertakings. He had in his Life-time three Bishopricks, and yet it cannot be said that he was lawful Bishop of any one of them. For he would not have that of *Sasima* to which he was Ordained; and he did not accept of that of *Nazianzum*, but only for a time, to be Coadjutor to his Father, but upon Condition that he should not Succeed him. When he came to *Constantinople*, he had no design to be Bishop of that Church, neither did he take the Title upon him. 'Tis true that he was afterwards placed upon the Episcopal Throne by the Emperor and some Bishops; but he was at last forced to leave it. He was of a Morose and Satyrical Humour; he loved Raillery and spared no body; but chiefly the Bishops that were not worthy of their Ministry, or that did not lead a Life agreeable to their Holy Orders.

These are the Editions of the Works of this Father. In the year 1504, *Aldus Manutius*, a Printer at *Venice*, published one part of his Greek Poems; In the year 1516, he published sixteen Orations, and nine more in 1536. Afterwards all the Works of St. Gregory Nazianzen were collected together and printed in Greek at *Basle* by *Hervagius* in the year 1550. The antient Version of *Ruffinus* was printed at *Leipsick*, about the year 1522, without any Name. The Translation of *Bilibaldus Pircheymerus* was printed at the same time with the Greek at *Basle* by *Hervagius* in 1550. In 1571, *Leunclavius* translated 19 Orations which were printed by the same Printer. But all these Versions being very imperfect, *Jacobus Billius* Abbot of St. *Michael* of the Hermitage, who was one of the ablest Men of the last Age in the Greek Tongue, made a new Version of St. Gregory's Works, which was first printed at *Paris* in 1569, and at *Cologne* in 1570; but the Edition of the same Version which *Genebrard* published at *Paris* in 1583, and dedi-

icated to Pope Gregory the XIII. is much more large and more exact. 'Tis this Version which has the Greek Text on one side, in the *Paris* Edition in two Volumes, made by *Morellus* in 1609. Then there followed in the Edition of the Greek Text, the Corrections and Notes which *Billius* made on the Margin of *St. Gregory at Basle*, and 'twas reviewed by many Manuscripts. The first Volume contains the Life of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, written by *Gregory* the Priest, the Orations and Letters of *St. Gregory*, together with an Addition, which contains the Greek Text of the Oration to the praise of the Martyrs, some Letters, and the Greek and Latin Testament of *St. Gregory*, with the Notes of *Morellus*, and some Critical Observations upon the Text, the different Readings and many Corrections. The second Volume contains the Poems which had been already published by *Billius*, with his Version in Verse, and some others translated by *Morellus*, the Treatise of *Bishops*, and the Latin Commentaries of *Elias Cretensis*, *Nicetas Serronius*, *Pfellus*, *Cyrus*, and *Billius* upon all the Works of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. This Edition is one of the fairest in Greek and Latin, that ever was printed at *Paris*: In it the Greek Text is printed very neatly and exactly, the Latin Version is noble and elegant. The Beauty of the Latin Verse is little inferior to that of the Greek, and the Discourses are ranged in a very good Order; yet there are some Faults in the Text. The Version is not always literal and faithful enough, and the Order of time is not exactly observed, neither in the Letters, nor in the Orations. There remains now nothing for me to do, but to take notice of the particular Editions of some distinct Pieces of his Works. We have his Theological Orations translated by *Mossellanus*, printed at *Paris*, by *Chivallon*, in 1532;

38 Orations of *Pircheymerus's* Version, printed at *Basle* in 1551; some others translated by *Gabriellus* at *Antwerp* in 1575; some Greek Sermons at *Ausburg* in 1587; three Sermons with Corrections upon the Text of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, printed at *Antwerp* in 1573; the Homily of *Whitsunday*, Greek and Latin, at *Leipsick* in 1582; the Oration of *The Love of the Poor*, translated by *Zinus* in 1550, printed by *Vasconius*; the same Oration with the Apologetical Discourse, and the Sermon upon the Birth of *Jesus Christ* by *Engubinus*, printed by *Plantin* in 1513. The two Invectives against *Julian*, and some other Works at *Eaton*, in 1610; the Sermon upon *Easter* translated by *Oecolampadius*; the Oration upon *St. Athanasius*, at *Paris* in 1627; some select Poems printed at *Rome* in 1592, and 1599; the Tetrallick Verses at *Venice* in 1562; the Poems translated by *Billius*, with the Notes of *Cyrus*, at *Paris* in 1562; the Poems about Definitions translated and published by *Hoescheilus*, with the Translation of *Leunclavius*, in the Printing-House of *St. Andrew* in 1591; some Poems by *Plantin* in 1556; the Poems of the Rules of Life collected by *Sambucus*, by *Plantin* in 1568; the Poems about Principles at *Amsterdam* in 1568; the Poem of his Life with the Translation of *Billius* in 1598; the Poem of the Canonical Books at *Paris* in Latin in 1561; some Odes in 1603; the Tragedy of *Jesus Suffering* in Greek at *Rome* in 1542, and at *Louvain* in 1544: His Letters printed with those of *St. Basil*, and translated by *Comanus*; two Letters to *Theodoretus* printed apart; the Letter to *Nicobulus* printed also apart in 1597; the Testament published by *Leunclavius* at *Frankford* in 1596, at *Eaton* in 1610; by *Briffonius* in his Forms, by *Baronius* in his Annals; and lastly, by *Sirmundus*, at the end of the Edition, Greek and Latin, of 1609.

ST. GREGORY NYSSSEN.

ST. Gregory Bishop of *Nyssa* a City of *Cappadocia*, Brother of *St. Basil*, was born about the year 339. He did not embrace a solitary Life, as his Brothers *Basil* *Peter* and *Naukratius* did, but continued in the World, and married a Wife called *Theosebia* (a). He professed at first Rhetorick, and with much difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders (b). He was made Bishop some time after *St. Basil* in the Year 371. But he did not continue long in peaceable Possession of his See; for he was quickly persecuted by the Emperor *Valens*, and forced away from his Church in 374, by *Demosthenes* who substituted in his Room a sad Wretch, as we have already observed in the Life of *St. Basil*. He returned with the other exiled Bishops in the year 378, and was restored to the Possession of his Episcopal See. He appeared after this with Splendor at the General Council of *Constantinople* in the year 382, where he was chosen to make a Funeral Oration upon *Meletius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and delegated to be one of those Bishops who should visit the Diocess of *Pontus*, as appears by the Law of the Emperor *Theodosius*, and as *St. Gregory* himself testifies in his Epistle to *Flavianus*. 'Tis believed that he was present also at a Council held in this City in the year 383, and that he spoke there the Discourse against the *Anomæans*, which is entituled, *A Discourse about Abraham, or, of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit*. In 385, he preached also at *Constantinople* the Funeral Oration of the Empress *Placilla*. In short, his Name appears in the List of Metropolitans in the Council held at *Constantinople* for the Dedication of the Church of *Ruffini* in the year 394. But it is certain he died soon after.

This Father wrote many Books which are Commentaries upon Scripture, Dogmatical Treatises, Sermons upon the Mysteries of Religion, Discourses of Morality, Panegyrics upon the Saints, Funeral Orations, and some Letters concerning Discipline.

The first Book upon the Scripture is a small Piece upon the Creation, wherein without insisting upon the Questions which *St. Basil* had explained before, he endeavours principally to explain the Sense of the Words of *Genesis*, and the Order of the Creation.

The second Book of *St. Gregory Nyssen* is his Treatise about the Formation of Man, divided into thirty Chapters, wherein he handles many Questions more curious than useful concerning the Creation of the World, the Formation of Man, the Nature and Origin of his Soul, concerning the Resurrection, and the Structure of a human Body. There he teaches, that the Soul is a Spirit which is equally in all parts of the Body; he refutes the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-existence of Souls before the Body, and maintains that they are formed in the same Moment with

the Body. He thinks, that in the State of Innocence there would have been no Generation, but that Men would have multiplied by some other means.

The two following Homilies about the Formation of Man are *St. Basil's*, as we have already observed. There is also a Homily in the second Volume, upon the same Subject, wherein he explains all the Senses in which it can be said, that Man was created after the Image and Likeness of God. We may place among the number of Commentaries upon the Old Testament, the little Tract of the Witch of *Endor*, wherein he explains a part of the 28th. Chapter of the first Book of *Samuel*, and proves that it was not truly the Soul of *Samuel* that appeared to *Saul*, but that it was the Devil who assumed the Likeness of this Prophet.

The Book of the Life of *Moses* is an Allegorical Explication of all the Actions of this Lawgiver to the Jews, from whence he draws either Moral Instructions, or some Reflections upon Religion; upon which account 'tis also entituled, *Of a perfect Life*.

The Two Treatises upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms, are more useful than the preceding. In the First, he treats of the End, the Order, and the Distribution of the Psalms. He affirms, that their End is to teach the way of Virtue which leads to Happiness; That they are useful and delightful to all sorts of Persons, in what State and Condition soever they be, and whatsoever their Disposition be. He divides the Psalms into Five Parts, the First ends at the 40th. Psalm, the Second at the 71st. the Third at the 88th. the Fourth at the 105th. and the Fifth continues to the End of the Psalms. He is of Opinion that the Psalms contained in the First Part were, composed to dissuade Men from Vice, and induce them to Virtue; That those which are in the Second, represent the Thirst and Ardour of those who have any Knowledge of Virtue, and any relish of its Sweetness; That those of the Third Part describe the State of those Persons who are advanced to the Knowledge of Divine things; That those of the Fourth raise Men's Minds above all things in this World; That those of the Fifth elevate a Man to the highest top of Perfection. There is more Wit than Solidity in these Reflections, as well as in the Interpretations of the Titles or Inscriptions of the Psalms, which he has given in his Second Part, and are almost all of them Allegorical. The same Judgment ought to be made of his Homily upon the 6th. Psalm which follows this Treatise.

The Eight Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes* are less forced, more useful and more natural: Those upon the Canticles are wholly Allegorical; but this Book cannot otherwise be explained. He wrote also upon the Proverbs, as he testifies at the beginning of the Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes*;

(a) **H**E married a Wife called *Theosebia*.] In the Oration of *St. Gregory Nazianzen* in Commendation of *St. Basil*, he very clearly observes, That *St. Gregory Nyssen* was of the Four Brethren that was engaged in Marriage; and the same *St. Gregory* in *Ep. 95.* comforts *St. Gregory Nyssen* upon the Death of *Theosebia*, wherein he speaks of his Wife.

(b) **With much Difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders.**] *St. Gregory Nazianzen* reproves him in *Ep. 34.* for that he having discharged the Office of a Reader in the Church, seemed willing to embrace his ancient Profession, adding himself wholly to the Study of Rhetorick and Human Learning.

St. Gregory Nyssen. but that Commentary of his is lost. *Possinus* has promised his entire Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*.

The First Discourse of Prayer is concerning the Necessity of it, and the manner wherein we ought to pray. The four other Discourses are an Explication of the Lord's Prayer, as the following Treatise is an Explication of the Beatitudes: He always interweaves his Moral Reflections with a multitude of Allegories, Comparisons, and Histories, which render them less profitable and more tedious.

In the Homily upon the Words of Chap. 15. of the 1st. Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *When all things shall be subdued unto God even the Father, then shall the Son himself also be subject unto him*, Which is the First in the Second Volume; he refutes the Consequences which the *Arians* draw from this Passage, and shews, that by the Subjection of the Son, we must not understand a State of Servitude, but the Immortality and Happiness of the Human Nature of Jesus Christ.

The Longest and most Excellent of all the Dogmatical Works of St. Gregory Nyssen, is his Treatise against *Eunomius*, divided into Twelve Books (c), wherein he refutes a part of what this Heretick had asserted in his Apology in answer to St. Basil. St. Gregory composed this Book after the Death of this Father, as we learn from the Letter at the beginning of it, which is addressed to his Brother Peter of Sebastea. At the beginning of the First Book, he defends the Person and Conduct of St. Basil against the Calumnies of *Eunomius*: He describes the Life of this Heretick and that of his Master *Aëtius*, and afterwards refutes the Impious Reasonings of this Heretick, and explains the Passages of Scripture which he alledges to prove his Errors. *Photius* assures us, that in this Book St. Gregory did far excel the other two Authors which have Written against the same Book of *Eunomius*, as well for the Beauty and Sweetness of his Eloquence, as for the Strength and Multitude of his Arguments. He particularly praises the last Book which in his time was considered as a distinct Treatise.

His great Catechetical Discourse is an excellent Treatise of the manner, in which the Jews, Pagans, and Hereticks are to be instructed, to Convince them of the Truth of our Religion. St. Gregory Nyssen observes in the Preface, That the reasons which are to be used against Pagans, who deny the Unity of God, are different from those that must be alledged against the Jews who oppose the Trinity, and that the Method which is to be followed in refuting the Hereticks who oppose the Divinity of One of the Three Persons, should be different from that which is observed in proving the Trinity against the Jews: That in Disputing both against the one and the other, we must use Principles agreeable to reason, in which they and we are agreed; That when one Disputes against an Atheist he must prove the Existence of a God by the Creation of the World; and when he has to do with a Pagan who admits many Deities, he must prove to him that there is but One, because God must be absolutely perfect, and there can be no more of this Nature but One. With respect to the Jew, he would have us endeavour to make him understand the Divine Word, by comparing it with the Word of Understanding, or the Reason that is in Men, and give him also some Idea of the Holy Spirit by comparing him to the Breath that is in us, and then after that he would have us to prove the Existence of the Divine Word by the Testimonies of Holy Scripture. To make the Incarnation appear probable to the Jews and to the Gentiles, he shews them, That Man has fallen from the State wherein he was created; That his Nature is corrupted by Sin; That it cannot be said, that God is the Author of Evil; That therefore Man must have fallen by his own fault, and by abusing his Liberty; but that Man being once fallen, must be raised up again by him who created him; and thus it was reasonable that the Word who created him, should come himself to raise him from his Fall, and save him from his Shipwreck. Afterwards he answers all the Difficulties which are proposed against the Incarnation; he says, that it was not unworthy of God to be born of a Virgin, to Eat, to Drink, to Die, and to be Buried, because these things are neither criminal nor dishonourable; That the Divinity being united to the Human Nature did not lose its Divine Perfections, as the Soul does not lose its Spiritual perfections by being united to the Body; That the Union of Soul and Body to compose a Man is no less incomprehensible than the Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Jesus Christ; that the Miracles of Jesus Christ, his extraordinary Birth, and his Resurrection are evident Proofs of his Divinity; That the Reason which moved him to become Man, was his Good-will towards Men, and his Compassion towards Mankind; That his Divinity always continued impassible and Incorruptible; That the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was the most natural Remedy for us miserable Sinners, and most agreeable to the Goodness, the Justice, the Wisdom and Power of God; that he came at such a time when Wickedness was arrived to its highest pitch; that he

called all Men, but by calling them to the Faith he did not take away their Liberty; and this was the Reason why many of them still perished; that Men ought not to be compelled and forced to do Good, for this would take away the praise of good Actions, and the blame of bad ones; that Christ ought to die, that he might be wholly like unto us, and that he might confirm our Resurrection by his own; that all that he did after his Resurrection firmly proves his Divinity. Afterwards he speaks of Baptism and the Eucharist; He says of Baptism, that there are Three things in this Sacrament which conduct us to Immortal Life, Prayer, Water, and Faith; that the regeneration which is wrought in Baptism ought not to be attributed to the Water, but to a Divine Vertue; that by dipping the Person under Water Three times, the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ is represented; that without Baptism, no Man can be washed from his Sins, because by it the Divine Vertue is rendered effectual, in consequence of that which he believes to depend upon Free-will; that as the Soul is united to God by Baptism and by Faith, so the Body is united to God by the Eucharist. This is the Doctrine of St. Gregory Nyssen, who says, that the Body of Jesus Christ entering into us, is an Antidote or Preservative against Sin; that it changes and transforms us into him, and communicates unto us Incorruptibility. Afterwards he enquires, 'How it is possible, that this Body which is distributed alone to so many Millions of the Faithful over all the Earth, should be entire in each of these, and in each part which they receive, and yet not cease to remain still entire in it self: And he answers, that the Body of Jesus Christ having been the Habitation of the Word of God, was changed into a Divine Dignity: And therefore I have reason to believe, says he, that to this Day the Bread being Sanctified by the Word of God, is changed into the Body of the Word of God: For here the Bread is Sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, not that 'tis presently turned into the Body of God by eating it, but because it is transformed and changed at the same time into his Body, as the Word has said in these Words, *This is my Body*.' He adds, that this Flesh of Jesus Christ is communicated to us, and is changed into us by means of the Bread and Wine which God hath changed and transformed into his Body, by Vertue of the Sacred Benediction. He speaks in the following Discourse of Regeneration. He thinks that it depends in some manner upon our Will and free Pleasure: And shews that it is unprofitable, unless after we have received the Sacrament, we lead a Life free from Sin. At last, he Discourses of the reward of those who have lived well, and the punishment of the Wicked. He affirms, that the Fire of Hell is of another Nature than the Fire upon Earth. There are at the end some Periods added against the Heretick *Severus*. Some Protestant Criticks have called this Book in Question, whether it was St. Gregory's or no; but the ablest, as *Casaubon* and *Albertin* have been forced to acknowledge it, because they found it quoted oftentimes by *Theodoret* in his Dialogues, and taken notice of by *Euthymius Zigabenus*.

In the Book of Faith addressed to *Simplicius*, St. Gregory treats of the Trinity. There he proves the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and Answers the principal Objections of the Hereticks.

The Discourse which was formerly Entitled, *Of Great Abraham*, is now, *Of the Divinity of the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; there he answers the *Anomæans*, whom he compares to the *Epicureans* and the *Stoicks*; he makes also a great Digression in praise of *Abraham*, wherein he describes the Sacrifice of his Son very naturally.

In the Treatise addressed to *Ablavius*, and entitled, *That we must not say there are Three Gods*, he shews that the Three Divine Persons cannot be called Three Gods, but that they are one God only.

The Treatise to *Eustathius*, and that of the difference of *Hypostasis* and Nature are upon the same Subject; but they are found, as we have already said, among the Letters of St. Basil, and it is probable that the First was written by him.

The Latin Treatise which contains the Passages of the Old Testament, to prove the Divinity of the Son against the Jews, is not St. Gregory Nyssen's since St. Chrysostom, who lived after St. Gregory, is cited in it.

The Treatise of *Common Notions* addressed to the Greeks, is a scholastical Treatise about the Terms, by which the Ancients used to explain the Mystery of the Trinity.

There are two little Tracts of St. Gregory Nyssen's against *Apollinarius*; the one very short in the First Volume, which is probably nothing but a Fragment; the other a little longer in the Second Volume. There he refutes some Objections of this Heretick; and proves, that it is the same Word which appeared to the Patriarchs, and which assumed real Flesh in Time, and which is so intimately united to the Human Nature, that what agrees to God is attributed to Man.

(c) His Treatise against Eunomius, divided into Twelve Books. There are some who have reckoned Thirteen; but they have inconveniently divided the Fifth Book into Two. These Books

are quoted according to the present Division by *Theodoret*, and the Sixth Council. St. Jerome in his Catalogue Testifies, That St. Gregory Nyssen read this Division of his Treatise to him.

St. Gregory Nyssen. In the little Tract against the Manichees, St. Gregory proves against these Hereticks, that Evil is not an uncorruptible and uncreated Nature, no more than the Devil who is the Author of it. He Demonstrates this by Ten Syllogisms.

In the Treatise of *Destiny* he particularly disputes against Judicial Astrology, which makes our Actions depend upon the Course and Influence of the Stars.

In the Treatise of *the Soul* which is in the Second Volume, he first relates the different Sentiments of Philosophers and Hereticks concerning the Original and Nature of the Soul, and then proves that it is a Spiritual and Immortal Substance which is united to the Body, which Penetrates, and actuates it. He compares this Union to that of the Divine and Human Nature in Jesus Christ, and rejects the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Ascension and Descent of Souls.

The Second Treatise of *the Soul and the Resurrection*, which is in the Third Volume, is a Dialogue which St. Gregory is supposed to have had with his Sister *Macrina*, after the death of St. Basil their Brother. There he proves the Immortality of the Soul. He is of opinion that it will distinctly know its Body at the Day of Judgment. He explains the Story of the wicked Rich Man and *Lazarus* Allegorically. There he refutes the Transmigration of Souls, and proves the Resurrection.

In the Treatise addressed to *Jerius* concerning the untimely death of Infants, he endeavours to answer this Question, Why God suffers Infants to die before they come to the Use of Reason? The most general Reason that he offers is, that he does it to prevent those Sins that these Infants would have committed, if they had come to the Age of Discretion. And because it may be Objected to him, Why then does God permit so many wicked Persons to live, who had been more happy if they had never been, or if they should have died sooner? He Answers, that God permits it, First, because he draws Good out of the Evil which they do; Secondly, because their Punishment serves for an Example of God's Justice.

Some Criticks have questioned whether the Book of *Virginity* was St. Gregory Nyssen's: The only reason which they alledged for calling it in Question, is, because the Author was Married: But this reason is so far from proving what they intend, that it rather proves the contrary, since it is certain that St. Gregory Nyssen had a Wife, as we have already shewn. He describes in this Treatise the Advantages of Virginity, and the Inconveniencies of Marriage; nevertheless he does not design to condemn Marriage. He adds, that the Christian Virginity does not only consist in the Purity of the Body, but also in the Purity of the Soul. He recommends Temperance, and the shunning of Pleasures and Voluptuousness, and gives many Rules and Examples of Christian Virtues.

The Sermons or Homilies of *the Mysteries* have much of the Nature of Dogmatical Treatises. Thus in the Sermon upon the Nativity; having exhorted the Faithful to Celebrate this Festival with joy; he explains some Questions about the Incarnation, and clears up some Circumstances about the Nativity. He follows the same Method in the Five Sermons upon *Easter*, which are filled with many Allegories. In the Sermon of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, he explains the 23d. and 24th. Psalms.

In that of *Whitsunday*, he exhorts Men to make themselves worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.

In that upon the Festival of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, he treats of the Spiritual Regeneration which is wrought by Baptism, and exhorts those that are newly Baptized, to lead a pure Life and free from Sin.

In the Discourse of the presenting of Jesus Christ in the Temple, of the Purification of the Virgin, and of *Simeon*, he makes many Allegories upon these Mysteries.

The Discourses of Morality are less Allegorical and more useful than those that we have spoken of already. The Subject of those which we now have is as follows.

In the Oration upon his Ordination, St. Gregory discourses of the Miseries of the Church, and the little Faith which was to be found among the Christians of his time. He condemns the Divisions which were in the Church, and the Sophisms that were used about Mysteries. He exhorts Men to Pray for the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and to dispose themselves to receive them.

In the Discourse against those that delay Baptism, he exhorts the Catechumens to receive Baptism presently without delaying it from day to day, as many Catechumens do. He invites them to draw near to Baptism, that they may be delivered from their Sins. He terrifies them with the fear of Death, the time whereof is uncertain. He makes them ashamed of continuing so long in the Rank of Catechumens. He inspires them with a Desire of receiving Baptism, by representing to them the Graces which it conveys, and the wonderful Effects which it produces. He thinks that it would be better to sin after Baptism, than to die without

St. Gregory Nyssen. it. He refutes the Pretence of those, who delay to receive Baptism, because they find themselves still inclined to Sin: He says, that they deceive themselves, if they think that after they have spent their Life in Pleasures and Debauchery, they shall be purified by receiving Baptism at the point of Death. He distinguishes, as St. Gregory Nazianzen did, three Sorts of Persons with relation to another Life. The first Sort are the Saints and Righteous who are happy; The second, are those who shall neither be Happy nor Miserable; The third, are those who shall be punished for their Sins. He places in the second Rank those who delay their Baptism till the Point of Death. This is a singular Opinion of his, and does not agree with the Holy Scripture; which has made some believe that this Treatise was not St. Gregory Nyssen's: But it has his Style and Air, and is not much different from his Doctrine, nor from that of St. Gregory Nazianzen in the Discourse which he made upon the same Subject.

The Discourse of Penance (d) contains two Parts: the first against those who reprove their Brethren with much sharpness, and condemn them upon slight Grounds; and the second against those Sinners who do no Penance, or do it very negligently. He proves by the Example of Jesus Christ who convers'd among Pharisees and Sinners, that Sinners are not to be treated with much rigour, nor to be condemned rashly. He adds, that by using them hardly we throw them into Despair; that we ought to consider that we are all Sinners; that God invites all the World to accept of his Grace; that we ought to support the Weak, according to the Example of Jesus Christ; that the greatest Sinners have obtained Mercy; and that God is always ready to pardon those who are penitent. He shews afterwards, that Harshness and Rigour do not agree with the Laity, who by condemning others with too much Severity, condemn themselves; nor with Bishops and Priests, whose Character should be Mild and Charitable, as he proves by the Examples of *Moses* and Jesus Christ. He observes, that a good Pastor should do as the Gardener mentioned in the Gospel, who prayed his Master to spare the barren Fig-tree a little longer, and that he should follow the Example of *Moses*, who continually begged pardon of God for the People of *Israel*; and whose Affection went so far, that he wished he might be blotted out of the Book of Life, if God would pardon the Sins of his People. He subjoins the example of the prodigal Son, and says, that from thence we ought to learn to open the Church to penitent Sinners, and to treat them with Mildness and Charity. But after he has said these things against the too great Severity of some Ministers of the Church, who despis'd those that came near them as Supplicants, who would not regard them in their Afflictions, who shunned and repuls'd them; he exhorts Sinners to Repentance by the example of the Woman that was a Sinner who is mentioned in St. Luke. He says, that they must imitate her Weeping, her Tears, her Humility and Penance. He declaims against those Penitents, who lived after the same manner that they us'd to do before they were in a State of Penance. 'They have, says he, the same Gravity in their Countenances, the same Magnificence in their Apparel, they fare as Sumptuously as they did before, they Sleep, as well as they did, they mind the same Business as before; in short, they take upon them the name of Penitents, and do no Actions of Penance. They are by their own Fault debarred from the sacred Mysteries, and from the Communion of Holy things, and they take no care, nor are any ways solicitous to be readmitted to them; on the contrary they seem to despise them, and look upon them as very vile things.' After this he shews by the Comparison of one who was debarred from a King's Table, and of one that being Sick desired to be healed, how great the Folly is of those who never think of doing Penance. 'You, says he, whose Soul is sick, why do not you run to a Physician? Why do you not discover your Sins to him by Confession? Why do you suffer your Disease to encrease till it be inflamed and deeply rooted in you? Re-enter into your own Breasts, reflect upon your own Ways. You have offended God, you have provoked your Creator, who is the Lord and Judge, not only of this Life, but also of the Life to come. If you be sick with Pleasures, you must cure your Disease with Fasting and Abstinence; if your Soul is sick with Lust, you must use continence for a Remedy. Covetousness is like a Fever that consumes us, drive it away by giving of Alms and by Liberality; this is the Remedy of a Soul that loves Riches immoderately. Have you taken the Goods of another? Make Restitution. Are you ready to perish by Lying? Avoid the danger you are in by the love of Truth. You are in Error and Heresie; blot out this Sin by embracing the Faith of the Church; for what is doing Penance, but effacing and destroying the Evil we have done? Enquire into the Disease wherewith you are seized, be

(d) The Discourse of Penance.] This Discourse as well as that of Fasting, and the Panegyrick upon St. Stephen, belong to *Asterius Amasenus*, to whom *Photius* attributes them in Vol. 27.

of his Bibliotheque. See what we have said of them, when we give an account of the Works of this Father, where we have retracted what we said upon this Subject in the First Edition.

St. Gregory Nyssen. ' sorry for it, afflict your selves and communicate your Affliction to your Brethren, that they may be afflicted with you, that so you may obtain the Pardon of your Sins. ' Shew me bitter Tears, that I may mingle mine with yours. ' Impart your trouble to your Bishop, as to your Father, ' he will be touched with a sense of your Misery, as *Jacob* ' was when he saw the Coat of his Son *Joseph* stained with ' Blood; or as *David* was upon the Death of his Son *Ab-* ' *salom*: Discover to him the most secret Corners of your ' Heart; shew this Physician your most hidden Wounds, ' he will take care of your Honour and your Health. The ' time of our Death is uncertain; my Brethren, let us pre- ' vent the Hour of our Death by our Vigilance, as Men ' use precaution against the Diseases of the Body before the ' Dog-days; let us endeavour to recover the Groat, which ' we lost by our negligence.

The Discourse of *Benevolence and Liberality towards the Poor*, contains the most convincing Reasons, the most pressing Motives, and the most lively Expressions which can be employed to excite Men to give Alms to the Poor; and to help them in their Necessities.

In the Discourse *against Usurers*, he shews that Usury is forbidden by the Laws of Charity, especially when he to whom the Money is lent, is poor.

In the Discourse *about Fasting* which was preached at the beginning of *Lent*, he exhorts the Faithful to fast exactly during this time. In the Sermon *against Fornication*, he gives a frightful Representation of that Sin.

The Discourse against those *who hardly endure Reproofs*, teaches That Humility and Submission wherewith they should receive the Chastisement of the Church. St. Gregory discourges there against those who despise Excommunication. He gives a frightful Description of the Soul of an Excommunicated Person; and says, that it cannot partake of Glory, nor enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; that we must not imagine that Excommunication is an Invention of the Bishops; that it is an antient Law of the Church, the Custom of our Fathers founded upon the Scripture which first introduced it: He shews the Necessity of it. Towards the end he observes, that he did not wonder that many were troubled to bear his Rebukes, and murmured against him; that this Abuse had been of a long time, but he was resolved to bear with Patience the Reproaches of others.

We may place at the Head of the Funeral Orations and the Panegyrics of St. Gregory Nyssen, the Discourse wherein he proves, that we ought not to be troubled at the Death of the Faithful, because it delivers them from this mortal and miserable Life, that they may enjoy immortal Life and eternal Happiness.

In the Funeral Oration upon *Pulcheria* the Daughter of *Theodosius*, after he has aggravated the Loss which he suffered by the Death of this young Princess, he shews that they should comfort themselves, since she is now happy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Empress *Flaccilla*, he describes the Virtues of this Princess, and represents the Happiness which she enjoys in Heaven.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr St. *Stephen*, after he has given an Account of the History of his Martyrdom and praised his Constancy, he refutes the Enemies of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

There are three Discourses of St. Gregory Nyssen in Honour of the 40 Martyrs, wherein he relates their Martyrdom, and praises their Constancy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Theodorus* (e). having described the Honours which the Church bestows upon Saints and Martyrs, and the Rewards which they enjoy, he relates the Martyrdom of *Theodorus*, and concludes with addressing a Prayer to him, for obtaining the Graces and Blessings of God by his Intercession.

In the Panegyrick upon St. Gregory *Thaumaturgus*, he praises the excellent Virtues of this great Saint; he relates many of his Miracles, whereof some are very extraordinary. *Suidas* names this Panegyrick among St. Gregory's Works, and there is no reason at all to doubt of it.

The Panegyrics upon St. *Basil*, *Meletius* and St. *Ephrem*, contain nothing but the Life and Praises of those great Men. To these Orations we may joyn the Life of St. *Macrina* his Sister.

The Canonical Epistle to *Letoius* contains the Rules or Laws of Penance. St. Gregory there distinguishes three sorts of Sins, which refer to the three Faculties of the Soul, *Reason*, *Lust* and *Anger*. He says, that the greatest Sins are those which belong to the Spirit of a Man, such as Idolatry, Judaism, Manichæism and Heresie. He would have those that voluntarily fall into these Crimes be deprived of the Sacra-

ments till the Hour of Death: But, he says, that those who have been forced by the Rigor of Torments to commit some of these Crimes, ought not to be punished more severely than Fornicators. He ordains also, that those who deal in Magick, Witchcraft and Divination of things to come, should be treated as wilful Apostates, if they have practised this Art thro' Infidelity; but he would have them treated as those who yield under the Rigor of Torments, if they have used it only thro' too much Credulity, or in hope of some considerable Gain. He says, that as to what concerns the Sins of Lust, they may be referred to Adultery and Fornication; and that Fornication is a kind of Adultery. He refers to Adultery the Crimes which are against Nature. He imposes nine years Penance upon simple Fornication, and double the time upon Adultery; yet he leaves to the Bishop a Liberty of moderating or lengthning the Penance according to the Disposition of the Penitent; and he would have those treated more gently who confess their secret and hidden Sins. In short, as to the Sins which proceed from Anger, he says, that tho' the Scripture reproves all Sins severely, yet the Fathers have made no Laws but against Murder. He imposes 27 Years Penance for wilful Murder; and for involuntary Murders, the same space of time as for Fornication; yet he allows this Penance to be diminished according to the Fervour of the Penitent. In general he observes, that all those who fall sick before they have perfectly finished their Penance, should be reconciled at the point of Death, and be admitted to receive the Sacraments; yet upon Condition that they fulfil their time of Penance if they recover their health.

As for Covetousness, he says, That tho' this Crime be another kind of Idolatry, yet there are no Canons made to subject the Covetous to Penance; and therefore it is sufficient to purify them from this Crime by Instruction and Prayer. As for Robbery, he says, there are two sorts of it; that which is done publicly and by force of Arms, and that which is done secretly: That those who are guilty of the first sort, ought to be put under the same Penance as Murderers; but as for those who steal another's Goods in secret, it was sufficient that they should restore them and give Alms to the Poor. He looks upon the Action of those who dig up the Dead as a very great Crime, and puts them under the same Penance as Fornicators.

At last, he says, that tho' Sacrilege was one of the Crimes which was punished under the Old Law by stoning the Person that was guilty of it; yet this Punishment was mitigated under the New Law, and that now sacrilegious Persons were treated less harshly than Adulterers. He concludes with this Advertisement to *Letoius* to whom he writes, that he should chiefly consider the Disposition of the Person that does Penance, because it is not the Length of time, but the Conversion of the Person and Change of his Life which cures the Sin.

Some Criticks have doubted whether this Letter was St. Gregory Nyssen's; but there is no reason to reject it, and it has been owned by the Greek Church, as appears by the Council held in the Emperor's Palace which approves the Canons of St. Gregory Nyssen, and by the Commentaries of *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* who acknowledge it to be genuine; and besides 'tis sufficiently evident that 'tis the Work of an antient Author.

In the Letter of the Profession of a Christian, he shews that it consists in imitating Jesus Christ, and he explains in what sense this can be done.

In the following Letter to *Olympius*, he explains particularly wheroin Christian Perfection consists, and makes a particular Enumeration of all the Offices and Virtues of a perfect Christian.

The Treatise concerning the End which Christians ought to propose to themselves, is almost upon the same Subject. St. Gregory proves, that the End of all Christians should be to shun Vice, to practise Virtue, to purify themselves from their Sins, to beg the Grace of Jesus Christ, to be humble, to be charitable, to be diligent in Prayer, to despise the World, and to fix their Affections upon God. This Treatise is addressed to the Monks.

In the Letter to *Flavianus*, he complains of the evil Treatment he had received from *Helladius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

In the Letter concerning Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, he dissuades Christians from undertaking lightly these kind of Journeys, because of the Abuses which happen in them. There have been great Disputes occasioned by this Letter: Some have believed it supposititious; others have maintained that what is there said respects only the Monks and the

(e) The Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Theodorus*.] Some Criticks think that this Panegyrick is supposititious. First, because the Author of this Discourse, prays the Holy Martyr to hinder the Incursions of the *Scythians*: Now, say they, the *Scythians* had not made any Incursions into *Armenia*, till 100 Years after the Death of St. Gregory, under the Reign of *Anastasius*. Secondly, the Author says, that *Theodorus* was of the Country of *Job*, that is, of *Arabia*, and yet his is a Greek Name, and 'tis said in the same Panegyrick that he was of *Amasea* in *Cap-*

padoia. But 'tis easy to answer the first Difficulty, for the *Scythians* had made Incursions into the *Roman* Empire in the time of St. Gregory Nyssen, as appears by St. *Jerome* Ep. 30. and by *Cedrenus*, who says that they entred into *Thrace* under the reign of *Valens*. The second Objection has no Difficulty, for the Author of this Panegyrick does not say, that *Job* was of *Arabia*, nor that *Theodorus* was of the same Province with *Job*, but only that they were both of the East:

St. Gregory Nyssen. Nuns. But first, there are no Arguments strong enough to reject it, and the most learned Catholics have acknowledged it as a genuine Work of St. Gregory's: And in the second place, some Reasons which are used to dissuade Men from Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, respect all Christians in general. In the mean time, 'tis no ways probable, that St. Gregory Nyssen, who was so very much devoted to the Saints, should absolutely condemn the Piety of those who travelled upon a good Design to visit the Holy Places, especially since this Practice was authorized and approved from the beginning of the Fourth Age of the Church. It must therefore be said, that he did not condemn it but upon the account of the Abuses and Superstitions, which began in his time to creep into these kind of Devotions, of which he was a Witness in his Journey to *Jerusalem*. Thus St. Jerome who was very much devoted to the Holy Places, in his 13th. Epistle, dissuades *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, from a Journey to *Jerusalem* upon the same Reason that St. Gregory uses. And to shew that St. Gregory could have no other Aim or Design, one needs but compare this Letter with the following to *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia* and *Basilissa* wherein he acknowledges, that 'tis a Happiness to see the Holy Places, provided a Man represents the Death and Sufferings of Jesus Christ by his own Actions to himself. He complains in this Letter, that the Church of *Jerusalem* was no more exempt from Divisions than other Churches, and explains towards the latter end the Mystery of the Incarnation. There he teaches, that the Divinity was not changed into the Humanity, but that the Divinity was united to a Nature like to ours, that it assumed a Body and a Soul, and was never separated from them; that the Virgin ought to be called the Mother of God, and not the Mother of a Man. He rejects the Opinion of the *Millenaries*. He complains of some that would not communicate with him in the Journey which he made to *Jerusalem*. At last, he exhorts those to whom he writes, who were at *Jerusalem*, to continue firm in the Faith of their Fore-Fathers, and not to prefer Novelties to the antient Doctrine received from their Fathers by Tradition.

St. Cyril in the Book written to *Evoptius*, quotes a Passage of St. Gregory taken out of his Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the *Philippians*, which can be no other St. Gregory but this of *Nyssa*. The eight Books of *Nemesius's* Philosophy have formerly been attributed to him; but now it is generally agreed that this was a gross Error.

Tho' St. Gregory Nyssen professed Rhetorick, and *Photius* assures us, that his Style is lofty and smooth; yet one may say, that he came not near the Eloquence of St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. His way of writing is affected, and his Style is no ways natural; he speaks more like a Declaimer than an Orator; he is always abstruse either by Allegories, or abstracted Reasonings; he mingles Philosophy with Divinity, and makes use of the Principles of Philosophers, both in his Explications of Mysteries, and in his Discourses of Morality: Upon which account his Works are more like the Treatises of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, than those of other Christians. He follows and imitates *Origen* in his way of Allegorizing, and there are also some of this Author's Errors in his Works, about the Nature of Souls, and the end of the Pains of the damned; but he rejects and refutes them expressly in other places: 'Tis very probable therefore that the places wherein these Errors are to be met with were added since, which *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* shews in a Book, out of which *Photius* relates an Extract in Vol. 218. of his *Bibliotheca*; wherein he proves as well by what goes before those places, as by what follows after them, and by an infinite number of contrary Passages, that those places which agree with the Doctrine of *Origen* concerning the end of the Pains of the damned, were either added, or corrupted by the Disciples of this Author. He observes also, that the like happened to the Conference about the Soul with *Macrina*, to the Catechetical Discourse, and the Book of the Perfection of a Christian: And he should have added also the Treatise about Infants who die before they come to the Use of Reason. It may be said also, that St. Gregory Nyssen having his Head full of the Books and Principles of *Origen*, could not always be so careful but

some of his Errors would slip unawares into his Reasonings, tho' he was not really of his Opinion, and he rejected them at other times when he was more attentive. Yet 'tis plain that there is an Addition at the end of the great Catechetical Discourse, wherein mention is made of the Heretick *Severus*.

'Twas a long time before the Works of St. Gregory Nyssen were all collected together into one Body. The first Editions have only the Eight Books of *Nemesius's* Philosophy. In 1536. *Aldus Minutius* printed at *Venice* three Greek Orations, and in 1537, the Greek Text of the Book of the Formation of Man; and the Version of this Book made by *Dionysius Exiguus*, was printed with the Treatise of the Life of Moses, and the Eight Books of *Nemesius*, at *Cologne*, in 1551. The Book of the Life of Moses, translated by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, was printed at *Basle* in 1521. In 1544 *Camerarius* published a Version of the Homily upon *Abraham*. In 1550, *Zinus* published a Version of some Moral Homilies, which was printed by *Vasiosanus*. The Conference about the Soul, translated by *Augerius*, was printed at *Paris* in 1557. *Laurentius Sifannus* collected together and translated several Treatises of St. Gregory Nyssen's, and caused them to be printed at *Basle* in 1562. In 1567, *Leunclavius* made a new Translation of the Book of the Life of Moses. In 1564, *Hoeschelius* caused the Greek Text of some Orations of St. Gregory Nyssen to be printed at *Ausburg*. In 1567, the Book of *Virginity* was printed at *Rome* translated by *Galestinus*, together with Five Orations; the same Book was also Translated by *Livineius*, whose Version appeared in 1574. The Discourse of Purification and of the Soul was printed at *Cologne* in 1568. The Edition of the Year 1562 was re-printed at *Basle* in 1571. There was added to it the Exposition upon the Canticles translated by *Leunclavius*, and the Letter to *Flavianus*. The Edition of *Nivelle* of the Year 1573, is larger, and contains the Version of almost all the Treatises of St. Gregory Nyssen which had been then published: Since that Edition *Maximus Margurius*, caused the Version of the Book of Perfection, and of the Letter to *Letoius*, and of the Book upon the Titles of the Psalms, to be printed at *Venice* in 1585. The Letter to *Letoius* was also printed at *Venice* in 1589, together with the Notes of *Antonius Augustinus*, and at *Paris* with those of *Balsamon* in 1561; at *Ausburg* together with the Homily of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit, translated by *Hervetus*, in 1591. The Book of Perfection of *Zinus's* Translation, was printed at *Venice* in 1575. In 1593, *Hoeschelius* printed in Greek at *Amsterdam*, the Book of the Christian Profession, and that of the Life of Moses, the Treatise against *Apollinarius*, and that of Faith. *Fronto Ducæus* printed in Latin at *Ingolstadt* in the Year 1598, the Treatises against *Apollinarius*, of the Witch of *Endor*, the Discourse upon the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, that of St. Gregory upon his Ordination, his Book against the *Manichees*, the Treatise of Destiny, and the Oration against Usurers. The Book of the Title of the Psalms in Greek and Latin, translated by *Gretser* was also printed at *Ingolstadt* in 1600, the Treatise about the end of a Christian, was published by *Morellus* in the Year 1606, the same Year appeared in Greek and Latin the Letter about Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, and that to *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia*, and *Basilissa*, the first printed by *Morellus*, and the last by *Robert Stephens* with *Casaubon's* Notes; both the one and the other were printed at *Hanover*, the first in 1607, with the Notes of *Du Moulin*, and the second in 1611. In 1605, *Fronto Ducæus* printed a New Latin Edition of the Works of St. Gregory Nyssen, which contains all that had been published. At last, in 1615 there came out a Greek and Latin Edition of the Works of this Father which was printed in Two Volumes by *Morellus*, with the Notes of *Fronto Ducæus*; but because in this Edition there was not the First Book against *Eunomius*, nor the Greek of the Moral Orations, therefore there was a Supplement made at the End of St. Basil's Works printed in 1618. The last Edition in 1638. was Copied after this, where the same Version of the last Homilies is put twice, once by it self apart, and once over against the Greek. This Edition was done very negligently, and it is very uncorrect.

St. CÆSARIUS.

St. Cæsarius. *Cæsarius* the Brother of St. Gregory Nazianzen, after having finished his Studies at *Alexandria*, came to dwell at *Constantinople*, and passed the greatest part of his Life at Court in the Quality of Physician to the Emperor. He continued also some time with *Julian*, but finding himself sollicitated to quit the Christian Religion, he retired into his own Country. After the Death of this Emperor he returned to Court and came into Credit again under the Reign of *Valens*. He was honoured with the Office of Treasurer of *Bithynia*. He was like to have perished in the Earthquake which happened at *Nice*, where he lost part of his Goods. He died at Court in the beginning of the Year 369, and made the Poor his Heirs.

There is no great probability, that a Man who lived as *Cæsarius* did, should compose Dialogues upon the most subtle Questions of Philosophy and Divinity; yet Four of them are attributed to him, which some have thought were written in his Name by St. Gregory Nazianzen; but they can neither be the ones nor the others. For, First, it is not credible, that *Cæsarius* who spent his Life at Court, and was but a simple Catechumen; should be the Author of those Questions, which suppose the Writer of them to be very well vers'd in the most subtle parts of Theology. Secondly, the Title of these Dialogues imports that the Author of them was Secretary to the Emperor, and that he had taught twenty Years at *Constantinople*; which cannot be

St. Casarius. be said of the Brother of St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was not Secretary, but Treasurer, and who did not profess Theology at Constantinople but Physick. Thirdly, St. Gregory Nazianzen in his Funeral Oration says not a Word of his Skill in Theology, nor that he had written about Religion. Fourthly, this Treatise has neither the Style nor Genius of the Writers of the Fourth Age. Fifthly, it cites St. Gregory Nyssen, who died long after Casarius, and Maximus an Author of the Seventh Age. All which does plainly shew, That it can neither belong to Casarius nor St. Gregory Nazianzen, whose Style is as different from the Author's of this Dialogue, as the Style of Demosthenes is from that of the Declamations of Aphthonius.

Photius says, that 'tis easy to perceive, that the Style of these Dialogues, is the Style of a young Man who had learned some Rudiments of Rhetorick, and was proud of that little knowledge which he had in Divinity and Philosophy; that his Sallies of Wit are most of them unpleasant; that he often makes use of Poetical Terms, and

without any reason varies from the Common Construction; that his Style however is clear enough, and that there are few things to be blamed in his Doctrine. These Dialogues contain 195 Questions and Answers about Matters of Theology and Philosophy, more Subtile and Curious than Useful and Profitable. In Photius's time, there were 220 of them. There are still in many Manuscripts thereabouts more or less, which plainly shews that these Questions were written by some Modern Greeks, who loved to busie their Minds with these sort of Questions, and to publish them under the Names of Antient Authors. Lennclavius was the First who translated these Questions, and his Version was printed at Basle in 1571. Afterwards Elias Elingherus, Library-Keeper of Ausburg published in 1626, 78 of these Questions in Greek and Latin. Last of all, Fronto Ducens published the Greek Text and Version of 195 Questions and Answers, divided into Four Books, and those were printed in the Addition to the Bibliotheca Patrum in 1624, and in the Eleventh Volume of the Edition in 1644.

St. Casarius.

St. AMPHILOCHIUS.

St. Amphilochius. ST. Amphilochius an intimate Friend of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, was of Cappadocia. Having for some time professed Rhetorick, he afterwards attended the Bar, where he discharged the Office of an Advocate and a Judge (a). Leaving this he retired into a solitary place of Cappadocia, called Ozizala, and after he had led there for some time a very Holy Life, he was in the Year 375 Ordained Bishop of Iconium the Metropolis of Lycaonia, a Province of the Diocess of Asia, bordering upon Cappadocia. When he was Bishop he took Care not only of his own Church, but also of the affairs of the Neighbouring Churches. He was present at the Council of Constantinople, and there the Care of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of his Country was committed to him. About the Year 383, or 384, he held a Council at Syda against the Massilians which Photius mentions in Vol. 52. Theodoret relates in Ch. 16. of B. V. of his History, that St. Amphilochius petitioned the Emperor Theodosius to prohibit the Hereticks to hold their Assemblies in Cities; That the Emperor judging his Petition too Rigorous, denied it; but Amphilochius returning some time after to the Palace, and seeing Arcadius his Son clove by the Emperor Theodosius who had already been proclaimed Emperor, he Saluted the Father without Saluting the Son; that Theodosius thinking he had failed in his Duty through Inadvertence, commanded him to Salute his Son, to whom St. Amphilochius made answer, that it was enough that he had Saluted him. Whereupon Theodosius fell into a Passion, and declared how much he was offended with him for his neglecting of his Son; that then Amphilochius discreetly told him, You cannot suffer an Injury to be done to the Emperor your Son, and do you suffer those who dishonour the Son of God? that the Emperor being surprized with this Reply made a Law; wherein he forbids Hereticks to hold their Assemblies any longer. Theodoret says, that this happened after Theodosius's Return into the East, that is, about the Year 392. But it is much more probable, that St. Amphilochius spoke thus to the Emperor, sometime after the Council of Constantinople in the Year 382, since it was then that the Law of Theodosius was made against Hereticks, forbidding their Assemblies. The Year of Amphilochius's Death is not certainly known. St. Jerome in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers written in 392, mentions him as one then living. There also he mentions a Treatise of the Holy Spirit, which St. Amphilochius had read to him a little while before, wherein he proves that the Holy Spirit was God, Adorable and Almighty.

The Works of this Father have been quoted with Commendation by the Councils and the Ancients. The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, produce some Testimonies out of them against the Errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, but they do not tell us, out of what Book they are taken. Theodoret in his Dialogues produces others which are taken out of the Homilies upon these Words of the Gospel; *My Father is greater than I*; and upon these other Words, *The Son can do nothing of himself*; and out of a Homily upon these other Words of Jesus Christ in St. John Chap. 5. *He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me hath eternal life*; and out of a Homily upon these Words of Jesus Christ in St. Matth. Chap. 26. *My God, let me not drink of this Cup*; out of a Discourse against the Arians, which is the same with that upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*, as appears by Leontius; and out of another Sermon upon the Word, the Son of God. Facundus in Ch. 3. of B. XI. of his Treatise, cites Four Passages out of St. Amphilochius, whereof the First is taken out of the Homily

upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*; the Second out of the Homily upon these Words, *He that believeth in him that sent me hath eternal life*; the third out of the Homily upon these Words, *I ascend to my Father and my God*; and the Last out of the Homily upon these Words, *Let me not drink of this Cup*. The seventh Council in Action Five, quotes a Fragment of St. Amphilochius against the Books written by Hereticks who bear the Name of the Apostles. Leontius and Anastasius Sinaita quote also some Passages of St. Amphilochius. St. John Damascene produces some Passages taken out of two of his Letters, whereof one was address'd to the Suadrenses and the other to Seleucus. There is also a Fragment and a Question concerning the Flesh of Jesus Christ which is thought to have been extracted by Photius, and an other Fragment of a Letter written to the Deacon Pancarius. Barlaam has also collected some Passages taken out of the Letter to Seleucus, out of the first Sermon upon these Words, *No Man knows either the day or the hour of judgment*; out of another upon these Words, *The Child Jesus grew*; out of another upon these Words, *Destroy this Temple*. These Fragments have almost all been collected together by Father Combefis, who has also published the entire Works, as many as could be found, under the Name of Amphilochius, and printed them at Paris in 1644.

St. Amphilochius.

These are Eight Sermons, a Poem upon the holy Books, and the Life of St. Basil.

The 1st. Sermon is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

The 2d. is upon the Circumcision, wherein he enlarges upon the praise of St. Basil.

The 3d. is upon the Purification of the Virgin the Mother of God, upon Anne and Simeon.

The 4th. is a second Sermon upon the Virgin and Simeon, which is not written by St. Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium the Friend of St. Basil, but by another Amphilochius Bishop of Syda, who was present at the Council of Ephesus; for this Sermon is written directly against Nestorius, and is of a Style different from the former.

The 5th. is upon Lazarus.

The 6th. upon the Woman in the Gospel that was a Sinner.

The 7th. which had been formerly printed at Antwerp in 1598, is of the Holy Saturday.

The last is about Penance. This has not the same Style as the others.

The Author speaks against the Heresie of the Iconoclasts, and relates Fabulous Stories, from whence it appears that this Homily is the Work of some Modern Greek. It cannot be certainly known of any one of these Sermons, that it belongs to St. Amphilochius of Iconium, rather than Amphilochius Bishop of Syda.

The Poem to Seleucus has the Style of St. Gregory Nazianzen, whatever Father Combefis says to the contrary, and it is very probable that it was written by this Father under the Name of Amphilochius. There he makes an Enumeration of the Canonical Books which is not different from that which is in the 33d. Poem: For tho' he speaks of the Book of Esther and the Revelation, yet he does not put them in the Rank of those Books which all the world receives for Canonical; he only observes, that some have admitted them, and others have rejected them.

The Life of St. Basil attributed to Amphilochius, translated into Latin by Cardinal Ursus, whose Translation was printed by Rosweydeus, published in Greek and Latin by Father Combefis, contains many Fables, and many Particulars of

(a) Advocate and a Judge.] St. Gregory Nazianzen recommends to him the Affairs of his Friends in Letters 19,

106, 160. and it appears by Letter 106, that he was accus'd for not doing Justice.

the Life of St. Basil contrary to the truth of History (b), so that it is plainly the Work of a Modern Greek. Father Combes, who endeavours to maintain its Authority against the Opinion of Possévinus, Baronius and Bellarmine, says, that some places in it are added and corrupted, but that the Body of the Work is *Amphilochius's*; which he does not prove at all, nor can it appear probable to those that read it, who will neither find in it the Style, nor the Genius of the Fourth Age of the Church. The Life of St. *Amphilochius* written by *Metaphrastes*, is also of no great Authority: Wherefore one may say, that excepting the Fragments produced by the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, by *Theodoret* and *Facundus*, all the other Discourses published by Father Combes under the Name of *Amphilochius*, are either manifestly supposititious, or at least very doubtful. But we must not say the same of the Letter published by *Cotelerius* in his second Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, p. 98. It is a Synodical Epistle written to the Bishops of another Province. The Bishops in whose Name St. *Amphilochius* wrote it, declare, that they wished St. Basil had been present at their Synod; but he being detained by a grievous Sickness, they would be satisfied if he would send

to them his Book of the Holy Spirit. They add, that they receive the Faith of the *Nicene Council*; but that tho' the Fathers of this Council had said, that we must believe in the Holy Spirit, as in the Father and the Son, yet they had not explained the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, because this Question was not then disputed. Afterwards they explain themselves more clearly upon this Subject. They prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit by Baptism; they say, that we must acknowledge in God but one Nature only, and three Hypostases. At last, they exhort those to whom they write to maintain the Faith and the Peace of the Church, and to sing the Doxology, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; and add, that 'tis in vain to reject the Communion of the *Arians*, if they do not believe the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter has relation to the Letter of St. Basil, wherein he writes to *Amphilochius* to send Deputies into *Lycia*, to inquire into the Faith of the Bishops of that Country, who were for the most part Orthodox. Probably *Amphilochius* did as St. Basil desired him in this Letter, and these Deputies brought a Letter from the Bishops of *Lycia* to which St. *Amphilochius* answers by this.

(b) Contrary to the Truth of History.] The Author of this Life supposes, that St. Basil was Bishop in the time of Julian, that Libanius was of Julian's Retinue, that when this Emperor was killed, he was converted in a few Days after, and retired with St. Basil. Now 'tis evident that St. Basil was not Bishop in the Emperor Julian's time, and that Libanius was so far from being

converted after his Death, that he wrote a Panegyrick in his praise. All the Histories which are related in this life are fabulous, and do no ways agree with what the Ancients have said of St. Basil. In a word, No body can read this Piece but they may presently discover its Imposture.

MAXIMUS.

This Maximus was a Philosopher of Alexandria, who procured himself to be Ordained Bishop of Constantinople, and did all that he could to force away from thence St. Gregory Nazianzen. He wrote a Book of Faith against the Arians, which he presented to the Emperor Gratian at Milan; this he did in all probability, when he came into the West after he had been

driven away from Constantinople and Alexandria. St. Gregory Nazianzen gave him at first great Praises, but afterwards he blackened his Reputation in a wonderful manner. The Western Bishops protected him, but those of the East declared his Ordination null, and made void all the Ordinations that he had made, by the fifth Canon of the Council of Constantinople.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS.

Eusebius born in Sardinia was Reader of the Church of Rome, and afterwards Bishop of Vercelles. Pope Liberius sent him Delegate to the Emperor Constantius after the Fall of Vincentius of Capua. He was present at the Council of Milan, from whence he was banished into the East, and sent away into Scythopolis, where he suffered very much from Patrophilus the Arian Bishop of that City. He obtained his Liberty under the Reign of Julian, and was present at the Council of Alexandria held by St. Athanasius. He was delegated by this Council for restoring Peace to the Church of Antioch, but he could not compass his Design, because of the Ordination of Paulinus, which was rashly made by Lucifer; for this was an hindrance to the Reconciliation. And therefore having blamed the Conduct of Lucifer he returned into Italy, where he took a great deal of Pains to re-establish the Faith. He

died in the Year 370. St. Ambrose made a Panegyrick upon him. The Title of Martyr is commonly given to him: But St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Gregory of Tours, and all the Ancients give him no other Title but that of Confessor; and St. Ambrose seems to prefer Dionysius of Milan before him, because he died in Banishment.

We have a Letter of this Bishop written in the time of his Exile, and sent to his own Church, together with a Protestation against all the Violences of Patrophilus. There is also among the Fragments of St. Hilary, a Letter to Gregory Bishop of Elvira, written in 363, and a little Note that he wrote to Constantius before he went to Milan. St. Jerome testifies, that he translated into Latin the Commentaries of Eusebius of Caesarea upon the Psalms. It is probable that he wrote it in his Exile, where he learned the Greek Tongue, and published it after his Return.

MELETIUS.

Meletius was of Melitine. He was at first engaged in the Party of the Acacians, and signed their Confession of Faith in the Council of Seleucia. St. Jerome, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, say, that he was first Ordained Bishop of Sebastea, a City of Armenia, in the Council of Constantinople in the Year 360. After that, if you will believe Socrates, he was translated to Berea, and from thence to Antioch: But it is more probable, that he was never Ordained Bishop of Berea, and that when he could not be received at Sebastea, he retired to Berea, from whence he was called to Antioch, after Eudoxius had quitted that See to go to Constantinople. The Arians thinking that he would be of their Opinion, proposed him for Bishop of that City in a Council held at Antioch in 361, and the Orthodox knowing him better than the Arians, consented to his Election. Sometime after the Emperor Constantius, who was then at Antioch, desired those Bishops that were most able to discourse in publick, to explain these Words of Scripture; *The Lord Created me in the Beginning of his Ways for his Works*; and ordered their Expositions to be written down, that they might be obliged to make them the more exact. George Bishop of Laodicea did first explain those Words, and diffused all the Poison of his Errors. Acacius Bishop of Caesarea, did next give an Explication, which held the middle way between the Impiety of Arius and the Catholick Doctrine. But Meletius proposed the Orthodox Doctrine of the Church. 'Tis also said, that his Arch-Deacon having stopped his Mouth, he

made known his Doctrine by Signs. The Arians assembled immediately to Depose him, and having Ordained in his Room an Arian named Euzoius, they caused Meletius to be banished to the Place of his Birth. Then the sounder part of the People separated themselves from those that were infected with the Error of Arius, and assembled in the Church of the Apostles, which was in the Old City. But besides the Catholicks, there were at Antioch a small number of the antient Orthodox, who after the Deposition of Eustathius continued without Bishops. These would not be reunited to Meletius and those of his Party, tho' they had separated themselves from the Arians: Lucifer coming to Antioch after the Death of Constantius, ordained Paulinus for their Bishop; but they were but few in number, and Meletius's Congregation was more numerous. When all the Orthodox Bishops after the Death of Constantius had liberty to return to their Diocesses, Meletius returned to Antioch; but Euzoius continued Minister of the Churches, till the Acacians were reconciled to Meletius under the reign of Jovian, and made profession of the Orthodox Faith in the Council of Antioch in the year 363.

Under the reign of Valens, Meletius was persecuted again and sent into Banishment, but he was no less odious to the Orthodox of the West than to the Arians. For the Church of Alexandria and the Churches of the West, supported Paulinus and those of his Party, and would have no Communion with Meletius. We have already seen the Trouble and Labour that St. Basil underwent to reconcile

Meletius to them, yet he could not compass his Design while he lived. But nine Months after his Death, it was agreed between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, that whensoever one of them two should die, no Person should be Ordained in his Room, but the Survivor should continue sole Bishop of the Place. *Meletius* coming in the year 380, to the first Council of *Constantinople*, in which he presided, died in that City to the great grief of all the Bishops. After his Death the Eastern Bishops, without any regard to the Agreement made with *Paulinus*, chose in his room *Flavianus*. This Election renewed the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*, which was not ended even at the Death of *Paulinus* which happened in the year 389, for before he died he Ordained *Evagrius* for his Successor. This Difference was carried to the Council of *Capua*, which named *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt* for Judges in this Cause. But *Flavianus* refusing him addressed himself to the Emperor, whom he persuaded of the goodness of his Cause. This Conduct of *Flavianus* very much disgusted the Western Bishops, as St. *Ambrose* informs us in the ninth Letter of his first Book. However he had so much Interest, as to hinder the placing of a Bishop in the room of *Evagrius* who died in 393, and he reconciled himself to the Western Bishops in 398, by means of St. *Chrysostome* who persuaded *Theophilus* to make up this Peace. Yet there were still some obstinate Persons at *Antioch*, who notwithstanding the Agreement of the whole Church, would keep up a Faction by themselves, and would neither be reconciled to *Flavianus* nor to his Successors; so difficult it is to bring those back to the Church, who have gone astray thro' too much Zeal for Religion, and have made a Separation under pretence of Purity of Doctrine, and Strictness of Discipline. St. *Epiphanius* has preserved for us in *Hæres.* 73. the Discourse of *Meletius* which contains clearly the Doctrine of the Church, and the proofs of the Eternity and Divinity of the Word. We may attribute to him also the Creed of the Council of *Antioch* in the year 393, related by *Socrates* Ch. 25. of B. III. of his History. These Monuments are authentick Proofs that *Meletius* was a Catholick, which was acknowledged by almost all the Fathers, and even by St. *Athanasius*. Neither can any one blame him for the Holiness of his Life; but his Ordination for some time was encumbered with great Difficulties: First, because it was believed, that he was translated from one Church to another; Secondly, because he was chosen and

Ordained by the *Arians*, to whose Party he was addicted. But as to the first Difficulty, besides that we have in Antiquity some Examples of Translations that have been approved of, when they were made for the Good of the Church, as the Event did plainly shew this to be: It cannot be said, properly speaking, that *Meletius* was translated from one Bishoprick to another. For tho' he had been Ordained Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, yet the People of that Church not being willing to receive him, he was obliged to withdraw immediately to *Berea*. Now the Canons are so far from forbidding to give Bishopricks upon such Occasions to those who could not take possession of that which was designed for them, that on the contrary they ordain, that if it can be done, another Bishoprick should be given unto them as soon as possible. The other Difficulty is of much greater Consequence, and upon it especially those grounded their Separation who would not communicate with him. They said, that they could not acknowledge for a lawful Bishop one that was Ordained by Hereticks. But it must be considered that when he was Ordained, *Constantius* was Master of the Empire, and the Church of *Antioch* could have no Bishop that was Ordained by others; that tho' *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* and the other Eastern Bishops were in an Error, yet they were neither deposed nor deprived of their Bishopricks, and therefore they might act in such Matters as concerned the Government of the Church; that when the Bishops Ordained by Hereticks returned to the Church, she left them almost always in possession of their Sees; that the Orthodox had consented to the Ordination of *Meletius*; that all the Catholick Bishops of the East approved it; that *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and *Eusebius* of *Vercelles* acknowledged his Ordination to be valid; and in short, that the Council of *Constantinople* put it past all doubt. But if we ought to approve the Ordination of *Meletius*, what can we say of that of *Paulinus*, but that it was done with much Indiscretion and Rashness? As to that of *Flavianus*, it cannot be altogether approved, since it was made contrary to an Agreement concluded between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*. Yet the Eastern Bishops may be excused, because perhaps they had no hand in this Agreement, and they foresaw that the People of *Antioch* could never agree with *Paulinus*. In a word, the Ordination of *Evagrius* can be approved by no body, since it tended only to perpetuate the Division and Schism in the Church of *Antioch*.

DIODORUS Bishop of Tarsus.

Diodorus a Priest and Monk of *Antioch*, the Scholar of *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, Master of St. *John Chrysostome*, and *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, after he had acquired a great Reputation in *Antioch* by his Conduct and Prudence, was Ordained Bishop of *Tarsus* in the year 375. While he was yet but a Priest, he took care of the People of *Antioch*, in the absence of *Meletius*, who was then banished under the Reign of *Valens*, and maintained the Orthodox Faith in this Church. After he was Bishop, he was present at the Council of *Constantinople*, and was one of those that were chosen to take care of the Eastern Dioceses. He was very skilful in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Bible. He was one of the first Commentators that applied himself to a literal Explication, without amusing himself with Allegories. He was highly esteemed of by all the great Men of his Age, who wrote very obliging Letters to him, and have given very authentick Testimonies of his Doctrine and his Piety. One part of these Letters may be seen in *Facundus* Ch. 3. of his 4th. Book. But in the following Ages Men did not give so favourable a Judgment of this Man's Doctrine, for he was accused of teaching in his Writings the Errors of *Nestorius*, as they were afterwards called. It may be for this Reason that none of his Works are preserved. We have nothing but a very considerable Extract out of his Treatise *Of Destiny*, produced by *Photius* in Volume 223 of his *Bibliotheca*, and the Argument of another Treatise *Of the Holy Spirit*, produced by the same Person in Volume 102. *Theodoret* also in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*, Quest. 20. p. 22. and Quest. 21. p. 25. produces two other Fragments of this our *Diodorus*.

St. *Basil* in Letter 167 speaks of two Books of this Author's writing against the Hereticks, whereof the second was composed by way of Dialogue. St. *Jerome* mentions his Commentary upon St. *Paul*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* assure us, that he made Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Bible. *Leontius* in his Third Book quotes a Book of this Author written against the *Samosians*, that is, against the *Apollinarists*. *Suidas* has given us a Catalogue of his Works taken out of *Theodoret*, which is as follows. 'An Explication of all the Old Testament, of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and upon the *Psalms*, and upon the Four Books of *Kings*, upon the *Chronicles*, upon the *Proverbs*; a Treatise of the Difference between Allegory and Contempla-

tion; a Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, upon *Canticles*, upon the Prophets; a Chronicle wherein he has corrected some Faults of *Eusebius*; Commentaries upon the Four Gospels, upon the *Acts*, upon the Epistle of St. *John*; a Treatise to prove that there is but one God in the Trinity; a Book against the *Melchisedecians*; a Treatise against the Jews concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, one of the Soul against several Errors; a Treatise of Destiny against the Astrologers, where he speaks of the Globe of the World, and of Providence; and a Treatise wherein he proves that invisible things were made at the same time with the Elements, tho' they were not made of them; a Tract to *Euphronius*, by way of Question and Answer, against *Aristotle's* System. He says nothing in this Catalogue of the Book of the Trinity, nor of the Treatise against the *Apollinarists*.

The Treatise of *Destiny* was divided into Eight Books and 53 Chapters. There he refutes all the Follies of judicial Astrology, and shews that the World had a Beginning and was Created, that Man was endowed with Free-will, that God was not the Author of Evil, and that the World is governed by Divine Providence. *Photius* makes a particular Enumeration of the Subject of each Chapter in this Work, wherein he produces some part of his Reasonings. He had reason to ridicule the Proposition which this Author had advanced, That the Heaven was not round, supposing that if it were so, the Astrologers would have some good Ground for their Opinion of Fatality: For as he observes, the Figure of the Heaven has nothing in the World to do with this Question.

Photius observes, that the Style of this Author is pure and clear; but St. *Jerome* says, that it is not lofty, and that he could never reach the Eloquence of *Eusebius Emisenus*; tho' he endeavoured to imitate it, because he was not skilled enough in human Learning. *Facundus* who quotes this Passage of St. *Jerome*, says only *Eusebius*, without adding *Emisenus*. Now if one should thus read the Text of St. *Jerome*, it would be more convenient to understand the Writings of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, whom *Diodorus* rather imitated than those of the Bishop of *Emesa*, because the Works of *Diodorus* have no great relation to his Books, whereas they had a great affinity to those of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, either for the Matters which he treated of, or for the Manner or Style wherein he treated of them. For the Extracts which *Photius* has produced out of his Treatise of

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Destiny, are very like to some Books of the Evangelical Preparation or Demonstration of *Eusebius of Caesarea*. The Judgment which *St. Basil* has given of this Author's Stile may be seen in Letter 167, of which we have given an Abridgment in *St. Basil's* Life. As to what concerns his Doctrine of the Incarnation, we could better judge of it, if we had his Books; but there is no great probability, that one who was prais'd, esteemed and cherished by *Meletius*, *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Epiphanius*, and even by *St. Athanasius*, and his Successors *Peter* and *Timothy of Alexandria*; who was also considered in a General Council as one of the most Learned and most Orthodox Bishops of all the East; and in short, who was Master to *St. Chrysostom*,

should be guilty of so gross an Error as that of *Nestorius*. 'Tis true that he had for his Scholar *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, and that he was Accus'd of the same Error with *Nestorius*; and that he was Condemned as Convicted of this Error after his death in the 5th. Council. But besides that there have been some Persons who have undertaken to justify him: Yet if it should be granted that he was guilty of this Error, it would not follow that he learned it of his Master, since we daily see Heretical Disciples, who have had Orthodox Masters. Should not the Faith of *St. Chrysostom*, rather serve to justify *Diodorus*, than the Error of *Theodorus* to condemn him?

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HILARY the Deacon.

Hilary the
Deacon.

Hilary of *Sardinia*, Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was deputed by Pope *Liberius*, together with *Lucifer* Bishop of *Calaris*, and the Priest *Pancratius*, to go to the Emperor *Constantius*, after the Synod of *Arles*, in the Year 353. He was banished after the Council of *Milan*, and afterwards he joined with *Lucifer's* Party, whereof he was one of the most zealous Defenders. 'Tis this *Hilary*, who is called in *St. Jerome's* Dialogue against the *Luciferians*, *The Deucalion of the World*, because he would Regenerate and Renew by a Second Baptism, those that had been baptized by Hereticks.

Tho' there has been no Book printed under the Name of this *Hilary*, yet the Learned have attributed to him the Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, which bears the Name of *St. Ambrose*, and the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, which are at the end of the 4th. Tome of *St. Austin*. These are the Reasons which have moved them to attribute to him the Commentary upon *St. Paul's* Epistles. First, *St. Austin* in Ch. 4. of the 4th. B. to *Boniface*, cites under the Name of *St. Hilary* an Explication of this Passage of *St. Paul*. 'Twas from him all Men sinned, which is taken Word for Word out of this Commentary. Now this *Hilary* whom *St. Austin* quotes, could neither be *Hilary* of *Syracuse*, nor *St. Hilary* of *Arles*, since they were after *St. Austin*. No more can it be said, that the Author of these Commentaries was *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, because the Stile and the Version which he makes use of, are no ways like to the Stile and Version of these Commentaries, and there are some Opinions in the one, which are different from those in the other. This Commentary therefore cannot be attributed to any but this *Hilary* of *Sardinia*. Besides, the time and Circumstances agree wonderfully to him; for he says on Ch. 3. of the 1st. to *Timothy*. *That tho' all the World was God's, yet the Church whereof Damasus at present was Governor, is called his House*. Which plainly shews, that this Commentary was written by one Well-affected to the Church of *Rome*, who liv'd in *Damasus's* time: And therefore it cannot with any reason be attributed to *Remigius* of *Lyons*, but most probably was written by this *Hilary* whom we now speak of.

Yet *Peravius* thinks that it cannot be attributed to him for two Reasons; First, because this Author speaks in favour of *Damasus*, and 'tis not likely that a Man engaged in the *Luciferian* Schism which favoured *Ursicinus*, should acknowledge *Damasus* lawful Bishop of *Rome*. Secondly, because upon Chap. 1. of the 1st. Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he blames the *Novatians* and *Donatists* who re-baptized, and says, that to believe that the Grace of Baptism depended up-

on the Persons who gave it, was injurious to the Baptism of our Saviour. Now the principal Error of *Hilary* the Deacon, according to the Testimony of *St. Jerome*, consisted in this, that he would have those Re-baptized who had been baptized by the *Arians*. This objection cannot be answered, but by saying, that this *Hilary* did at last return into the Bosom of the Church under the Pontificate of *Damasus*; but this supposition is contrary to the Testimony of *St. Jerome*, who says in his Book against the *Luciferians*, that this Deacon died out of the Church. *This Man*, says he speaking of *Hilary* the *Luciferian*, *being dead, his Sect ought to die with him, because he being but a simple Deacon, could ordain no Person to succeed him*. Wherefore it must be granted that we have no absolute certainty, that this Book belonged to this *Hilary* of *Sardinia*.

The Commentary upon the two first Chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, is an Extract out of the Commentary of *St. Chrysostom*, which is not made by the same Author as that upon the other Epistles.

'Tis thought that the Questions upon the Old and New Testament which have been formerly printed under *St. Austin's* Name, in his 4th. Tome, were written by the same hand as these Commentaries. To prove it, 'tis said, first, that the Author of these Questions lived at the same time as the Author of the Commentary, for he says in Qu. 44. that he wrote 300 Years or thereabouts, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and he speaks of *Photinus* as an Author then living. He speaks also of the Devallation of *Pannonia* which happened in 351, and the Famine of the Year 363, as Calamities which happened in his time. Secondly, 'tis thought, that he speaks in Qu. 115. of *Sardinia*, as his own Country. And in short, some maintain that there is so great an agreement both in Stile and Doctrine between these two Treatises (a), that it cannot be doubted but they are written by the same Author. Which must be understood of the 47 Questions upon the Old Testament, the 50 upon the New, and the 36 upon the one and the other which are all written by the same Author, and not of the other following Questions, which are for the most part a repetition of what had been said in those that went before.

But whoever was the Author of these Questions they are full of Falsities and Errors (b), and almost all of them are of very little use. The Commentary upon the Epistle of *St. Paul* is better done, and has more sense in it: It is clear, plain and literal, and gives the meaning of the Text of *St. Paul* well enough; but it gives very different Explications from *St. Austin* (c), in these places which concern Predetermination, Vocation, Grace and Free-will.

(a) **T**Here is so great an Agreement both in Stile and Doctrine, &c.] Compare Quest. 7. with the Commentary upon Ch. 6. to the *Ephesians*; Quest. 13. with Comment. upon Ch. 5. to the *Rom.* Quest. 18. with Comment. upon Ch. 9. to the *Rom.* Quest. 21. with Comment. upon Ch. 6. and 11th. of the 1st. Ep. to the *Corinth.* Quest. 23. with the Comment. on the 7th. Ch. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* Quest. 24. with the Comment. upon the 1st. Ep. to the *Corinth.* Ch. 11. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch. 1st. of the Ep. to the *Ephes.* and on Ch. 1st. of the Ep. to the *Coloss.* Qu. 47. with the Com. upon the 2d. Ch. of the 1st. to the *Corinth.* and upon Ch. 5. of the 2d. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 99. with the Com. upon Ch. 10. of the 1st. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 102. with the Com. upon Ch. 11. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* and upon Ch. 2d. of the 2d. to *Timothy.* Qu. 108. with the Com. upon Ch. 3. to the *Philipp.* the Qu. 109. and 25. with the Com. upon Ch. 8. to the *Rom.* Qu. 112. with the Com. upon these Words; *I see another Law in my Members*,

&c. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch. 2d. of the 2d. Ep. to the *Thessalonians.* Qu. 134. with the Com. upon Ch. 3. of the Ep. to the *Ephes.* and Qu. 115. with the 1st. Ch. of the Com. upon the same Ep. These two Authors make often use of the same Words and in the same Sense; as, *Diffidentia*, to signify incredulity, and the Words *Prevaricandi*, *Meliorandi*, &c.

(b) **Full of Falsities and Errors.**] A Catalogue of them may be seen in the Censure which the Doctors of *Lovain* have prefixed to this Work; one of the chief of them is their Opinion, that *Melchisedeck* was the Son of God.

(c) **Different Explications from St. Austin.**] For this one needs only read almost all the places of *St. Paul*, which concern Predetermination or Grace. Particularly the Commentaries upon the 5th. and 9th. Chapters of the Ep. to the *Romans*, upon the 2d. of the Ep. to the *Philippians*, and the Questions, 13, 24, 47, 115, 223, where he proposes Maxims which are a little *Pelagian*.

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PRISCILLIAN and Matronianus, Tiberianus and Dictinius his Disciples.

P *Priscillian* whom St. Jerome places among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, was the Author of a Sect which was accus'd of many Impieties. *Sulpitius Severus* who knew more of the History of the *Priscillianists* than any Ecclesiastical Author whatsoever, gives this Account of them: that towards the End of the fourth Century, one *Mark* originally of *Egypt*, being leavened with the Principles of the *Gnosticks* and *Manichees*, came into *Spain* to spread his Errors there; that at first he had for his Disciples a Woman called *Agapa*, and one *Elpidius* a Rhetorician; and that these were the Persons who instructed *Priscillian*; that he was a Person of Quality, Rich, Powerful, Quick and Restless, but very Eloquent and very Learned; that he acquired much Learning by hard Study, and that he had a wonderful Easiness in speaking and Disputing. Happy had he been, adds *Sulpitius Severus*, if he had not corrupted his fine Parts by joining with a wicked Faction. He had many good Qualities of Body and Mind. He endured with ease, Watchings, Hunger, and Thirst. He had no desire to be Rich, and lived with much Frugality; but he was proud, and prophane Learning had puffed him up intolerably. 'Tis said that he had formerly exercis'd the Art of Magick. This Man having as we have said, embraced the pernicious Doctrine of *Marcus* and *Elpidius*, drew many Persons of his own Country after him, either by persuading them with Reasons, or flattering them with Caresses. Women who naturally love Novelty, and have commonly much Curiosity, and but little Steadiness, flocked after him in great Multitudes, to be admitted among his Party. In a word, he procured the Love and Respect of all the World, by the show of Humility which appeared in his Clothes and his Countenance. Spain began to be infected with the Venom of this Heresie, and even some Bishops were corrupted with it. There were particularly two of them called *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, who were engaged by Oath into the Faction of *Priscillian*. But *Hyginus* Bishop of *Corduba* their Neighbour understanding it, informed against them to *Idacius* of *Merida*, who kindled, as one may say, the Fire of Division by the Rigour which he us'd, and irritated Men's minds without putting a stop to the growing Evil. In short, after many Disputes, the Synod of *Saragoza* was Assembled, at which the Bishops of *Aquitaine* were present; and these Hereticks not daring to appear there were condemned for their Contumacy. Sentence was given against the Bishops *Instantius*, *Salvianus*, and against *Elpidius* and *Priscillian*. 'Twas also added, that all those who should receive them into Communion, should expect the same Condemnation with them. *Ithacius* Bishop of *Ossobona* was entrusted with the Publication of this Sentence, and with the Management of the Excommunication against *Hyginus* the Bishop, who being the first that oppos'd *Priscillian* and his Disciples, was afterwards himself corrupted, and received them into his Communion. But *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, without any regard to the Judgment of the Council of *Saragoza* Ordained *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila*. Then the Bishops of the other Party had recourse to the Authority of the Emperor, and obtained of *Gratian* an Edict, wherein the *Priscillianists* were condemned to be driven out of the Churches, and to be banished out of the Cities where they dwelt. *Instantius* and *Salvianus* being chased away out of their own Country, went to *Rome* and *Milan*; but they were rejected by *Damasus*, and St. *Ambrose*. After which they had recourse to the Emperor, and obtained of him a Rescript, wherein he permitted them to return to their own Country, and ordained, that their Churches should be restored unto them. They returned into *Spain* with this Edict and having gained the Proconsul, they forced away *Ithacius*. He fled into *France*, and carried his Complaints to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who was entered as a Conqueror into the City of *Triers*: This Prince caus'd *Priscillian* and his chief Disciples to be carried to a Synod held at *Bordeaux*, in the Year 384, in which *Instantius* was Depos'd; and when they would have proceeded to Judge *Priscillian* also, he appealed from them to the Emperor *Maximus*, who committed the Judgment of this Affair to the Prefect *Evodius*, who having Convicted *Priscillian* of Witchcraft and Uncleanness, made his Report

of the whole Matter to *Maximus*, who condemned him and his chief Followers, to have their Heads cut off, which *Priscillian* and his Disciples. was done in the Year 385. Some have thought that *Priscillian* was Innocent, and that he was unjustly oppress'd by the Faction of *Ithacius*, whose Conduct was disapproved by the most Pious Bishops of that time. It seems that St. *Jerome* favours this Opinion in his Catalogue, where he speaks of *Priscillian* in these Words: *Priscillian Bishop of Avila was Executed in the City of Triers by the Commandment of the Tyrant Maximus, having been oppress'd by the Faction of Hilarius (it must be read, Ithacius,) and Idacius: He wrote many Tracts whereof some are come to our Hands. Some accuse him even at this Day of the Heresie of the Gnosticks, of Basilides and Marcion; but others vindicate him, and maintain that he held none of these Errors that are charged upon him.* 'Tis true, that the same St. *Jerome* in a Letter to *Cresciphon*, speaks of *Priscillian* as a notable Heretick, which made *Monfieur Quesnel* think, that this place of St. *Jerome's* Book of Ecclesiastical Writers was interpolated. This Conjecture, which is not founded upon the Authority of any Manuscript would be of some moment if it were not known that St. *Jerome* does often speak differently of one and the same Person. Perhaps St. *Jerome's* way of speaking of him in his Catalogue, gave occasion to put *Priscillian* and his Disciple *Matronianus* into some Martyrologies, and to rank them among the Holy Martyrs.

St. *Jerome* speaks of this last after this manner: *Matronianus of Spain, a learned Man, and one that was comparable to the Ancients for Poetry, was also put to Death with Priscillian, Felicissimus, Julianus and Euchrotia, who were all of the same Party. We have some of his Works in Verse, which are Evidences of his Wit and Parts. Sulpitius Severus called this Disciple of Priscillian, Latronianus, for Matronianus Tiberianus of Betica was also an Author of this Sect, Who wrote, says St. Jerome, an Apology to vindicate himself from the Suspicion of Heresie whereof he was accused together with Priscillian. His Stile is swelling and affected. After the Death of those of his Party, being overcome by the tediousness of a long exile, he married a Virgin consecrated to Jesus Christ.*

Dictinius was a Priest who had been accused of the same Error, and condemned for it in the Council of *Langres*. St. *Ambrose* wrote Letters in his favour to procure his Restoration; But upon condition that he should condemn what he had done, and that he should continue Priest without being capable of rising to a higher Dignity. Nevertheless he did not perform these Conditions, for he continued still in his ancient Error, and got himself ordained Bishop of *Asturica Augusta*. Being cited upon this account to the First Council of *Toledo* in the Year 390, together with *Symphosius* who Ordained him, he did not appear before the Synod; but appearing afterwards at a Second Synod held about the Year 400, where *Symphosius* declared, that he was forced by the People to Ordain *Dictinius*, and *Dictinius* himself made a Solemn Recantation of his Errors, whereupon they were both absolved. He wrote some Treatises for the Error of the *Priscillianists*, which are mentioned by St. *Leo*, in a Letter to *Turribius*. What we have said of the Restoration of *Dictinius*, seems to be contrary to the Testimony of *Idacius*, who says, that *Turribius* was placed in the room of *Dictinius* after he was Deposed for his Heresie; but St. *Leo* declares very plainly in the Letter which we just now cited, that *Dictinius* died a Catholic. From whence it appears, that *Idacius*, (the Author of the Chronicle, who lived in the Fifth Age of the Church, and is different from him of whom we have now spoken) was deceived, and that *Turribius* succeeded *Dictinius* after his Death, and not after his Deposition. For to say, as *Monfieur Quesnel* does, that the Acts of the Council of *Toledo*, are falsified so that *Dictinius* relapsed a second time after his retraction, is to alledge that which has no Foundation, which is contrary to the Testimony of St. *Leo*, who affirms that this Bishop died a Catholic, and that we may have a Veneration for his Memory after his Retraction.

ITHACIUS, or IDACIUS.

This *Idacius* or *Ithacius*, Surnamed *Clarus*, Bishop of *Ossobona*, a City in the Province of *Betica*, was, as we have already said, one of the greatest Enemies of the *Priscillianists*. St. *Isidore* of *Sevil* observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that he wrote a Book by way of Apology, against the detestable Doctrines of *Priscillian*, wherein he discovers the Witchcraft and Infamous Crimes of those Sectaries, and shews, that a certain Magician called *Mark*, a Native of *Memphis* in *Egypt*,

was the Disciple of *Manicheus* and Master of *Priscillian*. The same Author adds, that this *Idacius* was deprived of the Communion of the Church, together with the Bishop *Ursacius*, upon the account of the Death of *Priscillian*, whose Accusers they had been, and that he being sent into Banishment, ended his Days there under the Reign of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. St. *Isidore* makes no mention of the Books against *Varimadius*, which bear the Name of *Idacius*; and indeed they do not belong to this Author but

to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, as we shall shew when we come to speak of *Vigilius*: This Apologetick of *Idacius* is lost. St. *Isidore* observes that it was well written. [*Idacius* and *Ithacius* are not too different Names for the same Person as here seems to be implied; for in *Sulpitius Severus* they are constantly divided.]

Ithacius, or *Idacius*.

FAUSTINUS.

Ennadius assures us that *Faustinus*, a Priest (or a Deacon according to others) wrote to the Empress *Flaccilla* Seven Books against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, wherein he refutes and confounds them by the very same Passages that the Hereticks use to establish their Blasphemies. This work was a long time attributed to *Gregory of Bética*; But at last the true Author of it was owned and it was printed under the Name of *Faustinus*, with a Letter to *Flaccilla*.

The same *Gennadius* says also, that this same *Faustinus*, wrote a Petition, which he presented with the Priest *Marcellinus*, (or rather *Marcellianus*) to the Emperors *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, which shews evidently that he was engaged in the Schism of the *Luciferians*. *Sirmondus* published this little piece in the Year 1656. Before the Petition there is a Preface written by the same *Faustinus*, wherein he gives a little Historical Abridgment, in favour of his own Party. There he relates that under the Reign of *Constantius*, almost all the Bishops attempted to condemn St. *Athanasius*; that *Liberius* of *Rome*, *Eusebius* of *Verceilles*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, and St. *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, refusing to approve this unjust condemnation, were sent into Banishment; That *Damasus* who was then Deacon of *Rome*, pretended he would accompany *Liberius*, but returned again immediately; That the Clergy of *Rome* in the presence of the People took an Oath, not to receive another Bishop while *Liberius* lived; that notwithstanding this, in a little time after, the Clergy chose the Archdeacon *Felix* to fill his Place, that *Liberius* having consented to Impiety, [by subscribing an *Arian* Confession of Faith] returned about three Years after and was restored to the Possession of his See, and that *Felix* was driven away from *Rome*; Upon whose Death, which happened Eight Years after *Liberius* came back, he received into Communion those of the Clergy that had been of *Felix's* Party; That he died also in a little while after, and then the Priests and Deacons who had been Faithful to *Liberius* in his Banishment chose *Ursicinus* in his room; but the pernicious Party chose *Damasus* an ambitious Man, who had always aspired to the Episcopal Chair; That this Man had committed all sorts of Cruelties and Outrages against those who adhered to *Ursicinus*, and at last had driven them all out of the City. That since this time those of the Orthodox Party had been abused, dispersed and Banished, and that two of them called *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* presented this Petition to the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*.

They complain in this Petition of the Persecutions and Cruelties which they say they still suffer from their Enemies; they affirm, that no Error nor Heresie can be charged upon them, and then accused their Adversaries of having been formerly Hereticks, or of having consented to the Condemnation of the Faith of the Church. They describe the miserable end of *Arius*, to beget a Horror of his Impiety, and they say, that God hath by this visible Judgment approved all that was done in the Council of *Nice*. They relate afterwards what passed in the Councils of *Selencus* and *Arimizum*, and how the Bishops were forced to Sign the Heretical Confessions of Faith; They bewail their Unhappiness, and praise the Faith and Constancy of *Paulinus* of *Triers*, of *Eusebius* of *Verceilles*, of *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, and a very small number of Bishops, who chose rather to suffer all things than do any thing against their Conscience. They describe the Defection of *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, and say, that he died by a Visible Judgment of God, for pronouncing Sentence against *Gregory of Bética*, who had always boldly defended the Faith. They say, that the same thing happened to *Potamius* of *Ossobona*. They add, that these visible Judgments of God do plainly shew, that those who would not Communicate with the Bishops that were defiled with these Crimes, are so far from being guilty of Impiety, that they do great Service to the Church; that the great Number of those who communicate with them ought to be no Prejudice to others, since this Conduct is contrary to Scripture; that the pretence of promoting Peace ought not to make us own Apostates for Lawful Bishops; that the Inconstancy of the Catholics, has given occasion to *Valens* to embrace the *Arian* Faction. They represent afterwards in a most Odious manner, the Cruelties which they say were committed against their Party in different places of the World, and they conjure the Emperor to put a stop to this Persecution by his Edicts. Not, add they, that we are afraid to Suffer or to Die, being persuaded that when we die for a good Cause, we shall enjoy after our Death great Tranquility, and have a perfect certainty of our Blessedness. But we give you Notice of this Disorder, for fear lest the Blood of Christians, if it still continue to be shed, bring down the wrath of God upon your Government. Tho' the complaints of these Two Priests were

injurious to the Church, yet *Theodosius* was moved by them, and granted a Rescript in their Favour addressed to *Cynergus* the Prætorian Prefect, wherein he testifies his Indignation against the manner of treating them, and ordains, that the Bishops *Gregory* of *Spain*, and *Heraclides* of the East, who were mentioned in their Petition, and all those who communicate with them be suffered to live in quiet. This Petition must have been presented after the Year 383, because *Arcadius* to whom it is addressed, was not admitted a Partner of the Empire till that Year, and the Rescript must be before 388, which was the Year wherein *Cynergus* died. It seems to have been Presented while *Damasus* lived, who died in the Year 384.

There is some probability, that *Faustinus* presented the Confession of Faith which goes under his Name in the *Roman* Code, published by Monsieur *Quæstel* at the End of the Works of St. *Leo*, along with this Petition. I know very well, that this learned Man pretends, that this Confession of Faith was made about the Year 379, before the Council of *Constantinople*; but his Conjectures are not convincing: He attributes to the Priest *Marcellinus*, the Confession of Faith which precedes this in the New Code; but this is also a Conjecture that is not absolutely certain.

The Style of *Faustinus* in his Treatise of the Trinity, is very plain and simple: He contents himself with producing Passages of Scripture, from which he draws consequences to prove the Doctrine of the Church, and with answering the Objections of the *Arians*; but the Style of his Petition is swelling and pathetic. In it you may see the Humour and Genius of all Reformers, who glory in their small number, who blame the multitude, who rend in pieces the Reputation of those who are promoted to Dignities, who testify their Indignation against the higher Powers, who make a show of much Firmness and Constancy, of a great Contempt of this Life, of Honours and Riches; who look upon themselves as unblameable, and attribute to the Divine Vengeance all the fatal Accidents which happen to those that are not their Friends; who are always complaining of being persecuted and ill-used; who exaggerate the Evils which they justly suffer, and affect to shew a great Zeal for Piety and Religion.

[Every Reader must needs see that these Reflexions were inserted here more for the sake of the Protestants than of the *Luciferians*: Either all Abuses ought always to be tolerated, or a Reformer is not to be blamed upon the score of his Office: And when Men set up for Reformers, the Cause only is to be considered not the Pretences; which if it be just, they have no reason to be ashamed of any of these things here urged against them as Marks of Obloquy; if their Numbers are small, they ought to shew by a proportionable Firmness of Mind, that they place their Confidence in a Being that is superior to any Powers here below; and if they find fault with the multitude who

do not joyn with them, they act according to their own Principles, since all Men who think themselves to be in the right, must believe that their Adversaries are mistaken; their standing to their own Assertions cannot reasonably be interpreted to be injurious to Men in Eminent Places: Constancy, Contempt of the World, of Life, Riches and Honours, are Virtues, which, when supported by a good Cause, are glorious Ingredients in the Characters of the greatest Saints; and therefore are favourable Prejudices for all those Reformers in whom they are to be found; if they are too apt to attribute the ill Successes of their Enemies to Divine Vengeance, they are not singular, since all Parties and even all Religions constantly practise it; if they are hardly used they may reasonably complain of their Usage; and Mr. *du Pin* knows that his Church has always taken very particular Care that her Adversaries should never complain against her for Persecuting without just Cause, whilst they believe themselves to be in the right: Reformers, as all Men naturally do, will aggravate their Sufferings, that they may lay load upon their Persecutors; and last of all, every Man is tempted to think his Adversary's Zeal for Religion to be only hypocritical.

If we consider what good Success these two *Luciferian* Priests had in their Business, we ought not hastily to condemn them: *Theodosius* the Great always shewed an unshaken Zeal for the Orthodox Faith; and his Carriage towards St. *Ambrose* who censured him for his hasty and cruel Orders against the *Thessalonians*, was an Evidence how very much he revered the Orders and Discipline of the Church; and besides, if we reflect upon the Accounts which *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives us of the Differences between *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*, they will seem to plead for *Ursicinus's* Party. His being a Heathen is no Prejudice against him in this Matter, because he was not a Bigot against the Christian Religion; so that it rather gave him the Advantage which all Neuters have of judging impartially of both sides.]

PHILASTRIUS.

Philastrius Bishop of Brescia, flourished under the elder Theodosius, and was one of the Bishops in the Council of Aquileia. St. Austin says, That he had seen him sometimes with St. Ambrose. We have his Life written, as is thought, by St. Gaudentius his Successor. He died before St. Ambrose, about the Year 387 (a).

He wrote a Treatise of Heresies, wherein he reckons 20 Heresies before the Birth of Jesus Christ, and 128 afterwards to the Year 380, in which he wrote, and tells in a few Words the principal Errors of each of them. St. Austin observes at the Beginning of his Book about Heresies, that it was a surprizing thing that Philastrius, who was much less learned and less exact than St. Epiphanius, should reckon up many more Heresies than he did; from whence he concludes, that these two Authors could not have the same Notions of Heresie, because indeed it is very difficult to give a just Definition of it. Wherefore, adds St. Austin, in giving the Catalogue of Heresies, we must carefully avoid these two opposite Extreams, whereof one is to make

those Heresies that are not, and the other is to omit those Heresies which really are such. 'Tis a rare thing for those who make the Catalogues of Heresies to fall into this Fault; but the first is very common, and Philastrius was more subject to it than any body. For he feigns a Multitude of Heresies that never were (b), and sometimes he puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true, or at least problematically disputed (c). And therefore we need not wonder, that he made so numerous a Catalogue of Heresies, which he also multiplied, by mentioning one and the same Heresie many times.

The Style of this Author is mean and flat; he had no great Learning, and has committed many gross Faults (d) in this little Tract, which is not written with any Exactness: Yet there are some remarkable things in it (e).

This Treatise was printed at Basle in 1528; and at Helmstadt in 1611, and in 1614, and with St. Austin's Book of Heresies, in several places, and in the Bibliotheca Patrum.

(a) **A**bout the Year 387.] The Author of this Life, says, That he died before St. Ambrose. In Heresie 36, 'tis said, that he wrote in the year 430, but 'tis plain that this was the Mistake of a Figure, and that they put a C for an L, which would make it just 380.

(b) *Heresies that never were.*] As the Nazareans, the Heliogenists, the Adorers of Mice, the Muscaronites, the Troglodites in the Old Testament, the Fortunatians, the Baalites, the Celebites, the Molochites, the Tophites; making several Sects of Hereticks, of the Abominations committed by the Jews, and the Sacrifices of the People that were their Neighbours. But nothing is more pleasant than his Invention of the Heresie of the Puteorites, which he founds upon that Passage of Jeremy. *They have forsaken me the Fountain of Living-Water, to make to themselves broken Cisterns.* That which he founds upon the 8th. Ch. of Ezekiel is not better grounded. Never any but he mentioned the Heresies of Judas, of the Passalorinchites, the Rhetorians, the Discalceati, and some others: Of one and the same Heresie, he many times makes many; and, in a word, he reckons the number of Heresies, not by the Sects, but by every particular Opinion. In our days, he might have multiplied at a much greater rate the number of Heresies, by counting as many Errors as have been invented by one or other.

(c) *He puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true, or at least problematical.*] As in Heresie 26, that the Soul of Samuel was brought back by the Witch of Endor; in the 59th. the Error of the Millenaries; in the 79th. that the Elements shall not perish; in the 88th. that the Epistle to the Hebrews may be St. Luke's or St. Barnabas's; in the 63d. that there are more than 7. Heavens; in 94, that there is no other Earth but this; in 96, that the Likeness of Man to God may be explained with relation to his Body; in 97, that the Breath which God inspired into Man was his Soul; in 101, that Earthquakes are natural Effects; in 102, and 111, that the Names of prophane Gods may be given to the Stars; in 110, that the number of Years since the Creation is not certain; in 126, that David was not the Author of all the Psalms; in 129, that the Stars are fastened to Heaven; in 137, and those that follow, that we may follow another Version besides that of the Seventy, and some others; in the 56th. he condemns those that admit Ecclesiasticus as a Canonical Book.

(d) *Many gross Faults.*] There are an infinite number of them in this Book; take some few of them. He places the Ophites,

the Gaianites, and the Troglodites among the Hereticks which were before Jesus Christ, which is an Error in Chronology. He says, the Samaritans came from a King called Samarins, the Son of Canaan. What a strange Mistake is here! He says, that Mercurius Trismegistus came to the Celts, and taught them to adore the Sun. He affirms that the God Accaron was a Fly. He supposes that not only Simon Magus, Basilides, &c. but also Cerdon, Marcion, and many other Hereticks, published their Errors while the Apostles were alive; a wonderful Mistake in Chronology. There are many more in it of this Nature.

(e) *There are some remarkable things in it.*] He confirms in many places the Immortality and Spirituality of the Soul, and chiefly in Heresie 122. In Heresie 87. he admits as Canonical the two Epistles of St. Peter, that of St. Jude, and the three Epistles of St. John. He explains the Mystery of the Trinity in Heresie 91, 92. He discourses of Grace in Heresie 97. He says very curious things about the Diversity and Gift of Tongues in Heresie 103, 104. He rejects in 105, the Opinion of those who thought that the Day of Judgment should happen 363 years after Jesus Christ. In 106, he rejects the Opinion of those who imagined, that the Sons of Men spoken of in Genesis, were Angels. In the 112, he laughs at those that say there are many Worlds. In Heresie 116. he plainly admits Original Sin. In 121, he rejects the Opinion of those, who believed that Jesus Christ descended into Hell, and preached the Gospel there to all the Damned; and that those of them who believed in him were saved. In 129, he explains the Eternal Generation of the Word. In 124, he teaches that Men ought to run in the ways of Virtue, and to desire what is good, but they ought not to do it with Pride and Haughtiness, for they should acknowledge that they cannot deserve Salvation by their own Works, but by the Mercy of Jesus Christ; that it is indeed in our Power to run, but we ought to hope for greater things from God; and therefore we ought not to magnifie our selves, and say, *I can be a Martyr, I can be an Apostle*, but we must add, *If Jesus Christ will*: Because it is from him that we obtain these Graces, and they are not to be acquired by a vain Presumption. In Heresie 144, he observes that the Church celebrates Four solemn Fasts; before Christmas, before Epiphany, before Easter, and before Whitsunday. I leave the other Observations to those who will take the pains to read this little Tract, whose Brevity is one of its best Qualities.

TIMOTHY of Alexandria.

Timothy the Successor of Peter of Alexandria, who was present at the Second Council of Constantinople, wrote the Lives of the Monks of Egypt, which is mentioned by Sozomen Ch. 29. of B. VI. of his History. Facundus in Ch. 2. of B. IV. cites a Letter of the same Timothy addressed to Diodorus of Tarsus.

We have now the Responses or Canon-Laws of this Bishop, upon which Balsamon has written Commentaries. The Questions that were proposed to him, were Questions about Customs and Practices of the Church, and his answers are very Judicious.

In the First he says, that those young Catechumens ought to be Baptized, who being present in the Church with the Faithful had received the Eucharist.

The Second and Third concern those that are possessed by an evil Spirit; he says, that those Catechumens ought not to be Baptized who are afflicted with this Evil, until the Point of Death. As to the Faithful, he would have them permitted from time to time to approach the Holy Mysteries, provided the Devil do not seduce them to Discover these Mysteries, or to blaspheme them.

In the 4th. he says, that these Catechumens may be Baptized, who have lost their Wits by Sickness.

In the 5th. he counsels married Persons to abstain from

the use of Marriage, on that Day in which they intend to Receive the Communion.

In the 6th. and 7th. he would not have Women Baptized, nor receive the Communion; but at certain times.

In the 8th. he exempts Women newly brought to Bed from the Fast of Lent: Because, says he, *Fasting was not appointed but to afflict the Body; and therefore where the Body is already afflicted, they may take what is necessary for it.*

In the 9th. he says, that the Clergy ought not to use the Publick Prayers in the Presence of the Arians and Hereticks, if they have a Design to forsake their Heresie: He takes notice, that the Deacon was wont to say with a loud Voice, before he saluted the People, *Let those who do not Communicate withdraw.*

In the 10th. he exempts sick Persons from the Fast of Lent, and permits them to eat Oyl in that time.

In the 11th. he says, that a Clergy-man ought not to marry Persons contrary to Law.

In the 12th. he excuses Nocturnal Illusions, when they do not proceed from a Voluntary Cause.

In the 13th. he would have Persons that are Married abstain from the use of Marriage on Saturday, and Sunday, that they may be capable of receiving the Communion.

In the 14th. he says, that an oblation may be offered for those

Timothy of Alexandria. those that kill themselves through madness, having lost the use of their reason; but because this Pretence is often alledged to procure an Offering for those that kill themselves knowingly, therefore the matter should be well examined.

The 15th. Question is of great Consequence. It was asked, supposing a Wife to be perfectly Foolish and Mad, so that she must be bound, Whether an Husband, who, says he, cannot contain himself, may lawfully Marry another Wife? He answers, that this Action would be Adultery in him, and that nothing else is to be said upon the Question.

In the 16th. it was asked, whether a Person that fasted in order to Communicate, having by chance swallowed down

a drop of Water, either in bathing himself, or in washing his Mouth, ought to Communicate or no? He answers, that he ought to do it so much the rather, because 'tis the Devil that uses this Artifice to hinder his receiving the Communion.

In the 17th. he says, that those who hear the Word of God and do it not, are in some measure excusable if they be angry with themselves for their Omission, and accuse themselves of it.

In the last, he says, that Men begin to sin, when they come to the use of Reason, and so some begin to sin, at Ten Years of Age; some sooner and some later.

NECTARIUS.

Nectarius. **N**ectarius who was chosen Arch-Bishop of Constantinople in the Year 382, after St. Gregory Nazianzen withdrew, passes for the Author of an Homily upon the Festival of the Martyr Theodorus, Printed at Paris by Nivelles in 1554, together with some

Homilies of St. Chrysostom. He discourses in this Homily of Alms-giving and Fasting. Nectarius died in 397. He could not be very skilful in Divinity, having spent all his Life at Court, and being only a Catechumen when he was chosen to be Bishop.

GELASIUS of Cæsarea.

Gelasius of Cæsarea. **S**t. Jerome places Gelasius, Successor to Euzoius Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers. He assures us, that he had an exact and Polite Stile, but that he would not publish his Works. Photius in Vol. 89. assures us, that he read the Continuation of the History of Eusebius, Written by Rufinus, Translated into Greek by this Author. He observes, that

he was the Nephew of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and that this Father was his Fellow-labourer in the Translation of this History, Theodoret in his first Dialogue quotes with commendation a Passage of this Author, taken out of a Homily upon the Apparition of Jesus Christ, which proves the distinction of the Two Natures in Christ.

SIRICIUS.

Siricius. **S**iricius succeeded Pope Damasus in the Year 385, and governed the Church of Rome till the Year 398. the Letters of this Pope, are the First Decretals which are truly the Pope's whose Name they bear.

The First Letter he wrote soon after he was promoted to the Pontifical Dignity, in Answer to Himerius, Bishop of Tarracon, upon some Questions which he had proposed to Damasus Predecessor to Siricius.

The First Question was, Whether the Arians must be Re-baptized, who were re-admitted into the Church. Siricius answers, that this was by no means to be permitted, because the Apostle forbids it, because the Canons condemn it, and because it was forbidden by the Constitutions of his Predecessor Liberius, which were sent to all the Churches of the World, after the Annulling of the Council of Ariminum. 'Wherefore, adds he, in obedience to what was Ordained, by a Synod, We reconcile them to the Church, as well as the Novatians and other Hereticks by Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and by Imposition of Hands made by the Bishops: This is the Method which all the East and all the West observes, and you cannot vary from this Practice, but you will deserve to be separated from our Society by a Synodical Sentence.'

The Second Question proposed by Himerius, was about the time wherein Baptism ought to be Administred. Siricius thinks, that in this we should follow the Custom of the Church of Rome, that this Sacrament should not be Administred but at Easter and Whitsuntide; yet he excepts Infants, and such as are in danger of their Life, who should be relieved with all speed. 'For fear, says he, lest we be guilty before God of the loss of those to whom we have refused Baptism. He would have this Law observed by all the Bishops, and threatens those who shall not observe it, to separate them from the Apostolick Rock, upon which Christ has built his Universal Church.' Yet this Law was never punctually observed, neither in the East nor in the West; and nevertheless the Bishops who did not observe it, were never upon this Account separated from the Apostolick Rock upon which Christ built his Universal Church.

The Third Question is concerning those who having received Baptism had fallen into Apostacy. Siricius ordains, that if they acknowledge their Fault, they should do Penance for the rest of their Life; but that the favour of Reconciliation should be granted them at the Point of Death.

The Fourth Question was, whether a Man could Marry a Woman that was promised to another. Siricius answers, that we must not suffer it to be done, because it was a kind of Sacrilege to Violate the Blessing which the Priest or Bishop gave to her that was to be Married.

The Fifth concerns Penitents who have relapsed into the Sins of the Flesh, after they had compleated their Penance and were reconciled to the Church. Siricius says, that since they have no further the benefit of Penance, he thinks it convenient to give them leave to be present at the

Prayers of the Church; but upon condition that they shall be kept back from the Holy Table, that is, from the participation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist; yet he would have this Viaticum granted them at the point of Death. He ordains that the same method shall be observed towards Women that fall into Sins of this Nature. And in fine, as to Monks and religious Persons guilty of Uncleannels, he Ordains, that those detestable Persons shall be separated not only from the Assemblies of the Church, but also from the Society of Monks, and that being shut up in Prison, they shall bewail their Sin all the remainder of their Life, that so they may be capable of deserving the Communion of the Church at the Hour of Death.

After this, he speaks in the 7th. Canon against those Persons who being in Orders do not observe Celibacy. And he declares, that if for the future any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon shall not continue unmarried, he is to hope for no more pardon, because it was necessary to cut off with the Knife those Sores that could not be cured by other Remedies.

The 8th. Canon is against those who get themselves Ordained after they have had several Wives.

In the Ninth, Siricius observes the several Degrees thro' which one must pass before he arrives at the Priesthood. He says, that he who devotes himself to the Service of the Church, should be Baptized very young, and placed among the number of Readers; that if he behaves himself discreetly till he be 30 Years old, he may during that time be made an Acolyth and Sub-deacon, provided that he does not Marry above once, and then he does not Marry a Widow; that after he shall be ordained Deacon, if he obliges himself to live unmarried; Five Years after the Order of Priesthood may be conferred upon him; and that in fine at the end of Ten Years, he may be made Bishop. Thus Siricius disposes of their time, who are designed for the Clergy, from the First Years, of their Life: But for those that would enter into Holy Orders when they are already come to Years, he says, in the Tenth Canon, that immediately after their Baptism, they should be placed in the Rank of Readers or Exorists, and Two Years after they should be made Acolyths and Subdeacons, at the end of Five Years Deacons, and some time after Priests, and afterwards Bishops, if the People and the Clergy should chuse them. These Rules are very fine in Speculation, but it was never seen that they were exactly observed, and indeed it had been very difficult to do it.

In the 7th. he declares, That every Clergyman who shall marry a Second Wife or a Widow, shall be turned out of Holy Orders, and reduced to Lay-Communion.

In the 12th. he observes, that no other Women must be suffered to dwell with the Clergy, but those whom the Council of Nice has allowed.

In the 13th. he speaks of the Ordination of Monks. 'We wish, says he, and desire, that those among the Monks who are recommended by the Holiness of their Lives and

Siricius. and the Purity of their Faith, may enter into the Clergy, upon condition that they pass thro' the Inferior Orders, that they be not Ordained Deacons or Priests till they come to a good Age, and that they do not ascend all of the sudden into the Episcopal Chair, but only after they have continued the time prescribed in each of the sacred Orders.

In the 14th. he says, that as a Clergyman is not permitted to do publick Penance, so neither should a Lay-man be allowed, after he has done publick Penance, to enter into the Clergy. At last, he ordains in the last Canon, that considering the greater part excuse themselves as not knowing these Laws, that their Ignorance be pardoned; but upon condition that the Penitents and Bigamists who have been Ordained, shall continue in that Order wherein they are, without being capable of ascending higher. He concludes these Canons with threatening the Condemnation of the Holy See to all Metropolitans who did not observe these Laws; and ends his whole Letter with exhorting *Himerius*, to observe the Canons and the Holy Decrees, and to publish them in Spain.

The second Letter of Pope *Siricius* furnishes us with a good Example of the antient Manner of Judging used by the Holy Apostolick See: There he acquaints the Church of *Milan*, that having assembled all his Clergy, he had condemned *Jovinian* and his Followers, with the Advice and Consent of the Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy. *Omnium nostrum, tam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum, quam etiam totius Cleri una sententia.*

The third Letter of the Pope *Siricius* is addressed to all the Orthodox; he exhorts them to observe the Canons of the Council of *Nice* in the Election of Bishops; he recommends to them, not to give Bishopricks to Persons unknown, nor to Novices, nor to Lay-men, but to Clergy-men, whose Life was unblameable.

(a) **B**Y very strong Conjectures.] *Blondel* had before rejected this Letter, but with some Doubt, and without giving any convincing Reason; but *Monfieur Quesnel* has perfectly destroyed the Credit of it, by sapping the Foundation upon which it was built, which was the Council of *Telepra*, wherein this Letter is quoted, and by alledging many new Conjectures against this Letter. These that follow are the chief. 1. The first Canon of this Letter has no Sense in whatever manner it be read or explained; for according to some it must be read, *ut sine Conscientia sedis Apostolica Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare*, according to others, *ut extra Conscientiam sedis Apostolicae, i. e. Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare*. The first is ridiculous; first, because the Popes never pretended to take Cognizance of the Ordinations of all the Metropolitans. Secondly, because in *Africk* there was but one Primate only, all the other Ecclesiastical Metropolitans were the most antient Bishops of the Province. The Second is equally ridiculous: For what Probability is there, that a Pope should give to all the Metropolitan Churches the Title of the Apostolick See, which Pope *Leo* in *Ep. 78.* said could not be granted to the Bishop of *Constantinople*? Secondly this Letter

The fourth Letter of *Siricius* which is addressed to the Bishops of *Africa*, is suspected of Forgery by the most able Criticks, who prove it by very strong Conjectures (a), and it contains nothing remarkable.

The last Letter written to *Anyfius* of *Theffalonica*, and other Bishops of *Illyricum*, was for a long time attributed to St. *Ambrose*, tho' he speaks there of this Father in the third Person, and was restored to *Siricius* by *Holsteinius*. The Bishops to whom he writes had consulted him about the Cause of *Bonofus*, who was accused of saying rashly, That the Virgin *Mary* had Children. *Siricius* answers *Anyfius* and those Bishops, that the Synod of *Capua* having ordained that the neighbouring Bishops to *Bonofus*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, should take cognizance of the Charge that was drawn up against him, it did no longer belong to him to judge of this Cause; that it belonged to them to whom this Judgment was committed to give their Sentence, and that neither the Accused, nor the Accusers could avoid it; That the Synod of *Capua* having chosen them to judge it, the Judgment which they should give was to be looked upon as the Judgment of the Council; That *Bonofus* having consulted St. *Ambrose*, whether he could be re-admitted to his Church, he had answered him that he must attempt nothing unseasonably; but must wait for the Judgment of those to whom the Synod of *Capua* had given Authority to determine this Affair: Yet in the following part of this Letter he does not omit to acquaint them with his Thoughts of this Question, and to refute the Opinion of *Bonofus*; but he does it as a private Doctor, and not as a Judge; declaring at the End of this Letter, that he waited for their Judgment upon this Affair, that he might follow it as his Rule. This is a very authentick Testimony of the Reverence which the antient Popes had for the Decisions of Councils.

is copied from that of *Innocent* to *Victricius*. Thirdly, the Author of this Letter says impertinently, that the Bishops of *Africk* would have come to the Synod of *Rome*, if they had not been hindered by Old Age or Sickness from coming thither. Fourthly, he makes *Siricius* speak to the *Africans* with too much Authority. Fifthly, he only advises Priests and Deacons to Celibacy, as a thing that they were not obliged to; whereas 'tis certain that *Siricius* looked upon it as an indispensable Law. Sixthly, what this Author has not copied from the Letter of St. *Innocent* is barbarous and ill-turned. Seventhly, the Subscription of this Letter is singular, *Data Roma in Concilio Episcoporum 80.* This is always put at the Beginning, and never at the End of Synodical Letters. In fine, this Letter was never quoted in the *African* Councils, which have treated of the Continuity of the Clergy, no more than that Council of *Telepra*, wherein it is pretended that it was quoted. 'Tis true that *Ferrandus* the Deacon has inserted the Canons of this Council, as well as those of this Letter, into his Collection; but he may be mistaken as *Father Quesnel* proves in this Dissertation, which is the 15th. of his Learned Dissertations upon St. *Leo*.

SABINUS.

Sabinus. **S**abinus Bishop of the *Macedonians* at *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, lived about the end of the reign of *Theodosius* the Great. He collected together the Acts of several Councils of the Fourth Century, which *Socrates*

quotes several times (a), though he wrote very spitefully against the Church, yet his Memoirs had been very useful for clearing up the History of the Councils of that time, if they had come to our hands.

(a) **Q**UOTES several times.] *Socrates* Lib. 1. Cap. 8. & 9. | Lib. 2. Cap. 15, 17, 39. Lib. 3. Cap. 10, 24.

AMBROSE of Alexandria.

Ambrose of Alexandria. **S**t. *Jerome* speaks of this Author in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers after this manner: 'Ambrose of Alexandria, the Scholar of *Didymus*, wrote a great Dogmatical Treatise against *Apollinarius*, and

Commentaries upon *Job*, of which some spoke to me not long ago: This Author is still alive;' which shews that he died not till after the Year 392. And this is all that we have to say of this Author.

THEOTIMUS.

Theotimus. **T**heotimus Bishop of *Tomi* in *Scythia*, has written, according to the Testimony of the same St. *Jerome*, short and sententious Tracts by way of Dialogue, according to the antient manner of Writing. This Bishop was one of the Defenders of St. *Chrysostome*. He

was present at *Constantinople* when St. *Epiphanius* came thither, and spoke to him briefly in Defence of *Origen's* Books. *Theotimus*. *Socrates* produces his Words *Ch. 12.* of *B. VI.* of his History. *Sozomen* commends him *Ch. 26.* of *B. VI.* of his History, and mentions some Miracles which he wrought.

EVAGRIUS of Antioch.

Evagrius of Antioch. **S**t. *Jerome* assures us that *Evagrius*, who was Ordained in 386, Bishop of *Paulinus's* Party at *Antioch*, was a Man of a brisk and fervent Spirit; that when he was Priest, he wrote many Treatises upon different Subjects which he had read to himself, but that they

had not yet seen the Light; and that he had translated into Latin the Life of St. *Anthony* written by St. *Atbanasius*. This shews, that they are to blame, who attribute the Translation of this Life to St. *Jerome*. This Author died in the Year 393. C c c c St. A M-

St. AMBROSE Bishop of Milan.

St. Ambrose.

THe Father of St. Ambrose was Prætorian Præfect of Gaul when this Saint was born, which was about the Year 340 (a), and was nursed in his Father's Palace (b). 'Tis reported, that while he was sleeping one day with his Mouth open in the Court of this Palace, a Swarm of Bees came and flew about his Cradle, and having many times crept in and out to rest themselves upon his Mouth, at last they mounted up into the Air so high, till they quite vanished out of sight; which was looked upon by his Father as a Prodigy, and a Presage of the future Greatness of this Infant. Prophane Antiquity relates the same thing of Plato, and affirms, That it was a Presage of the Sweetness of his Eloquence; but there is more reason to believe what the Author of the Life of our Saint says, That this Swarm of Bees formed those Honey-combs in his Mouth, which should One Day make us relish the Sweetness of Heavenly Gifts, and raise our Hearts up to Heaven.

The Father of St. Ambrose dying sometime after, his Widow left Gaul, whither she was come to dwell only upon the Account of her Husband's Office, and returned to Rome which was their Country. Thither she carried St. Ambrose who was yet very Young, together with Marcellina his Sister, and Satyrus his Eldest Brother; and she took special Care of the Education of her Children. Her Daughter professed Virginity, and received the Veil from the Hands of Pope Liberius; St. Ambrose profited very much by the Domestick Examples of the Piety and Virtue of his Mother, his Sister, and the Virgins that were with them; they inspired into him from his tender Youth, the love of Virtue, and secured him from the Corruptions of the Age, and he joynd Learning to his Piety. His Works discover how vigorously he applied himself to human Learning. Having finished his Studies, he acquired by his Merits the Friendship of Asicius Probus, and Symmachus, two very Honest and Learned Men, tho' of different Religions. The first was the Prætorian Præfect of Italy, in whose Court St. Ambrose pleaded Causes with so much renown, that Probus made choice of him to be his Assessor. Afterwards he made him Governor of Liguria and Emilia, that is, of all that Country, which comprehends at this Day, the Archbishopricks of Milan, Liguria, Turin, Genoa and Bologna. 'Tis reported that Probus said to him at parting, *Go thy way, and Govern more like a Bishop than a Judge*; which Words were a Prediction of what happened afterwards. For a little while after, Auxentius Bishop of Milan, who was of the Arian Faction, being dead, the Bishops of the Province of Italy assembled to place one in his room, according to

(a) *About the Year 340.* The Date of St. Ambrose's Birth, depends upon the Date of that Letter which was formerly the 32d. and is now the 60th. addressed to Severus; for there he says, that he was 53 years old, and that he wrote in a time of War. *Tot abieſti barbaricis moribus, & bellorum procellis, in medio verſamur omnium moleſtiarum freto.* This may relate either to the War of Maximus, in 387, or to that of Eugenius in 393; if it refers to the first, he was born in 334, if to the second, in 340. 'Tis hard to say whether it refers to the one or to the other.

(b) *Was Nurs'd in his Father's Palace.* Paulinus the Author of St. Ambrose's Life says plainly, that he was born in his Father's Palace, who was then the Prætorian Præfect of Gaul. *Posito in administratione præfectura Galliarum Patre ejus Ambrosio natus est Ambrosius, qui infans in Area Prætoris in Cunabulis positus, &c.* This plainly enough discovers the place of his Birth and Education, for the Dwelling-House and Palace of the Præfect of the Gauls was certainly in Gaul: 'Tis true that the same Paulinus speaking afterwards of St. Ambrose's Journey to Rome, says, that he went to his own Country, *proprium solum*, and that St. Basil writing to St. Ambrose, says, he was of the Imperial City: But on these Occasions, the Place of his Parents abode, the Origin of the Family, and the common Residence of St. Ambrose, was considered as the Place of his Country. And indeed so it was according to the Roman Laws; and the Children born in a Place where their Parents were by chance about their Affairs, were esteemed to be of that Place, which was the ordinary Residence of their Fathers and Mothers. See *L. retro. ff. de captiv. & L. filios C. de municip. & L. civis C. de incolis.* 'Tis more difficult to Assign precisely that City of the Gauls, where the Prætorian Præfect then resided, which is not certainly known. Some are of Opinion that it was at Triers, which St. Athanasius and Theodoret call the Metropolis of Gaul, as Milan was the Metropolis of Italy: For the Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of Italy was at Milan. Ammian. Marcellinus. calls the City of Triers, the Dwelling-Place of Princes; to which we may add, the Praises which many Authors have given of this City; but this proves nothing. In the time of the Tyrant Maximus, Evodius the Prætorian Præfect of the Gauls Resided at Triers, as appears by the History of the Priscillianists related by Sulpicius Severus. But it does not follow from hence, that this City was the Ordinary Residence of others, because that Maximus a Tyrant, who was newly raised to the Empire,

the Orders of the Emperor Valentinian, who would not himself interpose in the Election; and upon this Occasion there arose a great Contention among the People, because the Arians and the Orthodox on each side, did all that lay in their Power to choose a Bishop of their own Party. This Quarrel being like to raise a Tumult, St. Ambrose thought it the Duty of his Office to come unto the Church and prevent it, whither being come, he made an Oration to the People with much Discretion and Mildness, exhorting them to proceed in their Choice with the Spirit of Peace and without Tumult. While he was yet speaking, the People unanimously proclaimed him Bishop of Milan. This unexpected Choice surprized him; he presently withdrew, and made use of all the Artifices he could to shun this Bishoprick. He ascended the Bench of Justice, and affecting to seem cruel and unworthy of the Priesthood, he caused the Criminals to be brought before him loaded with Chains, and commanded them to be racked with great severity. This Artifice failing, he contrived another, by making Women of lewd Lives come into his House. But the People perceiving all this to be affected, continued still in their Choice: Whereupon he stole out of the City by Night, with a design to retire to Ticinum; but missing his way, he wandered up and down all Night; and found himself next Morning at the Gates of Milan. His Flight being known, a Guard was set about him, and a Relation of all that had pass'd, was sent to the Emperor: St. Ambrose wrote also to him on his own behalf, that he might be excus'd from that Office. But the Emperor being wonderfully pleas'd with this Choice of the People, did not only confirm the Election, but gave Order to the Lieutenant of Italy to see the thing effectually done. In the mean time St. Ambrose once more made his escape, and hid himself in the House of one Leontius: But the Lieutenant of Italy having published the Order, against all those that knew where he was, and did not discover him, Leontius by an Innocent kind of Treachery declared where he was, and then St. Ambrose finding it was in vain to resist any longer, was first baptized, and some time after made Bishop of Milan, at the End of the year 374, or the beginning of 375 (c). Immediately after his Ordination he distributed to the Poor, or gave to the Church all the Money that he had. He settled his Lands also upon the Church, reserving only the Profits of them for Life. He committed the Care of his Affairs to his Brother Satyrus, who being gone to Rome by Sea in pursuit of a Man who had unjustly possess'd himself of some part of their Estate, was like to have perished in a Shipwreck; which made him resolve to be baptized: Nevertheless he escaped the danger and return-

dwelt at Triers. Some have thought that the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of the Gauls was at Arles. The Conjectures for this Opinion are these, that the Emperor Constantine resided in this City, that he honoured it with many Privileges, and particularly to be the Place for the meeting of a Council; that there is a Law of Honorius and Theodosius, which Ordains that every year an Assembly of the Seven Provinces should be held in the City of Arles, in the presence of the Præfect, *sub illustri presentia Præfectura*; that Agricolaus the Prætorian Præfect of the Gauls, to whom this Law was address'd, received it at Arles; That in the Petition which those Countries presented to the Pope Leo, they establish the Dignity of the Ecclesiastical Metropolis of Arles upon the Privileges which had been granted to this City by Valentinian and Honorius, which made it be looked upon as the Mother of all the other Cities, and upon the Honour which it had to serve for the Residence of the Prætorian Præfect. 'Tis added, that Honoratus writes in the Life of Hilary of Arles, that the Prætorian Præfect came to see this Bishop when he was reduced to Extremity; that St. Prosper in his Chronicle speaks of a Prætorian Præfect called Exuperantius, who resided at Arles; that Liberius Prætorian Præfect of Gaul, who confirmed the Second Council of Orange, dwelt at Arles; that Faustus Rhedonensis writing to Felix the Præfect of Gaul, says, that he resided in a City where he profited by the Instructions of Eonius, and this Man was Bishop of Arles. All these Proofs plainly shew, that in the Fifth Age the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfects of Gaul was in the City of Arles; but they do not prove, that it was also in the time of St. Ambrose. One may rather believe, that it was the City of Lyons, which at first was the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of Gaul. For, First, This City was looked upon as the Chief City of Gaul. Secondly, Strabo assures us, that the Præfects and Governors of Gaul commonly resided there, and coyned Money there of Gold and Silver: Now there is no probability, neither is there any Proof that Constantine changed this Custom in favour of the City of Arles: And therefore there is nothing very certain upon this Subject.

(c) *Ordained Bishop of Milan about the Year 374, or 375.* In Eusebius's Chronicle, his Ordination is placed in the year 375. But since it is certain that Valentinian died November 10th. 375. and that his Ordination was made the 10th. of December under this Emperor, we must of necessity place it in the preceding year.

St. Ambrose.

ed safe to *Milan*, where he died in 379. Thus *St. Ambrose* having renounced all Care of Secular Affairs, applied himself wholly to the worthy discharge of his Episcopal Function. Tho' he was but newly baptized, and never had time to Study Religion before his Ordination, yet by his great Industry he attained to that Perfection, that at the same time he both learned and taught the Truths of the Christian Religion. He did every Day celebrate the Holy Mysteries; there pass'd not a Sunday but he preached to his People. He hearkened to all Men with Meekness and Charity, he relieved the Poor, he comforted the Afflicted, so that all his People loved and admired him. He applied himself vigorously to root out the remnants of Arianism that were yet in the Church of *Milan*. He convicted *Secundianus* and *Palladius*, and procured their Condemnation in the Council of *Aquileia* held in the year 381. The Death of *Gratian* changed the face of Affairs in the Western Empire. The Tyrant *Maximus* who had put him to Death, having *Ulfila* *Gaul*, was become formidable to all *Italy*. It was feared that he would pass the *Alps*, and carry *Italy* by force from *Valentinian* the younger, who was then but twelve or thirteen years Old. *St. Ambrose* was sent Embassador to this Tyrant in the year 384, and by his Prudence and Boldness diverted his Design of passing then into *Italy*. The Empress *Justina*, Mother to *Valentinian*, who was an Arian, having a Design to restore Arianism after its Extirpation in the Church of *Milan*, did at first desire of *St. Ambrose*, one of the Churches called the *Portian* Church, which *St. Ambrose* refus'd to grant her; and so great was the Assembly of the People round about the Palace, that she was forced to leave *St. Ambrose* in the Possession of his Church, and to entreat him also to appease the People. Sometime after the Empress sent to him to demand in the Emperor's Name, not only that Church, but also the *New-Church*. Our Saint opposed them with wonderful Boldness, and answered them with such a fearless Courage, as astonished the Persons who brought the Emperor's Orders to him. This happened at the Beginning of the year 385. On *Palm-Sunday* in the same year, Officers were sent to seize upon the *Portian-Church*, when *St. Ambrose* was Officiating in the *New-Church*. This irritated the People, who run to that Church, and having apprehended one *Castulus* an Arian Priest, would have made a Riot, if *St. Ambrose* had not sent some Priests and Deacons to appease them. The Emperor caused many of the Seditious to be Arrested and sent armed Soldiers to take Possession of the Church, which for all that was not put in Execution. On *Wednesday* in *Passion Week* the Soldiers were sent to seize upon the *New-Church*, but the People flocking thither in great Multitudes, the Soldiers never entered it; but the People within it spent the whole Night and Day, in singing of *Psalms*; and the next day after, the Emperor being prevailed upon by the Boldness and Wisdom of *St. Ambrose's* Carriage, who had put a stop to the Sedition, and yet had yielded nothing of what was demanded of him, ordered the Soldiers who Surrounded the Church to retire. In the year following the Persecution was renewed against the Catholics and *St. Ambrose*, by an Edict of the Emperor in favour of the Council of *Ariminum*. A design also was laid to take from the Catholics the *Portian-Church*. Orders were given to apprehend *St. Ambrose* and send him into banishment; but he was still secured by the Affection of the People of *Milan*, who Guarded him in his Church, where he spent many Days and Nights in singing *Psalms* and Hymns continually with his People. He was challenged to Dispute in the Palace with *Auxentius* the Arian Bishop; but he refused to do it, because Lay-men and Pagans were chosen to be Judges of their Conference. He offered to refer the Difference to the Judgment of a Council, tho' it was not reasonable to trouble the Peace of the Church for one Man only, nor to call that in Question which had been already determined. After this he spoke an Oration against *Auxentius*, which provoked the Empress *Justina* yet more against him: But at last she gave over the further Persecution of this Bishop, seeing it was to no purpose, because his own Wisdom and Courage, and the Affections of his People, covered him from all her Designs. 'Tis believed, that the Discovery of the Relicks of *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius*, and the Miracles that were then done by them, contributed to the Peace of the Church. But 'tis very probable that the true Reason which hindered *Justina* and *Valentinian* from pushing things to extremity, was the State of the Affairs of the Empire at that time. *Maximus* had prepared to pass over into *Italy*, a Sedition was also to be feared in this Juncture, and they stood in need of *St. Ambrose*. In effect, the Emperor found no Person fitter than he to treat with *Maximus*, whom he sent Embassador to this Tyrant, who resided at *Triers*: *St. Ambrose* spoke to him with much boldness, but he could obtain nothing of him; on the contrary, this Tyrant marched immediately into *Italy*; and thereby made himself Master of all the Western Empire, so that *Valentinian* was forced to retire into the East, and desire Aid of *Theodosius*, who re-established him, after he had defeated, taken and be-headed *Maximus*. This Revolution happened in 387. *St. Ambrose* continued during this time in his Bishoprick. When *Theodosius* came into the

West, he shewed no less Courage with reference to him, than before he had done to *Valentinian*. He opposed the re-establishment of the Jewish Synagogue, which *Theodosius* would have done, and of the *Altar of Victory*, which *Symmachus* had already endeavoured in vain to restore because of the Opposition of *St. Ambrose*. 'Tis well enough known, with what freedom he reprov'd the Emperor *Theodosius* for the Massacre at *Thessalonica* which he gave a Warrant for putting in Execution; and after what manner he obliged him to do publick Penance for it. The Death of *Valentinian* and the Advancement of *Eugenius* for some time disturbed the Repose of *St. Ambrose*. He was obliged to retire from *Milan* in the year 393, but he returned in the year 394, and finished his Course as he had begun it. He died in the year 396, aged 57 years.

The Works of *St. Ambrose* above all the other Fathers have been most corrupted in the ordinary Editions. The Roman Edition from which those that followed after were made, instead of restoring the Text of this Father, hath rendered it more faulty in many places; by the Liberty which the Supervisors of that Edition took, of making Alterations in it by their own Authority. In this Edition the Works were in great Confusion, without Order, and without any Distinction of what were genuine, and what were supposititious; which induced the Benedictines of the Abby of *St. Germain de Prez* to undertake a New Edition of this Father's Works, wherein they have restored the Text from many Manuscripts; and ranged the Discourses in very good Order. In it they are divided into Two Volumes. The first which is already published, contains the Treatises of *St. Ambrose* upon the Scripture. The second which will quickly come forth, and which they have allowed me to make use of, contains the other Works of this Father. The first begins with the Treatise upon the Creation of the World, composed of Nine Discourses of *St. Ambrose* to his People, preached in one of the last Weeks of Lent. 'Tis probable, that he reduced them afterwards into the Form of a Treatise: 'Tis divided into six Books, which answer to the six Days of the Creation. This Work contains many Questions of Controversy, and many moral and mystical Considerations upon the Text of the Bible: There are many of them, particularly in the last Books which are very extraordinary; and far-fetched. *St. Ambrose* made this Treatise about the year 389. He has imitated *St. Basil* in it, whose Method he followed; and he has taken many things from him, as also from *Hippolytus* and *Origen*.

The Treatise of *Paradise* is one of the first Books of *St. Ambrose*. He wrote it, as he says in his Letter to *Sabinus*, soon after he was made Bishop. He does not dive very deep into the Historical Questions which may be made upon this Subject; but for the most part acquiesces in the Allegorical Explications, which he draws out of *Philo* and other Authors, or which he invents himself: There he refutes the Hereticks of *Apelles's* Sect, and occasionally speaks against the Jews.

St. Ambrose continues the Explication of the Text of *Genesis* in the Treatise of the History of *Abel* and *Cain*, upon which he makes abundance of long Allegories, wherewith he intermixes some moral thoughts. He enlarges particularly upon the Sacrifices of these two Brethren. Upon the occasion of the Saying that the Blood of *Abel* cries, he says, That God hears the Just even after their Death, because they are even then Living before God and enjoy Eternal Light.

The History of the Deluge and the Life of Noah, furnished *St. Ambrose* with very fit Matter for the Continuation of his mystical and moral Explications. This is the Subject of the Book of the Ark and of Noah, or of the Ark of Noah, as *St. Austin* calls it. This Treatise is not perfect, for *St. Austin* quotes a Passage out of it, which is not to be found there now.

There are two Books of *St. Ambrose* upon the Life of Abraham. In the first he describes the Life and Actions of this Patriarch, and represents his Submission to the Will of God, and his other Virtues. In the second Book he discourses on the first Actions of this Patriarch, to draw from them a more sublime and spiritual Sense, by applying them to the different Degrees of a spiritual Life, and to the ways by which we tend to Perfection.

He treats also of the same Subject, tho' in a more compendious way, in the Book of *Isaac and the Soul*, where he explains the Union of the Soul with the Word, which was figured by the Marriage of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. There he distinguishes four Degrees thro' which the Soul must pass, that it may be delivered from all earthly Affections, and arrive at a State of perfect Union with God. By this Union he explains the *Canticles*, on which he makes a kind of a mystical Paraphrase, and therefore this Treatise may pass for a Commentary upon this Book of Scripture.

St. Ambrose having discoursed of the Soul at the End of the preceding Treatise, found himself insensibly engaged to treat of Death in the following Book. 'Tis entitled, *Of the Benefits or Advantages of Death*. There *St. Ambrose* first distinguishes three kinds of Death, the Death of Sin which kills the Soul, the mystical Death by which we die to Sin,

St. Ambrose. and the natural Death by which the Soul is separated from the Body. All the World considers the first as a great Misery, and the second as a great Happiness; but their Opinions are divided about the last: Some wish for it as a great Advantage, and others dread it as a great Punishment. St. Ambrose declares for those who hold it to be a great Benefit, he makes the Advantages of it appear, and opposes to them the Troubles of this present Life from which Death delivers us. He exhorts Christians, not to set their Affections upon this Life nor the Pleasures of this World; he makes them sensible of the Bitterness which accompanies them; he represents the Dangers to which we are continually exposed, the Temptations to which we are subject in all sorts of Occurrences, and the Sins into which we fall every moment: Afterwards he discourses of the State of departed Souls; he supposes that 'till the Day of Judgment, they are in Places or Habitations, where they expect Eternal Glory or Damnation, tho' they enjoy already by Anticipation some kind of Happiness or Misery. *All Souls wait, says he, for what they have deserved; some expect Damnation and others Glory; but in this waiting, the former are not without Pain, nor the latter without some Reward.* St. Ambrose insists particularly upon the Joy which the latter enjoy, and distinguishes seven Degrees of their Happiness, whereof the last is to rejoice in the Assurance they have of seeing God face to face. He concludes with exhorting the Faithful to die without Fear. 'Let us go on, says he, without Fear in the way to Jesus Christ; Let us march without Anxiety to the Assembly of the Patriarchs and Saints; Let us enter with Confidence into Abraham's Bosom. Yes, O Holy Patriarch, open to us your Bosom, extend your Arms to these poor Faithful. Jesus is gone before us to prepare Habitations, where we are to be received; he promised to do it before we asked it of him. We desire to follow thee, O Lord, but call thou us unto thee, that so we may effectually follow thee, because without thee, no Man can ascend unto thee. Thou art the Way, the Truth and the Life, thou givest us the Power, the Faith, and the Reward; receive us, since thou art the Way; confirm us since thou art the Truth; grant us Life, since thou art the Author of Life; make us to enjoy that good thing which David desired; shew us that Eternal, that immutable Bliss, which we shall enjoy for all Eternity.' This Treatise of St. Ambrose has another sort of a Relish than the foregoing; 'tis full of useful and solid Reflections, and of just and natural Reasonings. He founds all that he says upon Passages of the Holy Scripture, which he applies very pertinently and very naturally. He builds very much upon the Fourth Book of *Esdra*s which he cites as Canonical. This Treatise was written about the year 387. The Book *Of forsaking the World* was written soon after this, of which we have already spoken: The Title of it sufficiently discovers the Subject. There St. Ambrose makes use of several Allegories taken out of the Old Testament, to exhort the Faithful to flee from this World, that they may be wholly united to God.

The Books of Jacob and a *Happy Life*, treat of the Happiness of the Righteous. In the first, he discovers the means of arriving at Happiness; the chief whereof is, to follow the Light of right Reason, which can command our Passions, and repress the Motions of Lust: For tho' we cannot wholly extinguish our Passions, yet we may restrain their Violence by practising the Virtue of Moderation; for he maintains that we do Good or Evil freely. Jesus Christ, he says, will have none for his Servants which are not free, and the Devil has none for Slaves, but those that are voluntarily sold to him by their Sins. But because of Man's Weakness the Divine Assistance is necessary. The Law which God has given him does clearly discover to him his Sins; but it has not sufficient Virtue to deliver him from Sin and Death; there is nothing but Grace could set us at Liberty, which Jesus Christ by his Death hath merited for all Men. This Grace is so powerful, that provided we be willing to follow its Motions, nothing shall ever be able to separate us from Jesus Christ. Whatever befalls us we shall be happy; a just Man is above all the Miseries of this Life; 'tis true indeed, he suffers Losses, Afflictions, Diseases, Pains, Captivity, &c. but he does not think himself less happy for being subject to these Accidents. There is nothing wanting to him that possesses Virtue; he fears nothing, he hopes nothing, he desires nothing; tho' he be weak he is strong enough; tho' he appear to be poor, he is rich; tho' he is despised, he believes himself the more honoured; tho' he is alone, yet he is not forsaken; whatsoever Disease he has, he enjoys a perfect Health.

These Maxims are confirmed in the second Book by the Example of Jacob. St. Ambrose there describes the Life and Actions of this Patriarch, and shews that the Afflictions and Crosses which befel him did not hinder him from being happy. He concludes with the Example of *Eleazar* and the *Maccabees*, on whom he makes a very lively and eloquent Panegyrick.

After he has discoursed of the Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and treated, as he says himself, *Of Submission to the Will of God*, upon the occasion of *Abraham*, of *Purity of Spirit* from *Isaac*, of *Patience under Miseries* from the Hi-

story of *Jacob*; he treats of *Chastity* in explaining the History of *Joseph*, who has given an illustrious Example of the practice of this Virtue in resisting the Sollicitations of *Potiphar's Wife*. This Action of *Joseph* is so much the more glorious, by how much the Charms of this Woman were harder to be overcome; which St. Ambrose studies to set off to the best Advantage, that the Virtue of *Joseph* may the better appear. After this he pursues the History of this Patriarch, and discourses of all the Circumstances of his Life, which he refers to Jesus Christ, of whom *Joseph* was a Figure. He lays open this mystical Sense with much Art and Probability, by comparing what is said of *Joseph* in *Genesis*, with what is said of Jesus Christ in the Gospel.

The Commentary upon the *Benedictions of the Patriarchs*, follows naturally after the Book of the Life of *Joseph*. St. Ambrose there gives Mystical Senses to the Blessings, which *Jacob*, when he was dying gave to his Children, and refers the greatest part of them to Jesus Christ. This Book and the preceding are Sermons Preached by St. Ambrose at *Milan* about the Year 387, which he afterwards reduced into a Treatise.

The Book of *Elias* and of *Fasting*, contains many Sermons Preached at *Milan* in *Lent*. Having formerly spoken of the actions of *Elias* upon other Occasions, he here enlarges upon the Morals of them. The Person of whom, and the Time when he Preached do both conspire to invite him to treat of Fasting; and so this is the subject of the First and Principal Part of this Work. He maintains that Fasting is a Duty as old as the World, and Pretends that the Law by which God forbid *Adam* to Eat of the Tree of Life, was a kind of command for Fasting. He alleges afterwards the Examples of *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Elisha*, *Daniel* and many others to Authorize the Practice of Fasting. He discovers at last the advantages of it, and shews how Intemperance and Excess are pernicious and inconvenient. This leads him insensibly to discourse against the Debauchery, the Drunkenness, and the other Disorders of Mens Tables, which were very common in St. Ambrose's Time: He adds, That these Excesses draw along with them all other Vices, and particularly the Desire of gathering Riches, to furnish the excessive Expences which were necessary to support their Luxury. He exhorts Christians to apply themselves to God who is the Sovereign Physician of these Evils; and proposes the Day of Judgment as a Dissuative from these Excesses. Addressing himself afterwards to the Catechumens, he presses them to purify themselves from their Sins by receiving Baptism. He reproves those sharply who delay to receive this Sacrament, and exhorts them rather to imitate the forwardness of *Abel* than the Negligence of *Cain*. 'Tis easy to perceive, that this Treatise was Composed of many Pieces collected together. St. Ambrose has taken a great Part of it out of St. Basil, and in it there are many excellent Passages, and some things very remarkable about the Discipline of the Church. He says, in Ch. 10. that they prepared themselves by Fasting to approach to the Holy Table, that they fasted at *Milan*, all the time of *Lent*, except *Sundays* and *Saturdays*; that on *Easter-day* the Fast ended; that on that Day, those among the Catechumens, who were called *Elect*, were Baptized; that they approached to the Altar, and received the Sacrament: In short, St. Ambrose in this Treatise gives very Lively and Moral Descriptions of the Excesses and Debauchery of his Age: One needs only read the 12th. and 13th. Chapters, to be possessed with a horror of them. Even the Women were given to Wine, and did many Actions unbecoming the Modesty of their Sex, of which St. Ambrose makes them ashamed in Chap. 18.

The Treatise of *Naboth and the Poor* (for so it ought to be called, according to the Antient Manuscripts, and according to the Custom of St. Ambrose) is a Discourse full of Zeal against the Rich and Powerful who oppress the Poor, preached by St. Ambrose upon the History of the Oppression of *Naboth* by King *Ahab*. This Saint there shews, that there are *Ahabs* and *Naboths* at all times. 'The History of *Naboth*, says he, at the beginning of his Discourse, is Antient, if we consider the time wherein it was Transacted, but in Practice it happens daily; *tempore vetus est, usu quotidiana*: For who is the Rich Man that does not desire other Mens Goods? Is it not daily seen, that the Rich would take from the Poor the little Estate that they have, and drive them away from the Inheritance of their Ancestors? Where is there one found that is content with what he has? There has not been one *Ahab* only in the World, he is born in it every Day; there has not been one *Naboth* only killed, there are some such every Day oppressed. Every Day the Poor are overwhelmed, driven away, persecuted, and reduced to die by Famine, by the Injustice of the Rich.' He declaims afterwards against this Barbarity, and shews the Rich, by the Example of *Ahab*, that they are more unhappy with all their Riches, than the most Miserable and the most Poor in their Wants. He cries out against those sumptuous Feasts and needless Expences which they make, by which they waste the Blood and Substance of the Poor. Here he relates a frightful Story of a Rich Man, who to procure good

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St. Ambrose. good Wine to his Table, forced a Poor Man to sell his Son; and then he brings the Parable of the Rich Man mentioned in the Gospel of St. Luke, Ch. 12. who purposed to pull down his Barns, that he might build larger, and shews from hence how far the Slavery, Blindness and Misery of Rich Men extends. Afterwards he returns to his History of Ahab, and having represented the horribleness of the Action of Ahab and Jezebel, he exhorts Rich Men not to imitate it, by teaching them the use they ought to make of their Riches, which is described in Psalm 75. He concludes with this Remark, that God pardoned Ahab for this Crime, but this miserable Man brought upon himself Destruction by new Crimes. 'Tis thought, that this Treatise was composed about the Year 395.

The Book of Tobit is chiefly written against Usury, which St. Ambrose condemns most severely. There he Describes the Miseries to which Usurers reduce the Poor, and the Artifices they use to ensnare young Heirs. Usury according to him, is all that is received above the Principal. It is condemned by the Divine Law in the Old and New Testament: If it was permitted to the Israelites with respect to Strangers, it was only with reference to them whom they might lawfully kill. He refutes those by Name who restrain the Prohibition of Usury only to the Poor, and rejects the Reasons of Interest which may be alledged to excuse it. Erasmus doubted whether this Book were St. Ambrose's or no, but it was a doubt very ill grounded, for St. Austin cites it. It has St. Ambrose's Style, it contains his Doctrine, which is also to be found in short, in his 23d. Letter to Vigilantius, and it contains many passages translated out of St. Basil, according to the Custom of St. Ambrose. This Book was written about the Year 386.

The Four Books of the Intercession of Job and David, (that is of the Complaints which Job and David made for the Miseries and Weakness of Mankind) are in this Edition replaced here in their natural Order. In the two First Books he enlarges upon the Complaints contained in the First Chapters of the Book of Job, and in the Psalms, particularly in the 72d. and 42d. In the Two last he answers the Complaints of those who tax Providence, because the wicked are happy in this Life, and the Just miserable. He proves that the Happiness of the Wicked is not true Happiness, and that the Calamities, Miseries and Misfortunes of the Good, do not at all render them unhappy.

In the Book entituled the Apology of David, he saves the Honour of this Holy King, not by justifying his Crimes of Adultery and Murder which are used to render him odious; but by shewing, that he rose again from his Fall by a quick and sincere Repentance; that it was for our Instruction that God permitted him to fall into Sin, and that he made amends for his fault by a great number of good Actions. And therefore he explains the 51st. Psalm, that it may serve as an Apology for this Holy King. These Sermons were preached soon after the Death of Gratian, in the Year 385.

The Benedictines have placed here among these Works of St. Ambrose which are Genuine, the Second Apology for David; but it is confessed in the Preface, that it has been questioned, and that there is reason for doing so: Indeed it is observed, that in all the Manuscripts that have been seen, this Book goes under the Name of St. Ambrose, and the Conjectures which some Criticks have alledged to shew its imposture, are rejected. But then they find the Style is different from St. Ambrose's, and the Author uses a different Version of Scripture, and sometimes the Vulgar Latin, and he speaks of Two sorts of Wills and Operations in Jesus Christ, in such a manner as favours very much of the Times of the Monothelites. They add, that this Author only Copies and enlarges upon what St. Ambrose had said before. The Second Apology contains a great part of what is in the First; And what probability is there that St. Ambrose should twice repeat the same thing? The Subject of both is the same. The Author undertakes to shew, that no Man ought to be offended with any thing that is related in Scripture; And that David fell into the Crimes of Murder and Adultery. His Defence is divided into three Parts. In the First he shews that the Fall of David must be attributed to the Infirmary of Human Nature, and that his amendment was the effect of his Virtue. In the Second he says, that David fell to instruct the Jews that they should continue no longer in their blindness. In the last, Christians are instructed in the Mysteries which are typified by David's Fall. The Author enlarges upon common Places, and employs part of his Discourse in Refutation of the Hereticks, and chiefly of the Arians and Manichees. This Treatise is composed of popular Harangues.

The Expositions of some particular Psalms, are not a formal Commentary upon them, but a Collection of Homilies upon the Psalms Preached or composed upon several Occasions. However it appears by the Preface to the Commentary upon the First Psalm, that St. Ambrose had a Design to Expound all the Psalms. The Homily upon the First Psalm was Preached about the Year 390, after the Institution of Singing in the Church of Milan. The Explications of the 35th. and the Five following Psalms are

St. Ambrose. also a Collection of Homilies preached one after another about the Year 393. The Preface shews that it is a Collection of Sermons, and there are two or three Places in the Explication of Psalm 36, which serve to Denote this Epocha.

St. Ambrose. As to the Exposition of Psalm 43. he dictated it himself a little after his Death to his Deacon Paulinus, as he says, in the Life of his Master.

The Explications of Psalms 45, 47, 48, 61, are separate Homilies. In these Expositions St. Ambrose follows the Text of the Septuagint, but he sometimes takes notice of the differences of the Versions of Theodotion, Symmachus and Aquila. Yet he does not confine himself to a literal Exposition, but often gives Mystical Senses of them. Sometimes he lays down Principles of Morality, and upon certain Occasions he opposes the Hereticks. In many places he copies from St. Basil, and in others from Origen, some of whose Errors have crept into his Expositions.

The Work upon Psalm 119. is a Collection of many Sermons, wherein St. Ambrose rather confines himself to the Moral than the Spiritual Sense; which gave him occasion to reprove the Vices of some Persons in his time, and he spares not even the Disorders of the Clergy-men. He explains the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, which serve to distinguish the Parts of this Psalm. But as he knew but little of Hebrew, so what he says about it is not very solid; and 'tis probable that he took his from the Etymologies of Philo, which were full of Faults as St. Jerome assures us. These Sermons were preached about the Year 386, after the Discovery of the Relicks of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius. There are as many Sermons, as there are Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet which make the Divisions of this Psalm, each Sermon answers to a Section contained under each Letter. There he explains also part of the Canticles.

In the Commentary upon St. Luke, St. Ambrose confines himself more closely to the Historical and Literal Sense, than in his other Commentaries. In explaining the Text of St. Luke, he clears some of the other Gospels, and reconciles the apparent Contradictions, which may occur between them. He observes in the Preface to this Work, that the Gospel of St. John is more sublime, but St. Luke follows the Order of History more strictly, and relates many more particulars. He adds, that St. Matthew is chiefly employed in describing the Birth of Jesus Christ, and informing Men of his Manners; that St. Mark dwells longer in the description of his Strength and Power: That St. Luke represents him as a High-Priest and a Sacrifice; And that St. John insists more than any other upon the Miracles of his Resurrection. In the beginning of this Commentary he mentions the many Apocryphal Gospels, as that of the Twelve, the Gospel of St. Thomas, and that of St. Matthias, and assures us that the Church never received any but these Four Gospels which were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit. These are St. Ambrose's general Remarks upon the Four Gospels. It were too long to mention particularly all things that are in this Commentary. He confines himself for the most part, as we have already said to the Letter and History of the Gospel, but yet he cannot refrain from having recourse oftentimes to the Mystical Sense, and draws from it Moral Precepts. These are the Homilies which make up the Body of this Commentary, which is Divided into ten Books or Parts. He wrote it after the Persecution of the Empress Justina about the Year 386.

This Tome ends with a Commentary upon the Canticles, extracted out of the Works of St. Ambrose, collected by William Abbot of St. Thierry, who lived about the Year 1142. We have already observed that St. Ambrose explained some considerable parts of it in many places. This gave occasion to many Persons to extract these Places, and make up a Commentary upon the Canticles. Cartorius caus'd one of his Collecting to be printed at Louvain in the Year 1558. Ten Years after Gillotius published another which is attributed to Demochares a Doctor of Paris, who probably did nothing else but augment one that was shorter, which is in a Manuscript in the College of Navarr, and in another Manuscript of the Abby of Vendosme that is 600 Years old. Cheffletius had also a Manuscript of it more antient by 200 Years, and he found it quoted by Florus Magister of Lyons, who lived about the Year 855, in a Commentary upon St. Paul, which was never printed. The Collection which is published here by the Benedictines, was never printed before. It is published from a Manuscript by the same hand of William Abbot of St. Thierry, and afterwards Monk of Signi.

The First Book contained in the second Tome of St. Ambrose's Works, is his excellent Treatise concerning the Office of Ministers, or the Duties of Clergy-men. For tho' the name of Ministers be cut out in the Roman Edition, and in those that followed it; yet it is to be found in all the Manuscripts; and 'tis plain by the Book it self, that St. Ambrose compos'd it for his Clergy. But tho' he addresses himself particularly to them, yet he does not forget to treat of the Duties of all Christians, of which he makes a particular Application to the Clergy.

St. Ambrose. He had been several Years Bishop when he compos'd this Work, for there he speaks to the Clergy whom he had Chosen and Ordained himself: He must therefore have been Bishop for some time, since he had already Ordained a considerable number of Clergy-men. He there takes notice, that he had endured several Shocks from the Civil Powers, because he would not deliver up the *Deposita* which were entrusted with the Church. He says, that two Persons of whom he had a bad Opinion, had abjured the Catholick Faith in the time of the *Arian* Persecution, *Ariane infestationis*; which is to be understood of the Persecution of the Empreſs *Justina*.

He says also, that he sold the sacred Vessels to redeem Captives and Slaves, whose number was so great, that they would fill a whole Province.

This may have reference either to the War of *Maximus* in the year 357, or to the Inundation of the *Barbarians*, who having killed the Emperor *Valens* ravaged the Countries of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and came over into *Italy*, where they made a great number of Captives, which happened in the year 379. He speaks also of a Famine which afflicted the City of *Rome* under *Damianus* in the year 383.

Lastly speaking of a *Depositum* entrusted with the Bishop of *Pavia*, he says, that the Emperor did all that he could to wrest it out of the hands of this Bishop, that he might give it to one of his Courtiers. And we find a Law of *Valentinian* published at *Pavia*, January the 2d. 386. All these Transactions do clearly demonstrate, that the Books of Offices were not written by St. Ambrose at the beginning of his Bishoprick, and that 'tis very probable they were not written till about the year 390, or 391, when Peace was restored to the Church after the Death of the Tyrant *Maximus*. He followed and imitated in these three Books the Design and Method of *Tully's* Offices: He confirms those good Maxims which this Orator had laid down, and corrects those that are imperfect, refutes those that are false, and adds several others which are infinitely more excellent, more pure, and more sublime.

The first six Chapters of the first Book of St. Ambrose's Offices, are a Preface to the whole Work, wherein he enquires, when and how it is seasonable to speak or to be Silent. The Bishops are obliged by their Office to explain the Word of God; but they ought to discharge this Duty with Humility; they must learn by teaching, and that they may teach. This is what St. Ambrose applies to himself. 'For, says he, being removed all of the sudden from the Civil Bench, and from the Office of a Judge, that I might be promoted to the Priesthood, I have taught what I had not then learned, and was obliged to Learn and Teach at the same time.' After this he discovers the Advantages of being Silent, and the Dangers to which a Man exposes himself by speaking; but yet he would not have Men always to continue in silence. On the contrary, he says, that it is useful and necessary to speak, provided it be done with Humility and Moderation, provided that one weighs his Words in the balance of the Sanctuary, and does not follow the Motions of his Lusts, but Reason and Justice, and provided that he does not employ his Voice to retaliate Reproaches by Reproaches.

After this Preface he enters upon the Matter, and undertakes to treat of *Offices*. He affirms that this Name was not only in use among the Philosophers, but that it is in the Holy Scripture. He quotes one single Passage taken out of the Gospel of St. *Luke* Ch. 1. P. 23. Where there is mention made of the Ministry of *Zacharias*, and he translates the Greek Word by *Office*. This example does not prove very strongly what he had affirmed. After this he gives two Etymologies of the Word *Officium*; the First is *ab efficiendo, quasi efficium*, and the Second *ab officiando*. The Philosophers distinguished three sorts of Offices, of *Honesty*, of *Profit*, and of *Pleasure*. St. Ambrose says, that the Christians know no other but that of *Honesty*, cause they refer all to the Happiness of Heaven, being persuaded, that the *Profits* and *Pleasures* of this Life, are neither *true Profits* nor *true Pleasures*. And therefore he treats only of the Offices which have reference to *Honesty*. He affirms that this Term of *Honesty* and *Decency* was known to *David* before the Philosophers used it; and for proof of this, he quotes *Psal. 64. 2. Praise becomes thee, O Lord, in Zion, Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion*. He adds some Passages of St. *Paul*, where he speaks of *Decency* and *Honesty*. He affirms that *Pythagoras* followed *David* in imposing the Law of Silence upon his Disciples. But he puts a very great difference between their Precepts, in that *Pythagoras* wholly forbade his Scholars to speak, whereas *David* teaches us to speak with moderation, and to hold our Peace when it is convenient to do so. He distinguishes two sorts of Offices, the less perfect which he calls *medium*, and the most perfect. He explains this by the Words of Jesus Christ to the young Man, who ask'd him what he must do to inherit Eternal Life. Jesus Christ answered him at first, *Keep the Commandments, Do not commit Murder nor Adultery, &c.* These, says St. Ambrose, are the less perfect Offices, to which there is still something wanting. Those that are perfect are designed by what Jesus Christ said afterwards to

St. Ambrose. the young Man, when he had answered him that he had observed all these things. *If you would be perfect, go and sell all your Goods, and give them to the Poor, and you shall have Treasure in Heaven, and come and follow me.* This gave occasion to St. Ambrose to recommend Alms-giving as one of the principal Duties of the Christian Life.

Here he treats very largely of the Providence of God, and proves against the Philosophers, that it extends to all Creatures. Why then do the Wicked here enjoy Plenty? this is the common Objection: to which St. Ambrose answers, First, that this Abundance does not make them happy in this Life, because the remorse of their Conscience torments them.

He adds in the second place, that we must not wonder, if the Wicked seem to be happy in this Life, and on the contrary the Good seem to be miserable, because this is not the Place of Reward or Punishment. That we must wait till the other Life, when every one shall receive according to his Works: that here we are in a place of Combate: that the Just are to endure continual Assaults, that they may obtain one day Reward of their Victory; whereas the Wicked here enjoy Repose who deserve no Reward, after which shall follow the Punishments which their Sins deserve. That in short, God has granted to those the good things and Advantages of this Life, that they might be without Excuse in the Day of Judgment, for not observing the Commandments of God.

St. Ambrose having thus established these general Maxims, enters upon the particular consideration of the Duties of every State.

He begins with those which belong to young Men: He recommends to them above all things Shamefacedness and Modesty; he gives a wonderful description of this Virtue, and proves how necessary it is to Clergy-men. He says, that he had hindred one from entering into Holy Orders, because his Countenance was not modest enough, and that he had forbid another to walk before him, because he had too confident a Gate. He counsels them not to be present at Feasts, and to shun the Conversation of Women; he recommends to them to stay at home, and to apply themselves to the Duties of Piety which are agreeable to their Ministry. Afterwards he gives Precepts for restraining the Motions of Anger and of other Passions. He describes the Discourses of Clergy-men. He does not think it fit that they should use Raillery. He gives them three Rules for the good Conduct of their Actions. The first is, to hold their Passions in subjection to Reason; the second is to observe Moderation; the third is to do all things seasonably and in order. He illustrates these Maxims by the Examples of many Saints in the Old Testament.

After he has laid down these general Rules, he discourses of Virtues in particular, comparing the *Ideas* which Christians have of them with those which the Pagan Philosophers had; and shews, that those of the Christians are much more sublime. As for example, Justice among Christians does not allow, that they should render Evil for Evil; it acknowledges no particular Interest, and it takes place, not only with respect to Friends, but also to declared Enemies. Likewise Christians are not only to do good to their Friends and their Relations, but also to their Enemies. It is not Vanity, but Charity, which is the foundation of their Liberality; they do not only give of their Superfluities, but also of their Necessaries. Their strength consists chiefly in suffering with Courage and Constancy, in keeping off the Violence which is offered to the Weak, in over-coming their Passions, in despising the Riches of this World, and seeking after, loving and valuing nothing but Virtue. They preserve an Evenness of Soul and wonderful Tranquility of Mind in the midst of Crosses: Yet they do not rashly expose themselves, and are not ashamed to fly, when they find themselves too weak to resist Persecutions. In short, their Moderation consists in Tranquility of Mind, in the love of Mildness, in compleat Meekness and perfect Honesty. St. Ambrose explains particularly all the parts of these Virtues, gives excellent Precepts for observing them, and proposes admirable Examples of them taken out of the Holy Scripture. He produces also some Examples of them taken out of Ecclesiastical History; that of St. *Laurence* is very remarkable. St. Ambrose proposes him as an illustrious Pattern of Constancy. He says, 'That this holy Deacon, seeing *Xystus* his Bishop dragged away to Martyrdom, he fell a weeping, not that the Martyrdom of his Master grieved him, but because he was left behind him in the World; upon which account he addresses to him in these Words: *Whither go you, my Father, without your Son? Whither run you, O holy Bishop, without being accompanied by your Deacon? You never us'd to offer Sacrifice without a Minister; what is it then that has displeas'd you in me? Is it because you have found that I have not well discharged my Office? Try now, whether you have chosen a good Minister: Why do you refuse him with whom you have consecrated, and who has consecrated the Holy Sacraments with you? Why do you refuse him, say I, to mingle his Blood with yours?* St. *Xystus* answers in these words, and others like them. *I do not desert you, my Son, I do not abandon you, but you are re-*

St. Ambrose. *served for greater Combates: Mourn not, you shall quickly follow me, within Three Days you shall be where I am* Such, says St. Ambrose, was the glorious Contest of these two illustrious Martyrs, who strove who should first suffer for Jesus Christ. The History of *Orestes* and *Pylades* meets with applause, when it is represented how each of them endeavoured with all his might to die for one another. These two would both have died, the one having committed Parricide, and the other being a Complice in it; but there was nothing that obliged St. *Laurence* to offer himself to Death, his own Zeal only induced him to it; and three Days after, as he was roasting upon a Grid-Iron, he still mocked the Tyrant, saying, *I am roasted enough, turn me and eat me*, and so he overcame the Violence of Fire by the Strength of his Courage. We must not forget the Example of St. *Agnes* which St. Ambrose relates before this. This Holy Virgin, says he, being in danger of losing either her Chastity or her Life, secured her Virginitiy, by yielding up this Mortal Life to purchase an Eternal one.

About the End of this Book St. Ambrose insists upon the principal Virtues of Clergy-men; he recommends to them above all things Disinterestedness and Purity. It appears by this place, That St. Ambrose thought that Bishops, Priests and Deacons were obliged to live in Celibacy, and that those could not be received into the Clergy who had been twice married, tho' they had been married the first time before their Baptism.

He concludes with speaking of the Trust committed to us, and of the Fidelity we should shew in keeping that which is entrusted to us. He recommends to the Clergy-men who take Care of the Vestry, to discharge their Duty with Faithfulness and Modesty.

He begins the second Book with enquiring, wherein consists true Happiness; and he shews, That it consists in the Knowledge of God, and in Innocency of Life; That all other good things, do not only fall short of our supreme Happiness, but they do not so much as render us more happy; as on the contrary, the Crosses and Miseries of this Life do not render us more unhappy; That the good things of this World, such as Riches, Abundance, Joy, &c. are truly Evils, because they hinder us from working out our Salvation; whereas those things which are believed to be evil, as Pain, Affliction, &c. are good for us, because they give us Opportunities of practising Virtue.

Afterwards he treats of the Good that is profitable; and having shewn that there is no true Profit without Honesty, he discourses of the several sorts of Good Things that are truly profitable, of Friendship, of Advice, of Fidelity, of Liberality, of Good-Will, of Civility, of the Protection of the Poor and Afflicted, of Hospitality, and the other Virtues necessary for maintaining Society and Commerce among Men. The Advices which he gives about things, are very judicious: Some of them are as follow. Nothing is more profitable than to be loved; nothing is more disadvantageous than not to be loved. Mildness, Civility and Modesty, cause us to be loved of all the World. These Virtues are very becoming to Kings and Princes as well as to private Persons; they maintain Peace and Charity. A Man is more easily trusted, who is loved by many. When Counsel is to be asked, we should address ourselves to a Person who is equally just and wise. These two Virtues are inseparable. We must not only assist the Poor who have nothing to live upon, but it is a piece of Prudence and Charity to help also those who are unfortunate in their Affairs, chiefly, when it is not by their Debauchery that they are reduced to this Condition, but by some unforeseen Misfortune. 'Tis also a Duty of Charity to redeem Captives, and rescue them out of the Hands of their Enemies, to save Women from Disgrace; this is, to restore Children to their Fathers, and Fathers to their Children, and Citizens to their own Country. There are some also that do a Work of Charity, by marrying Orphan Daughters. When we cannot help others by giving them Money, it is good to assist them by our Counsel and Labour. We must do Works of Charity with Prudence, and not give Alms to those that are unworthy. There are some that feign Debts, and others that deplore their Misery; we must examine whether these things be true or no; and we are not only to employ our Hands to give, but also to make use of our Eyes to consider the Persons to whom we give. We must look upon him who does not see us, and seek after him who is ashamed to be found. Yet we must not retrench our Alms, under a Pretence that many ask them who do not deserve to receive them. I omit many other fine Maxims which he proposes concerning Alms, and Contempt of Riches; but I cannot forget that place, where he says, That he broke in pieces the sacred Vessels to redeem Captives. He justifies himself in this Action, or rather he draws from it a great deal of Glory. The Church, says he, was founded without Gold, if she has it now, 'tis to give it and not to keep it; 'tis for assisting the Poor with it in their great Necessities. What would be said of a Bishop, who to preserve the lifeless Vessels, would suffer the living Members of Christ to perish? Would he say, I am afraid lest the Temple of the Lord should be spoiled of its Ornaments? Might it not be answered to him, That 'tis not necessary

that the Sacraments of the Altar should be administered in Gold or Silver; That the Redemption of Captives was an Ornament much more pleasing in the Sight of God; That those Vessels could not be put to a nobler Use than when they are employed to redeem the Lives of Christians; That the true Treasure of the Lord is that which has the same Effect with his Blood; That then a Vessel is known to be truly the Lord's when there is a double Redemption to be observed in it; that is, when the exterior Vessel redeems from the Enemy, those whom the Blood of Jesus Christ had redeemed from Sin.

He justifies also this Conduct by the Example of St. *Laurence* who shewed the Poor when the Treasures of the Church were demanded of him. At last, He concludes, That tho' it be a Crime to break the Vessels of the Church, to turn them to our own Profit; yet on the contrary, it is an Act of Charity and Virtue to do it, to distribute them to the Poor, to redeem Captives, or to build a Church, when such things are necessary. He adds, That he used that Precaution, as to take first the Vessels which were not consecrated, and afterwards to break and melt those that were, lest any should turn the sacred Chalice to prophane Uses. He concludes this Book with recommending to the Clergy, to keep with Faithfulness and Courage what is deposited in the Churches by Widows, and relates some Examples of the Boldness wherewith some have defended these things against those who came to invade them.

And here I must resume the 24th. Ch. of which I have said nothing. St. Ambrose there describes the chief Duties of Clergy-men towards others in a few Words. We must, says he, prepare our selves by good Actions and by a good Intention to receive Offices, and chiefly those of the Clergy. We must not carry our selves proudly in them, nor estrange our selves from them by Negligence; we must equally shun Ambition and the Affectation of refusing them. Simplicity and Uprightness comprehends all, and these are of themselves commendable enough: In the Exercise of his Ministry he must neither be too severe nor too remiss, lest he should seem either to exercise his Authority with Dominion over the Flock, or else to neglect the Duties of his Ministry; he must endeavour to oblige all the World. A Bishop should consider and protect the Priests and the other Clergy-men, he should not be offended if they purchase Esteem either by their Charity, or their Fasting, or their Piety, or their Learning: But these ought not to exalt themselves, much less employ their own Merits to diminish the Reputation of their Bishop. The Wicked must not be defended, nor Holy Things given to those that are unworthy of them; but neither are we to reprove and condemn any Person till he be convicted of a Fault. For if Injustice be otherwise above all things offensive, it is insupportable in the Church, where every thing should be regulated according to Equity, where Impartiality should be observed. The Powerful and Rich ought to have no more Authority than the Poor, because the Rich and Poor are all one in Jesus Christ. The most Holy should attribute nothing more to himself than others; for the more Holy he is, the more humble he ought to be. When we judge we ought not to have any respect of Persons. Favour should have no place in our Judgments but only the Justice of the Cause. Nothing does more wound the Reputation and Credit which we may have, than to betray the Cause of the Weak in Favour of those that are more powerful; to reprove a poor Man that is innocent severely, and to excuse a rich Man that is guilty. 'Tis true that we are naturally inclined to favour great Persons, lest they find that Injustice has been done them, and afterwards revenge themselves upon us. But, first, if you be afraid of making your selves Enemies, do not meddle with judging or opposing. You can say nothing when a Matter of Interest is under Debate, tho' it were better done to protect Justice; but when the Cause of God lies at Stake, or it is to be feared that the Impious will be admitted to the Communion of the Church, then it is a very heinous Sin for Clergy-men to use Dissimulation.

In the First Chapter of the Third Book St. Ambrose shews, That this Maxim of *Scipio*, That he was never more busy nor less alone, than when he was by himself, was antienter than *Scipio*; and that it was verified in a more illustrious manner in *Moses*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, and the Apostles, who did so many wonderful things when they seemed to mind nothing. He adds, That a just Man is never alone, because he is always with God; That he is never idle, because he is always meditating; That he seems to be unknown, and yet is famous; That when he is thought to be dead, he then enjoys a more happy Life; That he is never more joyful than when others think him to be under Affliction; that he is never richer than when he is poor, because he places all his Happiness in Justice and Honesty. He observes afterwards, That the Comparison which the Philosophers make between the Good of Honesty and of Profit, has no place among Christians, because they acknowledge nothing profitable to be Good which is not also Honest. He distinguishes two sorts of Good and of Duty, that which is more, and that which is less perfect. In short, he maintains, That a just Man ought

St. Ambrose. never to seek his own Profit by doing Injury to others; but on the contrary, that he ought to seek the Good of others above his own. He enlarges upon this Maxim, and proves, that for any Man to do Injury to his Neighbour for his own Profit, is contrary to the Example, and to the Law of Jesus Christ, to the Law of Nature, to the Dictates of Conscience, and to the Civil Laws. Pursuant to this Principle he determines, that a Christian in a Shipwreck ought not to snatch from his Brother the Plank which he has taken to save himself; that he ought not to fight against a Robber who would set upon him, and lays it down for a General Maxim, *That 'tis never lawful to preserve our own Life by putting another to Death.* The Philosophers were so far in the right when they affirmed, That a Wise-man, tho' he were secured for ever from any Discovery, should do nothing against his Duty; but finding no Example to prove it, they had recourse to the Fable of Gyges's Ring: St. Ambrose confirms this Truth by the Example of David and St. John Baptist.

In a Word, St. Ambrose proves that in all Cases we ought to prefer Honesty to Profit. He grounds upon this Principle his Assertion, That one who has gathered together much Corn, ought not to keep it up in his Barns until a time of Famine that he may sell it very dear. He condemns this Practice as a sort of Usury, or Robbery. He would not have Strangers hindered from coming into Cities in a time of Famine, and blames the ancient Romans for the Practice of this Rigor; But praises an Old Man, who in his time was of a contrary Opinion. Having related many Examples taken out of Scripture, to shew that we ought to prefer Honesty to Profit, he reproves the Conduct of those who are always intent upon sordid Gain, who use all manner of Tricks to cheat others of their Goods, and leave no means untried to possess themselves of their Neighbours Inheritance. He adds, That this Covetousness is very much to be blamed in all sorts of Persons; but it is insupportable in Clergy-men, who ought to allow dying Men their Liberty to make their Last Will with Discretion and Freedom: That a Clergy-man ought never to alienate the Goods which belong to another for his own Profit, because it is his Duty to do Good to all the World, and to do no Injury to any Man. From hence he concludes, that when we cannot help one Man but we must do Injury to another, it is more convenient to deny our Assistance to the former, than by doing him Good to prejudice the latter. For this Cause he would not have Clergy-Men meddle in Pecuniary Causes, because in gaining from one they injure another.

At last he collects several Examples taken out of the Old Testament, which he alledges to prove, That Honesty is to be preferred before any Interest and Advantage whatsoever. He concludes this Book with some excellent Precepts which he gives concerning Honest and Christian Friendship. I shall set down some of them. Friendship it self ought to give place to Honesty. No Man ought to favour his Friend when he is in the wrong, nor to deal unjustly by him when he is in the right: As we ought to vindicate him when he is innocent, so we ought to reprove him when he is guilty; we ought to speak to him with Sincerity, to open our Heart to him, to reprove him with Freedom, to suffer for him when it is necessary, and to relieve him in his Wants. The Foundation of Friendship is Faith in God, and no Man can be a true Friend to another who is an Infidel towards God. Piety preserves Friendship, and makes Friends equal. There can be no Friendship between Persons of different Principles. One Friend ought to admonish another without Bitterness, and rebuke him without Reproaches. Our Friendships ought not to be founded upon Interest, for Friendship is a Virtue and not a Matter of Traffick. There is no true Friendship where there is Flattery. Thus I have given an Abridgment of St. Ambrose's Offices which is a very useful Book to teach all Christians the Principles, Maxims, and Rules of that most Holy Morality which they profess: And this made it so common in former Ages; every one would have it, every one would read it with Attention, and those who had Leisure made Abridgments of it which are still extant. It were to be wished that Christians, and chiefly Clergy-men would do the same still, and that they would draw from this pure Fountain the Morality which they teach and which they practise. The French Translation which has been made of it may render it useful to all Men. But let us proceed to the other Treatises of St. Ambrose.

The Books of *Virginity* were written by St. Ambrose at the Request of his Sister *Marcellina*, who having heard some speak of the Sermons which he had made about Virginity, desired him to send her in Writing what he had preached, since she could not be so happy as to hear him. Whereupon he put his Sermons in the Form of a Treatise, and divided them into three Books, which he addressed to his Sister *Marcellina*, in the third year of his Bishoprick, that is to say, in the year 377.

After a very humble Preface, he begins his Treatise with a Discourse in praise of St. Agnes: He sets off the Glorious Martyrdom of that Illustrious Virgin with inimitable Elegance. 'To Day, says he, is the Feast of a Virgin, let

us imitate her Purity: It is the Holy Day of a Martyr, let us offer up Sacrifices: 'Tis the Festival of St. Agnes, let Men admire her, and young Children entertain blessed hopes of her; let Married Women wonder, and Virgins endeavour to imitate her. But what can we say worthy of a Person whose very Name is a sufficient commendation. Her Zeal was above her Age, and her Virtue exceeded the Powers of Nature. . . . This Holy Virgin suffered Martyrdom at twelve Years of Age. By how much the Cruelty of those who did not spare such tender Years is to be detested, by so much is the Virtue of that Faith to be admired, which could make a Martyr at that Age. . . . Here is a new kind of Martyrdom. She was not yet of an Age fit to suffer, and yet she was already able to Conquer. She went to Death with more gaiety than a young Bride to the Nuptial Bed. All People mourned for her, and yet she shed not one Tear for her self. It was matter of admiration, to see her prodigally throw away that Life, which she had scarce yet tasted, with as much ease as if she were arrived at the end of her Course. In short, what she did was so incredible of human Nature, that it was believed to be from God, for whatsoever transcends the Power of Nature, must proceed from the Author of it. What threatenings did not her Executioner use to frighten her? What Artifices did he not employ to persuade her? By what various Sollicitations did he attempt her to yield to Marry? That were, said she, an Injury to my Divine Spouse, to entertain any hopes of being able to please others; I am only his who has chosen me first: Why do you delay, Executioner, to do your Office? Let this Body of mine Perish, seeing it is so unhappy as to be pleasant in the Eyes of those whom I would not have it to please. Having spoken these Words she put herself into a posture to receive the Fatal Blow; she prayed and then submitted her Neck. You see here a double Sacrifice in one Victim. She is a Martyr both for Religion and Virginity; she remains a Virgin and obtains a Crown of Martyrdom.

St. Ambrose, having proposed this Illustrious Example, treats at large of the Excellency of Virginity. He shews, that this Virtue comes from Heaven, and that God is the Author of it; that the Heathens neither knew it, nor practised it as they ought; that the Jews themselves did not esteem it, and that it was not common amongst Men till Jesus Christ came into the World. Afterwards he gives a Catalogue of the Advantages which Virginity has above the married State, by comparing these Two Conditions. 'I do not condemn Marriage, says he, but I will prove that Virginity is more excellent. Let us compare, if you please, the more considerable Advantages of Married Women with the least Happiness of Virgins: The Married Woman may boast of her Fruitfulness, which makes her happy in Children, but the more she brings into the World, the more Pain she suffers. She may reckon upon the Comfort and Support she shall have from her Children; but with this let her balance the troubles they bring upon her. What might I not say of the Troubles which Mothers must undergo both in Nursing Children and in bringing them up, and then in marrying of them? What is more harsh than that Subjection or rather Slavery to which Wives are reduced? What is more uneasy than those perpetual Complaisances which they must always use towards their Husbands? Fear and Jealousies and a Thousand other cares render them unhappy. The Necessity and Slavery they undergo in dressing and adorning themselves is a perpetual Punishment. But, you, O blessed Virgins, know not what all this attiring means, you have no other Ornament but Modesty and Chastity; you court no other Beauty than that of Virtue, a Beauty which cannot be shared with others, nor taken away by Death, nor defaced by any Sickness; you have none to please but God who loveth beautiful Souls, tho' they be shut up in deformed Bodies; you are not troubled with the Inconveniences of Child-bearing, and of bringing forth Children, and yet you have a very numerous Spiritual Off-spring.

St. Ambrose complains that there were so few Persons at Milan who profited by his Instructions, whilst a great many Virgins, not only from *Bologna* and *Placentia*, but even from *Mauritania*, came to receive the Veil at Milan. He reproves Mothers who hindered their Daughters from coming to his Sermons, lest they should embrace Virginity. At last, he commends those Virgins who devoted themselves to God without their Parents leave, and relates the Example of a young Gentlewoman, who being pressed by her Mother and Relations to Marry, threw herself down before the Altars, and would not stir from thence till she had obtained the consent of her Parents to her professing Virginity. 'Tis observable, that St. Ambrose says, that at length her Relations approved her Design, and so she was not deprived of her Estate.

In the Second Book, he undertakes to instruct Virgins by some examples which he proposes to them: And because the Virgin Mary was undoubtedly the most perfect of all Virgins, her Example is the First and most Illustrious. St.

Ambrose

St. Ambrose here proposes her Life as a Pattern which Virgins ought to imitate, and represents her Virtues in a most Excellent manner. From this Father, Preachers and Devotee's may learn how to praise the Virgin in such a manner as is worthy of her, without stuffing their Discourses with Apocryphal Stories, Excessive Praises, and False Notions. The Picture which he draws of her, represents her as she was, and sets before our Eyes her natural Beauty; whereas some of the Devotee's of the latter Ages, have changed and disfigured her by vain Ornaments which are no ways agreeable to her, neither could she herself endure them.

St. Ambrose having proposed to Virgins the Example of the blessed Mary, as the Pattern of their Life; sets before them also the Example of St. Thecla the Martyr, to instruct them how to die well. He sub-joins the Example of a Christian Virgin of Antioch, who being carried to the Stews because she would not Sacrifice to Idols, was delivered from the Danger she was in by a Soldier, who changed Cloaths with her and saved her. But when this came to be known, the Soldier was carried to the place of Punishment, where the Virgin also rendered her self, and they both received the Crown of Martyrdom. St. Ambrose describes this History in very lively and eloquent Figures, and comparing it with the Fable of Damon and Pythias, he proves that this Action was much nobler and greater, than that which is related of those two famous Friends. Towards the end, he excuses himself for using so many Flowers and Figures of Rhetorick in relating these Examples of Virgins, which he says he did not do to shew his Eloquence, but to win the Affection of Virgins by the Sweetness and smoothness of his Discourse, and to render their conditions the more Amiable by the Beauty of the Examples which he proposed to them, before he proceeded to the Precepts and Advices which might be less agreeable.

The Third Book begins with an Exhortation which Pope Liberius made to Marcellina, St. Ambrose's Sister when he gave her the Veil at Rome in the Church of the Apostles on Christmas-Day. There is no probability that this very Discourse should be Liberius's, but it was certainly made by St. Ambrose, and contains very useful Advices to Virgins consecrated to God. After he has exhorted them to love their Divine Spouse, he prescribes Rules concerning their principal Duties; he enjoins them to be very Sober, to shun Visits from the People of the World, to keep Silence, and to be very Modest and Reserved in all their Actions. When he has given these Precepts under the Name of Liberius, he praises the Virtues of his Sister, and chiefly her Fastings, but he Counsels her to moderate them, that she may apply her self more to other Spiritual Exercises, and especially to Prayer. He says, that she should Pray in the Morning when she awakes, before she goes out, before and after Meals, towards Night, and when she goes to Bed. He advises her also to repeat in her Bed the Lord's Prayer, and the Psalms, either before she falls asleep, or when she awakes. And he thinks that she ought to repeat every Morning the Creed as the Seal of our Faith. He adds, that she ought to Weep, and shun excessive Mirth, the Pleasures of this World, and Particularly Dancing. And to dissuade Christian Virgins from it, he relates the Example of the Dancing of Herodias's Daughter, and Describes the Fatal Consequences of it: A fit Example, says he, to teach Wise and Christian Ladies, that they ought not to suffer their Daughters to practise Dancing.

Lastly, St. Ambrose answers the Question which Marcellina had put to him, to know what was to be thought of Virgins who killed themselves or threw themselves head-long to shun falling into the Hands of their Persecutors, who sought to deprive them of their Faith and their Virginity. He relates the Example of St. Pelagia who killed her self, and of the Mother and Sisters of that Saint, who threw themselves head-long into the River. He subjoins the Examples of St. Sotera who was of his own Kindred, and concludes from these Examples, that this Zeal is no ways forbidden. Here the Third Book of Virgins ends in all the Manuscripts, tho' in the Printed Editions there are many Pages added that have no relation to this Treatise, which St. Ambrose concludes with these examples, as appears by the beginning of this last Chapter.

The Treatise of Widows was written soon after that of Virgins, as St. Ambrose declares at the beginning of it. It was the Inconstancy of a Widow which made him undertake this Work. St. Ambrose had comforted her after the Death of her Husband, and had exhorted her to lay aside her Mourning, but she abusing his Advices, had made use of them to gain Authority to her Design of marrying again. The Holy Father being unwilling that it should be thought he had counselled her to do so, wrote this Treatise of Widows, wherein he exalts the State of Widows as approaching near to the Perfection of Virgins. For proof of this he not only alleges the Testimony of the Apostle St. Paul, but he relates also the Example of many Widows of the Old and New Testament. He exhorts Widows to continue in their Widow-hood, and in his Address to this Widow who had occasioned his Writing this Book, he shews her that all

the reasons which she alledged for proceeding to a Second Marriage, were weak; yet he does not condemn either First or Second Marriages; on the contrary, he rejects the Opinion of the Hereticks who had forbidden them; but he prefers the State of Virgins and Widows before that of married Women, and refutes with sharpness the Reasons which Women use for running into Second Marriages. Altho he would not openly declare his Opinion of their Conduct, who use the Knife and Fire to check the motions of the Flesh, yet he speaks of it after such a manner as plainly discovers that he did not approve it, and observes that it is contrary to the antient Canons. This Treatise is cited by St. Ambrose in his Commentary upon St. Luke, by St. Jerome in Letter Fifty to Pamphilius, and so there can be no doubt but it is this Father's.

There is in this Edition a little Treatise of Virginity, which in the former Editions had been placed at the end of the second Book about Virgins, but it is parted from it in all the Manuscripts, and is evidently a distinct Treatise. The Treatise of Widows, which is there cited, was written after the two Books of Virgins.

This little Piece is not very coherent. In it he praises the famous Judgment of Salomon, he blames the Action of Jephtha; and then he defends himself against those who accus'd him of giving excessive Praises to the State of Virginity, and demonstrates the Excellency and Advantages of it. He occasionally answers those who said, that the great numbers of Virgins would lessen the Race of Mankind, and he maintains that there are no places more populous than those where there are most Virgins: For Proof of which he observes, that tho' at Alexandria, in the East, and in Africa, there are an infinite number of Virgins, yet these Countries are very well peopled. He adds, that if this Reason were good, they must also advise Women to be lewd, because so they would have more Children.

After this, he examines the Reasons of those who find no fault with the Consecration of Virgins, but only say, that we should wait till they be of sufficient Age before they receive the Veil. He confesses, that a Bishop ought to beware of giving the Veil with too much precipitation, but then he ought not so much to regard their Age, as the ripeness of their Parts, nor to consider so much the number of their Years as the Disposition of their Hearts: that every Age can follow Jesus Christ, and embrace the perfection of a Christian Life. This gives him occasion to speak of the way which Virgins ought to hold in following of Jesus Christ, and of the Life they ought to lead to imitate him. He concludes with comparing the Instructions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who exhort Virgins and Widows to live in Continence, to the miraculous Fishing of St. Peter; and he prays the Lord, that he would make his own fishing successful to the catching of many. This Piece was compos'd of many Sermons, and was made soon after the Treatise of Widows.

The following Treatise is entituled in the printed Copies, *Of the Instruction of a Virgin*, address'd to Eusebius, but in the Manuscripts its Title is, *A Discourse of the perpetual Virginity of the Virgin Mary*. And indeed the principal part of this Treatise is against the Error of Bonosus, who had oppos'd the perpetual Virginity of Mary. But that which gave occasion to St. Ambrose to compose this Discourse, was the Profession of a Maid called Ambrosia, Niece to Eusebius a Citizen of Bologna, to whom St. Ambrose had made an Exhortation when he gave her the Veil. He committed the same to Writing afterwards according to his custom, and address'd it to Eusebius with a Preface, wherein he discourses of the chief Duties of Virgins that are consecrated to God, which are Silence and Prayer. After this he gives an account of a Discourse which he made when he gave the Veil to Ambrosia: there he says many things in praise of Women, and undertakes the Defence of that Sex against those who blamed it. He proves that they are unjustly accus'd as being the cause of Man's Falling and Offending; and he extolls their Piety by proposing the Virtues of many Women. He shews, that if Eve gave occasion to the Condemnation of Mankind, this Loss was fully compensated by Mary, who is the Honour of her Sex and of the Church. St. Ambrose wonders, that there have been Christians who durst oppose her perpetual Virginity. He adds, that this Error deserved to be buried in Eternal Silence; but because it had been maintained by a Bishop (he means Bonosus) he thought himself obliged to discover and refute it; which he does in the following part of this Discourse, where he establishes the perpetual Virginity of the Virgin Mary, and refutes the Objections of Bonosus, which were the same with those of Helvidius.

The first Objection which he proposes is taken from the Word *Mulier* or Woman, which is attributed in the Holy Scripture to the Virgin. St. Ambrose shews, that this Word is general, and is given to Virgins as well as Married Women and Widows.

The second Objection is founded upon this Passage of the Gospel, *Before they came together*, and upon that other, *He knew her not before she had brought forth her First-born Son*. He answers, that these ways of speaking do not intimate that St. Joseph had afterwards any carnal Knowledge of the

St. Ambrose. Virgin, but only that he had not before; and that the Design of the Evangelist is to discover the principal Mystery, viz. That a Virgin conceived Jesus Christ by the Operation of the Holy Spirit, and not to determine an incidental Question. This Answer is much better than the second, wherein he pretends, that the Word, *cognovit, he knew*, is to be understood only of the Mystery, which was yet hid from Joseph.

The third Objection is taken from the Title of Joseph's Wife which is given to Mary. St. Ambrose answers, that this Title might be given her tho' she were a Virgin, because it is not the loss of Virginity that makes Marriage, but the actual Consent of the Parties, tho' it were never Consummated. Wherefore he makes no scruple to conclude, that there was a true Marriage between Joseph and Mary.

St. Austin and St. Jerome are of the same Opinion; Gratian and the Master of the Sentences followed them; and since that time it hath pass'd for a Maxim among Canonists and Divines.

St. Ambrose produces also an Objection taken from the Mention which is made of the Brethren of Jesus Christ, but he does not think that it deserves to be insisted on, since the Word, *Brother*, is a general Word which has many significations, and agrees to others besides those who are born of the same Father and the same Mother.

St. Ambrose proceeds afterwards to the Proofs of the perpetual Virginity of Mary.

He says first, that since Jesus Christ was able to preserve the Virginity of his Mother, it is very improbable that he should permit her to be deprived of that perfection.

The second Argument is, that if Mary had not always been a Virgin, she should not have been propos'd as a Pattern and Example to Virgins.

The third is, that the Virgin was designed to be a Person of the greatest Merits and Perfections, but there is none greater than Virginity.

The fourth is, that Joseph durst not come near her, whom he knew to be the Mother of God.

The fifth, upon which he insists more largely, is, that Jesus Christ sufficiently testified it, by recommending her to his beloved Disciple when he was upon the Cross: For, how, says he, could he remove her from her Husband, and give her to another, if she had known a Husband; How could this Disciple take her to his own house, if she had to do with another as her Husband? Jesus Christ would never have divorced them, and Mary would never have forsaken a Husband. This supposes, that St. Joseph was yet alive, when Jesus Christ upon the Cross spoke thus to his Mother. If this Matter of Fact be not certain, the Argument is nothing worth. Besides, supposing there was a true Marriage between St. Joseph and the Virgin, as St. Ambrose had already said, they ought not to have been parted; 'tis true St. Ambrose answers, that this Marriage, being designed only for the accomplishment of the Mystery, was to cease as soon

[It is plain from the 2d. Chapter of St. Luke, that our Saviour lived with Joseph when he was 12

Years old; for not only Joseph and Mary then lived together, but he went with them again to Nazareth, after he had Disputed with the Doctors in the Temple, and was subject unto Them: Afterwards when he entred upon the Ministry, the Galileans took offence at his Preaching because of his being (as they thought) only the Carpenter's Son, which had been a groundless Suggestion, if Joseph and Mary had not Cohabited together; it does not indeed weaken the Opinion of the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin, tho' it takes off the force of this Argument by which St. Ambrose went about to prove it.]

The sixth proof which St. Ambrose alledges for the perpetual Virginity of Mary, is grounded upon Ch. 44. of the Prophet Ezekiel. He explains what is said in this place of a Gate shut, through which the Lord of Israel had pass'd, and thinks it ought to be understood of Mary, who is that Gate through which the Lord pass'd without opening it, and which afterwards continued shut: Which shews that she lost not her Virginity, neither by bringing forth Christ into the World, nor after she became the Mother of God.

St. Ambrose having thus proved the perpetual Virginity of Mary, exhorts the Virgins to follow her. He proposes to them also another most powerful Motive to engage them to keep their Virginity; and that is, the Love of Jesus Christ, their Celestial Spouse, who is extremely jealous of their Purity. The Majesty of this Spouse should make those tremble who had any thoughts of being unfaithful to him. He is God, the Son of God, his Eternal Word, consubstantial to his Father. Hence St. Ambrose takes an occasion to make a Digression about the Divinity of the Word, and to dispute against those Hereticks that denied it. 'Tis probable that they were also the followers of Bonosus whom he attacks in this place, since we learn from the Canon of the Council of Arles, that these Hereticks followed the Error of the Photinians and Paulianists; from whence in Gennadius's time the Photinians were called Bonosacks, as this Au-

thor observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers Ch. 14. The Benedictines who set out St. Ambrose, whose exactness nothing has escaped, have not forgot to make this Observation.

After he has occasionally answered two Objections of those Hereticks, he returns to his first Subject of the Virginity of Mary, and continues to exhort the Virgins to imitate her. He applies to this purpose many Passages of the Canticles; in particular he addresses himself to Ambrosia, and gives her excellent Instructions about the Virtues she should practise. He concludes with praying the Lord to receive her into the number of his Spouses, and to pour upon her a abundance of his Grace.

It appears by the Preface of this Book, that Ambrosia was still to continue in her Father's House though she had received the Veil; which plainly shews, that all the Virgins consecrated to God were not yet shut up in Monastries, though there were already some Monastries set up.

Towards the end, the Ceremonies of a Virgin's making Profession, are described. She presented her self at the feet of the Altar, where she made Profession before the People; the Bishop preached to her, and gave her the Veil which distinguished her from other Virgins, but her hair was not cut. St. Ambrose says in this Treatise, that he had already written many other Books concerning Virgins; and in it he recites many things which are in his Commentary upon St. Luke compos'd in 386. At last he speaks of the Error of Bonosus as a Heretic published not long before, which shews that this Treatise was written in the Year 392. For the Affair of Bonosus being carried into the Council of Capua, held in the Year 391, they sent it back to the Bishops of Macedonia.

When St. Ambrose fled from the Tyrant Eugenius he retired to Bologna, where he discovered the Reliques of St. Vitalis and St. Agricola, who had suffered Martyrdom under the Persecution of Dioclesian and Maximilian, and made a solemn Translation of them. From Bologna he went to Florence, whither he carried the Reliques of these Saints, which he placed in a Church built by a holy Widow called Juliana, which he was entreated to Dedicate. 'Twas at the Dedication of this Church, that he made the Discourse entitled, *An Exhortation to Virginity*. Juliana having lost her Husband, was not only consecrated to God her self, but by her Example and Instructions she so ordered the matter, that she gave all her Children to God also: Her Son Laurentius was made Reader, and her three Daughters profess'd Virginity. St. Ambrose upon this occasion relates the Exhortation of this holy Widow to her Children. She told her Son, that his Father and she had given him that Name which he had, because they had obtained a Son by the Intercession of St. Laurence; that they had designed him from that time for the Clergy, and that in this he ought to comply with their Desires, and fulfil their Vows. Afterwards addressing her Speech to her Daughters, she describes the Troubles of Marriage, the excellency of Virginity, and exhorts them to consecrate themselves to God. She concludes with pressing her Son and her Daughters to accomplish the Vows which she and their Father had made in their behalf. St. Ambrose pursues this Exhortation, by adding Instructions to teach the Virgins after what manner they should live, and Examples to serve them for a Pattern. The example of St. Sothera, the Kins-woman of St. Ambrose, is not here forgotten. Afterwards he promises to Juliana the Reward of her Piety. Lastly, he prays the Lord to accept graciously of that Church which he was consecrating, and to receive favourably the Prayers, and Sacrifices of the Body of Jesus Christ, which should be offered there, and particularly the Oblation of all the Family of Juliana. This Treatise was written when St. Ambrose retired upon the Account of the coming of Eugenius the Tyrant, in the Year 393, towards Easter.

The Treatise of the fall of a Virgin consecrated to God, is here found under the name of St. Ambrose. It is also among St. Jerome's Works, but certainly it is not his; for it is notorious that the Author of this Treatise was a Bishop, but St. Jerome was only a Priest. Gennadius assures us also, that Niceas Bishop of Aquileia wrote a Discourse address'd to a Virgin who had fallen into Sin, very proper to persuade all those who should fall into the like Faults, to return from their Evil ways. This gave occasion to the Conjecture of many, that this Bishop was the Author of this Treatise. But the Title alone is not a sufficient proof, since St. Basil wrote a Book upon the same Subject which has the same Title. The Benedictines observe, that all the Manuscripts which they have seen, attribute this Work to St. Ambrose, except one only wherein it is attributed to St. Chrysostom. They maintain also, that there is nothing in this Book which may not very well be St. Ambrose's: But they confess that it has not the Style of this Saint; and indeed there is neither that sharpness of Wit, nor the lively and spiritual thoughts which are in his Works: this is more languid and less sublime. Whosoever be the Author of it, he is Antient, for one may find there Traces of the antient Discipline, one sees that Publick Penance was administred but once: Nay, even this Author obliges this fallen Virgin to do Penance all her life, and he seems also to take from her the hopes of receiving Abso-

St. Ambrose.

St. Ambrose. Absolution in this Life. It appears, that there were yet Idolaters in his time, and that the Adult were baptized on Easter-day. He admits a middle State between the Damned and the Happy; he describes the Ceremonies of the Profession of Virgins, almost as St. Ambrose does. He says, that she to whom he writes, who was a young Woman of Quality called *Susanna*, having resolved against the Will of her Kindred to embrace Virginity, profess'd it on Easter-day at Night in the great Church, where she was accompanied by those that were newly baptized, holding lighted Torches in their hands; that there she pronounced her Vows publicly before the People, and then received the Veil and entered into a Monastery; that presently after Reports were spread about which wounded her Reputation, and they were found to be false, and the Authors of them could not be discovered; but that Three Years after she committed the Crime whereof she had been falsely suspected before, suffering a young Man to lie with her many times, by whom she was gotten with Child. She was accused also of having destroyed her Child, which Murder she endeavoured by all means possible to conceal, and would never confess; but being convicted of it before the Bishop, she was put under publick Penance. The Author of this Treatise represents to her the monstrous Heinousness of her Crime, and the Scandal she had given; he exhorts her to do Penance all the rest of her Life; he orders her to repeat every day the 51st Psalm, and to pass her Life in Sorrow and Grief, that at least she might avoid the Punishment of Hell-fire. He excites her also to the Acts of Penance and Compunction, which he deduces from many places of Scripture. There is also a Chapter against him who had abused this Virgin, whom he exhorts to do Penance. The Author of this Treatise is accus'd of being a *Novatian*, because he tells this Virgin, that she ought not to expect Absolution of her Sin in this Life; and that those who promised her Pardon of her Sin in this Life deceived her. 'Tis true, that this Rigor was practised in some Churches in the first Ages of the Church. But he who speaks thus in the Fourth Century, appears to be much inclined to the *Novatians*. St. Ambrose was the Man of all the Fathers who did most vigorously oppose this Maxim in his Books of Penance, and therefore 'tis no wise probable that he should affirm the same in this Treatise, without giving any Explication of his Words. But here it may be said, that this Author exhorts this young Woman to do publick Penance; Why should he exhort her to do Penance, if she was incapable of Absolution? This is what St. Ambrose and the other Fathers justly object against the *Novatians*, That they put Sinners under Penance, and exhort and force them to do it, but yet afterwards they deprive them of the Fruit of Penance by refusing them Absolution. The Language of the Author of this Exhortation is perfectly like that of the *Novatians*. He exhorts this young Woman to do Penance, but he gives her no hopes of obtaining Remission in this Life: On the contrary, he tells her expressly, that this shall not be, and that those who promise it to her, do but deceive her; but that she ought always to do Penance, to shun Eternal Torments. He even dares not promise her Glory, but only the Privation of Torments. These are Doctrines contrary to those which St. Ambrose established in his Book of Penance, or rather that is the only Doctrine which he opposes there. It is no ways probable therefore, that this Treatise should be his, and we must still continue in as great Uncertainties as ever concerning its Author.

The Book of *Mysteries or Sacraments* is an Instruction to the New-baptized, wherein St. Ambrose explains to them the Significations and Vertue of the Sacraments which they had received. Here is an Abridgment of what is most remarkable in this Instruction.

'After we have spoken every day of Morality, and proposed to you the Examples of the Patriarchs and Prophets, while the Proverbs were reading, that you might be accustomed to follow the Examples of the Saints, and to lead a Life becoming those Persons who are purified by Baptism, 'tis now time to discourse to you of the Mysteries, and to explain the Sacraments; for if we had explained them to you before you were initiated, we should have thought that we had prophaned rather than discovered them: Besides that the Light of the Mysteries themselves, which you did not expect, has now astonished you more than if we had instructed you about them before. Open therefore now your Ears to receive the sweet Word of Eternal Life, which we signified to you when we celebrated the Ceremony, by which we wished that they might be opened, by saying *Ephatha*, that so all those who were to come to Baptism might know what was demanded of them, and what they answered. At last you are introduced into the Place where the Sacrament of Baptism is administered; you are obliged to renounce the Devil and his Works, the World and its Poms and Pleasures. You found in this place the Waters and a Priest who consecrated them; the Body was plunged into this Water to wash away Sins; the Holy Spirit descended upon this Water; you ought not to fix your Mind upon the External Part of it, but to consider in it a Divine

Vertue. Do not imagine therefore, that it is this Water which purifies you, 'tis the Holy Spirit. There are three things in Baptism, the Water, the Blood and the Spirit, and without these three things, the Sacrament is not complete; neither the Remission of Sins, nor Grace is received, unless it be in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Baptism of Jews and Infidels does not purify at all; 'tis the Holy Spirit which descended formerly under the Figure of a Dove, which sanctifies these Waters. We must not consider the Merit of the Priest, for it is our Lord Jesus Christ who baptizes. You made Profession of believing in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After this you drew near unto the Priest, he anointed you and your Feet were washed. This Sacrament blots out your hereditary Sins, and the Baptism blots out the Sins contracted by your own Will. After this you received white Garments, to signify that you were stript of Sin and cloathed with Innocence. You received the Seal of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Wisdom, of Power, &c. The Father hath marked you out, The Son hath confirmed you, and the Holy Spirit hath given you Assurance of your Salvation. Afterwards you run to the Heavenly Feast, and see the Altar prepared, where you receive a Nourishment infinitely exceeding that of *Manna*, a Bread more excellent than that of Angels. 'Tis the Flesh of Jesus Christ, the Body of Life, 'tis the incorruptible *Manna*, 'tis the Truth, whereof the *Manna* was only the Figure. Perhaps you will tell me, But I see another thing? How do you assure me, that it is the Body of Jesus Christ which I receive? That we must prove. We must shew that it is not the Body which Nature hath formed, but that which the Benediction hath consecrated: Which St. Ambrose confirms by an infinite number of the like Miracles; and lastly, by the Mystery of the Incarnation which he compares to that of the Eucharist. A Virgin, says he, brought forth. This is against the Order of Nature. The Body which we consecrate came forth of a Virgin. Why do you seek for the Order of Nature in the Body of Jesus Christ, since Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin contrary to the Order of Nature? Jesus Christ had real Flesh which was fastened to the Cross, and laid in the Sepulchre. So the Eucharist is the true Sacrament of this Flesh. Jesus Christ himself assures us of it: *This is, says he, my Body*; before the Benediction of these Heavenly Words it is of another Nature, after the Consecration it is the Body. So likewise of the Blood: Before Consecration it is called by another Name, after Consecration it is called the Blood of Jesus Christ, and ye Answer, *Amen*, that is to say, 'Tis true. Let the Mind acknowledge inwardly that which the Mouth brings forth; let the Heart be of that Judgment which the Words express. The Church exhorts her Children to receive these Sacraments which contain the Body of Jesus Christ. This is not bodily but spiritual Food, for the Body of the Lord is spiritual. Lastly, this Heavenly Meat gives us strength, this Divine Drink rejoices us. Having therefore received these Sacraments, let us be persuaded that we are regenerated, and let us not say, How can this be? 'Tis not by Nature but by the Holy Spirit.

From hence we may learn the chief Ceremonies which were observed in the Church of Milan. As to the Administration of the Sacraments, these which follow are remarked. The Ears of the Catechumens were touched, saying *Ephatha*, and after that they were bidden enter into the place where they were to be baptized. There they were obliged to renounce the Devil, the World and its Poms; the Bishop blessed the Water of Baptism, the Creed was repeated to the Catechumens, they were anointed with Holy Chrism, their Feet were washed, they were plunged into the Water, and at the same time the three Divine Persons were invoked; afterwards they were cloathed with White Garments, the Sacrament of Confirmation was given them, and the Holy Spirit was called upon for them: From thence they were conducted to the Altar, where they were present at the Consecration of the Eucharist, and received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, answering, *Amen*.

Since these Ceremonies and the Doctrine of this Treatise do not agree with the Opinions of Protestants, some among them have done what they could to raise Doubts about this Book whether it were St. Ambrose's. But the Reasons which they alledge are so weak, that the ablest Men among them have sincerely acknowledged that it is really his. There are very strong Proofs that it is this Father's; the Beginning alone discovers that it is his, for there he speaks plainly of the Sermons he had made to the Catechumens upon the Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets. This does not agree to any other Author but St. Ambrose; 'tis the Style of this Father, tho' he treats of things more particularly than in his other Books. 'Tis his Doctrine, and no body doubts but it is his Work: It has always been cited under his Name, and is attributed to him in all the Manuscripts. This Discourse was spoken by St. Ambrose, after his Sermons upon the Lives of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, towards the Year 387.

St. Ambrose. The Opinions of Criticks are very much divided concerning the Author of the Book of the Sacraments. The *Benedictines* produce in their Preface what has been said upon this Subject, and after having given a very wise and equitable Judgment about the different Opinions, they give their own Thoughts of it, and build their Judgment upon good Reason. First of all, they observe, That 'tis indifferent to the Members of the Church of Rome, to whom this Work be attributed, since St. Ambrose teaches the same Doctrine in his Treatise of Mysteries; and so, tho' it were supposed with *Aubertine*, that the Author of the Book about the Sacraments is of the Seventh Age, or with *Dailled*, that he is of the Eighth, the Cause of the Church would be so much the stronger, because it would have two different Testimonies of the Judgment of the Church; and in different Ages, viz. St. Ambrose in the Fourth Age, and this Author in the Seventh or Eighth. Tho' this were not so, and the Church might draw some Advantage from supposing that St. Ambrose was the Author of the Book about the Sacraments; yet if it should appear that the contrary Opinion is more probable, we must undoubtedly follow it. We must judge of these kind of Matters without Prejudice and Affection, and we must not consider what would be most advantageous to our selves, but what comes nearest to the Truth. This is what the *Benedictines* do; they profess to examine this Question with all possible Sincerity, as if it had never been canvassed before, and without addicting themselves to the Prejudices of any Party. They immediately disapprove the Reproaches which the Protestant Criticks have thrown upon this Author, they cannot endure that they should make him pass for an ignorant and ridiculous Person, for an Impostor and a Liar; They vindicate him from some Mistakes and Absurdities, which *Cook*, *Rivet*, and *Dailled* had fastened upon him. They shew, that this Expression, *For this cause at Rome the Name of the Faithful is given to the Baptized*, is not so ridiculous as these Criticks imagine, because tho' it were true, that the Baptized were called by the same Name in other Churches, yet it were no unprofitable Observation, that in the Church of Rome they were called so also. They observe, That some Manuscripts have *Recte*, instead of *Rome*, but they do not think that we are obliged to follow this Correction. They shew also, That the manner wherein this Author relates the last Words of the *Pater Noster*, *Ne patiaris nos induci in tentationem*, instead of *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*; that this manner, I say, of ending the Lord's Prayer was not peculiar to him, and that St. Cyprian read and repeated thus the last Words of the Lord's Prayer. Lastly, they defend him against the Accusations of Barbarism, of false Subtlety, of vain Allegories, which are charged upon him by the Criticks whom we have mentioned.

After this the *Benedictines* produce the Reasons which are alledged by Catholick Authors, to shew that the Books of the Sacraments were St. Ambrose's, and at the same time prove that they are not very convincing.

The first is drawn from the Authority of many antient Manuscripts, where this Treatise is found under the Name of St. Ambrose. To these is added the Authority of all the Editions which have been made of it, and the Testimony of a great number of Authors of the Ninth Age, and those that followed it, viz. of *Hincmarus* Bishop of Rheims, of *Deodatus* of Liege, of *Paschasius Rathbertus*, of *Ratramnus* a Monk of Corbie, of *Florus* a Deacon of the Church of Lyons, of *Lanfranc*, of *Berengarius*, of *Algerus*, of *Guilmondus*, of *Durandus Troarnensis*, of *Ivo Carnutensis*, of *Gratian*, of the Master of the *Sentences*, and of other later Authors who have all cited the Book of the Sacraments under the Name of St. Ambrose: This Argument appears plausible enough, yet the *Benedictine* Fathers maintain, that it is not fully convincing: For how often has it happened, say they, that Books have been, and every day are taken from those Authors under whose Names they had always passed? Is it not very well known that the greatest part of those who cited the Works of the Fathers in the latter Ages, did not carefully examine, whether the Books which they cited were theirs, but trusted to the common Title of them? As to the Manuscripts, the *Benedictines* assure us, that the most antient have not the Name of the Author, and that it is probable the Name of St. Ambrose was added in those which are more modern, either because it was known, that St. Ambrose had treated of this Subject, or because these Books were found together with that about the Mysteries which treats of the same Matter, and the first bearing the Name of St. Ambrose, whose it was indeed, they thought that the last were this Father's also.

The second Proof which is alledged to shew, That the Books of the Sacraments are St. Ambrose's, is taken from the Agreement of the Style of this Work, with that of the Book of Mysteries. The *Benedictines* say, That 'tis true this Author does so imitate St. Ambrose, that he copies out the same which he had said; but they observe, that in copying it out he corrupts it, and accommodates it to his own Style, which is much below that of St. Ambrose. Wherefore this Argument is more proper to raise a Doubt, whether these Books of the Sacraments be St. Ambrose's or no, than to

confirm them in the Possession of the Title which they bear.

The third Argument produces also the same Effect. 'Tis said that St. *Anselm* affirms, That St. Ambrose wrote a Book about the Sacraments; but 'tis evident that the Book which St. *Anselm* cites under this Title, had quite another Subject than this Book. It was a Book of Philosophy against the *Platonists*, as appears by what this Father says of it in the second Book against *Julian*, Ch. 5. and in the second of his *Retractions*, Ch. 4.

The *Benedictines* produce also some places drawn out of this Book, which are thought to agree to St. Ambrose, as the Complaint which he made that he had not a strong Voice, and the Explication of the Lord's Prayer, which St. Ambrose probably would not have omitted in his other Treatises, but that it was in this; but at the same time they shew how weak these Arguments are.

After having thus discussed what is said on both sides about the Author of these Books, they endeavour to discover him by the Work it self, and for that end they enquire into these three things, what Rank he held in the Church, at what time he lived, and of what Country he was.

As to the first, they say, That it plainly appears he was a Bishop, who instructed the Catechumens.

Upon the second, they say, That the Testimony of the Authors which have quoted him, shew that he was older than the Eighth Century, and that there is a Manuscript in the Abby of St. *Gal* written in great Letters, which *Mabilion* believed might be about 1000 years Old, whose Antiquity shews that this Author lived before the Seventh Century: Besides that it appears by the Work it self, that it is more antient: For there he speaks of a great Number of adult Catechumens, which proves that he lived at a time, when the Practice of Baptizing all Infants was not yet so general. He observes also, That there were yet in his time some Remainders of Idolatry. And in short, he refutes no other Hereticks but the *Arians*, and he makes use of a Version of the Bible different from that of St. *Jerome*, which yet is not that which St. Ambrose used.

As to the last Head which concerns the Country of this Author, 'tis evident that he was not a Roman, since he says, That he honours the Church of Rome, and follows many of its Practices, tho' he does not think himself obliged to follow it in all. This gives occasion to conjecture, that he was not far distant from it. the Customs and Practices which he describes, agree very well with the antient Rites of the Church of Milan, and the Churches of Gaul.

These Remarks seem to prove that this Book may be St. Ambrose's; for all those Characters agree perfectly well to him; but there are other Reasons which hinder the *Benedictines* from attributing it to him. The first and principal is the Diversity of the Style; for tho' it may happen, that an Author should write in a more plain and less sublime manner than he was wont to do, yet the Strength of his Wit it always perceived. 'Tis never found, that an Author who has naturally an elegant and noble Style, does write in a very mean one. St. Ambrose never falls into this Fault; he does not make use of cold and childish Interrogations such as this Treatise is full of: Besides that, 'tis no wise probable, that St. Ambrose should imitate himself so exactly, and transcribe a part of his Book about Mysteries, and a part of his Treatise of the Institution of a Virgin. They add also, That St. Ambrose never reproves his People for communicating seldom, as this Author does, and that there is no probability that he should oppose so publicly the Practice of the Roman Church about the washing of Feet. These last Conjectures are a little weak; on the contrary, the former are very strong, and are, as one may think, sufficient to have determined the *Benedictines* to remove this Book from the Place of which it was possessed, among the genuine Works of St. Ambrose, especially since in reading the Book of the Sacraments, it plainly appears, that the Author was nothing else but a cold Imitator of St. Ambrose. In effect the Subject of this Book is the same with that of the Book about Mysteries. The Author does nothing but enlarge upon what St. Ambrose had said before. He follows him step by step; he adds very few things of his own; he speaks only of the same Sacraments, and the same Ceremonies; he gives the same Explications of them; he amplifies the same Arguments and the same Observations; yet he enlarges sometimes a little more upon certain Ceremonies. He openly opposes the Custom of the Church of Rome in omitting the washing of Feet. He explains the Change which is made in the Sacrament more largely. He gives an Explication of the *Pater Noster*, and discourses of Prayer. But he has also taken what he says of it out of St. Ambrose's Book of the Institution of a Virgin. These six Books are so many Sermons preached to the Novices.

The two Books of Penance are undoubtedly St. Ambrose's; they have his Style. He speaks of them in his Commentary upon *Psalms* 37, and St. *Anselm* cites them several times. There cannot be more convincing Proofs to shew that any Work is genuine. These Books were written against the *Novatians*, who would not allow the Church to have

have Power to pardon Crimes. This is the Error which St. Ambrose disputes against in the First Book.

He begins with a Commendation of Moderation and Christian Meekness, whereof Jesus Christ himself has given us an Example, who condemns the Harshness and Rigor of the *Novatians*, who fright Sinners from Penance, and hinder them from applying a Remedy to their Diseases. For who is it, says he, who will have the Courage to do Penance without any Hope of Pardon? What Confidence will any one have in such a Physician, who is so far from having Compassion for his sick Patient, that he shews nothing but Contempt and Rigor towards him. Afterwards he explains wherein the Error of the *Novatians* consists. They maintain, says he, That we must not admit those to Communion, who have fallen by violating the Law of God. If they spoke only of Sacrilege, if they refused Pardon to this Crime only, this would indeed be a Rigor condemned by the Words of Scripture. But they offend also against common sense, by making all Crimes equal, and by depriving those of Communion that are guilty of lesser Crimes, as well as those that have committed the greatest. They say, that they do honour to Jesus Christ by reserving to him only the Power of pardoning Sins; and in this very thing they dishonour him, because they violate his Commandments. The Church obeys Jesus Christ in binding and loosing Sinners. The *Novatians* content themselves with binding only, and will never loose Sinners, tho' Jesus Christ gave at the same time to the Church the Power of binding and loosing; whence it follows that the one cannot be permitted without the other; wherefore both the one and the other are done in the Church, and neither the one nor the other can be done among Hereticks. For this Jurisdiction belongs only to Priests, and none but the Church can assume it, since none but she has true Priests, and Hereticks have none at all.

Tho' what we have just now recited might make us believe that the *Novatians* granted not Remission to any Sin; yet St. Ambrose confesses in the following Discourse that they pardoned lighter Sins, and refused Absolution only to those that were guilty of great Sins. He asserts against them that *Novatian* was never of this Opinion, and that his Judgment was, that Penance should not be allowed to any Sinner. Perhaps St. Ambrose would have found it very difficult to prove this Assertion, which seems not to agree with the Account we read in St. Cyprian of the Birth of the Error of the *Novatians*.

However it be, St. Ambrose having objected to them, that they condemn the Author of their Sect, disputes against their Distinction, by saying that Jesus Christ did not make it; That his Mercy extends unto all Sinners; That those who have committed the greatest Sins should perform the greatest Penance; and Lastly, that the greater the Sins have been, the greater need there is of Relief. In the remaining part of this Book he proves by many Passages and examples taken out of the New-Testament, that Absolution ought not to be refused for any Sin whatsoever; and he answers the Objections of the *Novatians*. He observes also towards the end of this Book, that the *Novatians* do in vain exhort Sinners to Penance, since they deprive them of the Fruit of Penance. 'For, says he, if any one be guilty of Secret Sins, and does Penance for them very heartily, in Obedience to the command of Jesus Christ, How shall he receive the Reward, unless he be restored to the Communion of the Church? I would have the Guilty hope for the Pardon of his Sins, yet he should beg it with Tears, yet he should beg it with Sighs, yet he should beg it with the Lamentations of all the People. I would have him pray for Absolution; and when he is twice or thrice delayed as to his Re-admission into the Communion of the Church, let him believe, that this delay proceeds from the want of Importunity in his Prayers; let him redouble his weeping, let him render himself more worthy of Pity, and then let him return, let him throw himself at the Feet of the Faithful, let him embrace them, kiss them, bath them with his Tears; and let him not forsake them, that so our Lord may say unto him, *Many Sins are forgiven him, because he loved much*. I have known some Persons who in their Penance have spoiled their Face with much weeping, who have hallowed their Cheeks with continual Tears, who have prostrated themselves on the Ground to be trod under Foot, who by their continual Fasting have rendered their Countenance so pale and disfigured, that they carryed in a living Body the very Image of Death. This is a lively Representation of publick Penance which was yet in its Vigour in the time of St. Ambrose. This Passage also informs us, that there were then some Persons who were guilty only of secret Mortal Sins; who submitted to the trouble of Publick Penance. Monsieur *Daille* thinks, that instead of *siquis occulta habens crimina*; it must be read; *siquis multa habens crimina*. But his Conjecture not being Authorized by any Manuscript ought not to be received.

In the Second Book after having answered Two principal Objections of the *Novatians*, whereof one is drawn from a Passage of the Epistle of the Apostle St. Paul to

the Hebrews, where 'tis said, that 'tis impossible for those who have once lost the Grace of Baptism to be renewed again, and the other is grounded upon what Jesus Christ says of the Sin against the Holy Ghost: After, I say, he has answered these two Objections, and confirmed the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, he exhorts the Faithful to Penance, and signifies to them with what Dispositions they should enter upon it; he proposes the Resurrection of *Lazarus* as an Illustration of the Spiritual Resurrection of a Sinner, who reflecting upon his own Condition, begs of God the pardon of his Sins. Lastly, He discourses of the Conditions necessary to make Penance useful, and of the Faults that are to be met with in ordinary Penances. There are also towards the end of this Book, some things very remarkable concerning the Discipline of the Antient Church in the Administration of Penance.

There are many ways, says he, of paying to God what is owing him; and though a Man be Poor he is always Rich enough to pay him; Prayer, Tears, Fasting, are the Tributes due to him. A Man may lessen his Sin by distributing his Patrimony to the Poor, but Faith must make this expence valuable; for to what purpose serves the giving away of his Patrimony if he has no Charity. There are some who give their Riches out of Vanity, and satisfy themselves with the Reward which they can have in this World without troubling themselves about that of another. Some having given their Riches to the Church, by I know not what sudden fit of Devotion, without sufficient Consideration of what they do, revoke their Donation. Others blame themselves for having given their Goods to the Poor. But as to those who do Penance, that which they are chiefly to fear, is, lest they repent of having done Penance: For many Persons being terrified with the fear of Punishment, and pushed forward by the Remorse of their own Conscience, desire Penance; and after they are admitted to it, leave it off for the shame of the publick Humiliation. What can be said of such Persons, but that they did well to desire to do Penance for their Sins; but at the bottom they repent of the Good they have done? There are others who desire not to enter upon Penance, but that they may be immediately restored to communion: These do not desire so much to be loosed as to bind the Priest; for they don't unburden their own Conscience, but they burden the Conscience of the Priest, who is commanded not to give Holy things unto Dogs, and not to throw Pearls before Swine, that is to say, not easily to admit impure Souls to the Holy Communion. You see them walk with their ordinary Apparel, who should be weeping and sighing for having defiled the Garment of Baptism and of Grace. You see the Women also still wearing Pendants and Diamonds at their Ears, who should be mourning for having lost the Heavenly Diamond, that is to say, the Grace of Baptism. There are some also who think that Penance consists merely in refraining from the Sacraments. Lastly, There are others, who seeing the hope that is given them of doing Penance, do from thence take occasion to think that they have the greater Liberty to Sin, not considering that Penance is appointed to be a remedy of Sin, and not an inducement to commit it. But who can endure that you should be ashamed to pray unto the Lord, who are not ashamed to pray so often unto Men? That you should be ashamed to appear before God in the condition of a Suppliant, who are not ashamed to confess your Sins unto Men? Are you afraid to have any Witnesses of your Prayers? Alas! if Satisfaction is to be made to some Men, is it not necessary that you should see many Persons, and pray them to intercede for you? Are you not often obliged to prostrate your self at his Feet whom you have offended? Must you not kiss the places through which he has passed? Must you not present your Children who had no hand in their Fathers Fault, to obtain Pardon by their means? Why are you troubled to do the like in the Church, to appease the wrath of God, to desire the Suffrages of the People? In the Church, I say, where there is but one thing only of which we ought to be ashamed; and that is, not to confess our Faults; because we are all Sinners; where he that is most humble is most esteemed, where the more one is abased, the more Holy he is thought to be. Let the Holy Church your Mother mourn for you, let her wash away your Faults with her Tears. And yet we have reason to answer those who think that Penance may be done more than once, because this is to abuse the Mercy of Jesus Christ, for if they should once do true Penance, they would not believe that they had power to reiterate it. As there is but one Baptism, so there is but one publick Penance; for we ought also to do Penance for the Sins we commit every Day. But this last Penance is for small Sins, and the former for great ones. I have found more Persons who have preserved the Innocence of their Baptism, than who have done Penance as they should after they have lost it. For 'tis believed, that Penance may be consistent with the Ambition of aspiring to Offices, with Pomp and high Feeding, with the Pleasures and Use of

St. Ambrose. Marriage. But they must renounce the World, and allow less time for sleep than Nature requires; they must break their sleep with Groaning and Sighing, and employ some part of that time in Prayers; they must live in such a manner, that they may be dead to the Use of this Life; let such Men deny themselves, and change themselves wholly, &c.

This place teaches us many Remarkable Circumstances concerning the Penance which was in use in the time of St. Ambrose; First, that the Sinners themselves desired to be put under Penance. Secondly, that by putting them under Penance they were separated from Communion. Thirdly, that they did Penance publicly. Fourthly, that they used many Fasts, Austerities, and Humiliations during the time of their Penance. Fifthly, that this Penance was imposed but once. Lastly, that this Penance was only for enormous Crimes, and that ordinary Sins were pardoned by the daily Penance. For the better understanding of this place, 'tis necessary to observe, how the Fathers understood this Distinction of great and little Sins. Tertullian who was the first that spoke distinctly of it in his Book of Chastity, places among the Number of little Sins, Anger, Evil-speaking, a vain Oath, a Failure in our Promise, a Lye extorted by shame or necessity, &c. He calls these Capital or Mortal Sins, Murder, Idolatry, Fraud, Apostacy, Blasphemy, Fornication, and other Crimes of this Nature, these are also the Crimes which St. Cyprian calls great Sins in his Treatise of Patience. Origen in Homily 15th. upon Leviticus, says, that there are Mortal Sins which are not in the rank of great Sins. I know very well that Monsieur Arnaud has affirmed, that in this place we must read *culpa mortalis*, for *culpa mortalis*, as it is to be found in one Edition. But ever since the Master of the Sentences time, who cites this place, it has been read, *culpa mortalis*; and if one minds well the Sense, he will perceive that it is to be read so. This place of Origen has much affinity with those of St. Ambrose, whereof we are now speaking; for he says, that Penance is allowed but once, and that but seldom to those who have committed great Sins, whereas the Sins of every Day are pardoned every Day. He explains himself also almost after the same manner in his Sixth Treatise upon St. Matthew, where he handles this Question, whether a Man may not be treated as a Heathen and a Publican, that is

[The true Reason why Slander, Evil-speaking, Anger, Covetousness, and such sort of Sins were not subjected to publick Penance in the Primitive Church, seems only to have been, because they are not so easy to be proved, and Delinquents cannot so well be convicted. Sins of the Flesh, and Crimes against publick Society are Matters of Fact, liable to Proof and Examination, and therefore come under Cognizance of Civil Laws as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas Circumstances may so alter the Nature of Spiritual Crimes, that what in some cases may be damnable, in others may be venial, in others, again, highly commendable; and accordingly the self-same Actions in all those Cases, shall meet with different Appellations. To speak evil of Dignities is a Sin expressly forbidden in Scripture; yet to defend the cause of Truth unjustly trampled upon, even against those whom in lawful and indifferent things we are bound to obey, may be very often our Duty. This with due alterations may be extended to all other Crimes where the Good and Evil depend so visibly upon such Circumstances, wherein a Criminal's word must of necessity be taken. And this I suppose was the true Reason why those things were left to God and their own Consciences; since it is most manifest that the Fathers esteemed these Sins if unrepented of, to be as damning as any of those of a grosser Nature.]

Prayer, from which no Man is free in this Life. This di-

stinction seems to be more just and reasonable; for there are certainly many Sins which are not of the Number of great Crimes, neither are they so small, but they may be Mortal. The difficulty is to know, to which of these Two Classes we should refer those Sins, which hold the middle place between the First, and the Second; for since this distinction was not very common, and since all the Fathers and St. Austin himself in many places did not distinguish but two sorts of Sins, and two sorts of Penance, it may be doubtful under what Class this Third sort was comprehended. For my part I believe that for the most part they were comprehended under the Second: First, because the Fathers in relating the Examples of slight Sins, place in that number those that are considerable enough, such as slander and addictedness to Wine. The Author of Sermon 41, among those of St. Austin, which is attributed also to St. Ambrose, places in the rank of light Sins, Drunkenness, Theft, Evil-speaches, &c. Julianus Pomerius in the 24. B. of a contemplative Life Ch. 7. says, that slight Sins are those for which one is not condemned before Men. Caesarius of Arles, Fulbertus of Chartres, and St. Eloi, when they make a particular Enumeration of Mortal Sins, place among them Anger and Drunkenness, but with restrictions, viz. Anger, if it last long, and Drunkenness, if it be continual. Secondly, the Fathers consider the first Class, as enormous Sins, great Sins, great Crimes, which no Christian commits, which do wholly disgrace a Man, and which are extremely rare. Now there are many Sins between these great Sins, and the smallest Sins, of which we cannot speak after this manner. Thirdly, All the Sinners of the first Class, when they are known, either by Confession or by Conviction, are put under publick Penance. But none were put under publick Penance except for very heinous Sins, such as are mentioned in the Canons of Councils, and the Canonical Letters of Bishops. What are these Sins? These are Murder, Adultery, Fornication, and the Consequents of these great Crimes. There is no Canon to be seen against Anger, Covetousness and Slander; at least it does not appear that publick Penance was imposed upon any for these kind of Sins. These Sins therefore, tho' they be sometimes mortal, were comprehended under the second Class, and not under the first, which contained only those for which publick Penance was done. This may be confirmed by the Canonical Letter of St. Gregory Nyssen to Letoius, where he makes an exact enumeration of those Sins which subjected Men to publick Penance, which are all enormous Sins and Considerable Crimes. Fourthly, it may be added, that publick Penance being granted but once only, they must be very extraordinary and enormous Crimes for which men are subjected to it. Lastly, Origen, St. Austin and St. Bernard say, that the great number and the custom of some Sins of the second Class may finally destroy, and stifle Charity in the Soul; therefore they did not believe, that this Class did not contain Mortal Sins.

I would not have it thought, that I make these Remarks to authorize Licentiousness, or to insinuate, That there are some Mortal Sins which may pass for Venial: God forbid that I should have such a detestable Design! On the contrary, my intention is to create a horror of all Sins; First of great Crimes. Secondly, of Sins that may be mortal tho' they appear not so enormous. And Thirdly, even of slighter Sins also. But I thought my self obliged to observe here, for explaining the Passage of St. Ambrose, that none but the Sins of the First Class did subject Men to Publick Penance, and that 'tis of these only that the Fathers speak, and which they comprehend under the Name of enormous Sins and Crimes; tho' there be others which may be also Mortal, and which a Christian ought carefully to shun: but then they are such for which he was never subjected to the Humiliation of Publick Penance, but only to Corrections and Reprimands given in secret, as St. Austin informs us. But now let us return to our subject, the Time is not certainly known when St. Ambrose composed these Books of Penance. He says in the Explication of Psal. 37, made about the Year 393, that it was a long time since they were written: *De penitentia duos jamdudum scripsi libellos, I wrote two little Books of Penance a long while ago*: But this denotes no certain time. It appears by the Books themselves, that he was then well advanced in Years, and had taken much pains for the Church. The Benedictines think, that they may have been written in the Year 384.

After the Treatises of Morality and Discipline, follow his Writings of Controversy. The five Books of Faith, or the Trinity, are the chief of his Writings of that sort. St. Ambrose wrote the two first at the Request of the Emperor Gratian, who at his departure into the East in the Year 377, to assist the Emperor Valens against the Goths, desired of St. Ambrose a Treatise concerning the Faith against Arianism which then reigned in the East. St. Ambrose proves the Divinity of the Son in these two Books of the Faith of the Church, and answers the Objections of the Arians concisely and smartly. The Arians having accus'd him of treating this Matter too succinctly, and of having abridged their Objections and his own Answers too much, he added in the Year 379, the three last Books, in which he enlarges and confirms

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confirms the Principles that he had laid down in the former. These Books are written with much Wit, Vigor and Subtlety; he illustrates the Matter which he handles with lively and pleasant Descriptions. He proposes the most subtle Objections in an intelligible manner, and answers them with all the Industry and clearness that is possible. It may be said, that there is none among the great number of Treatises written by the Ancients upon this Subject, where the Theological Difficulties about the Mystery of the Trinity are better discussed, and cleared up than in this. Yet he is not always Exact, and he sometimes employs Arguments which are not very concluding.

The Books of the Holy Spirit are written in a less concise, less lively, and less smart Style: St. Jerome says, *That they contain nothing Logical, nothing masculine, nothing moving, nothing convincing, but that everything in them is feeble and languid, tho' it be polished, dressed up and Painted with strange Colours.* He accuses him also of having robbed the Greeks, and particularly the Book of Didymus, whose Translation St. Jerome published then, and of having made a bad Latin Book out of many Good Greek ones; for Ruffinus informs us, that St. Jerome, speaks of St. Ambrose in this Place. It must be acknowledged that tho' the passionate Desire which this Saint had to extol the Treatise of Didymus, made him speak a little too vehemently against St. Ambrose's Book, yet there is something of Truth in what he says, for this Book is not written smartly, and the greatest part of the things which it contains are taken out of the Works of Didymus, of St. Basil, and St. Athanasius. St. Austin was so far from finding in it that Beauty and those Ornaments which St. Jerome met with in it, that he gives it for an example of a Book written in a low Style, *Because, says he, the Subject does not require Ornaments of Discourse to move the Heart, but Proofs of the Truths which he proposes.* St. Ambrose has there collected together all that could be said for establishing the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He wrote it after the Death of Athalaricus King of the Goths, and before the Death of Peter of Alexandria, and before the Celebration of the Council of Constantinople, that is to say, in the Year 381. There is one place in it, where he seems to assert, that Baptism given in the Name of one Person only of the Trinity, is valid. There are many Explications given of it which may be seen in the Note of the Benedictees upon this Passage.

The Treatise of the Incarnation is a Discourse which St. Ambrose spoke to refute the Objections which two Arians, Officers who belonged to the Emperor Gratian, had propos'd to him with much pride. He engaged to answer them the next day in his Sermon. Paulinus informs us, that these two Officers having mounted up into their Chariot to come to this Sermon, were thrown down headlong. St. Ambrose, who knew nothing of this Accident, waited long enough for them, and tho' they came not at all, yet he did not fail to perform his promise. But before he entred upon the Matter, to give them yet longer time to come, he begun his Discourse with the Explication of the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel. Afterwards he applies to Hereticks the Curse which God pronounced against the Sacrifice of Cain, and makes a Catalogue of the principal Heresies, ending with the Apollinarians. After this he proves against the Arians the Divinity of the Son, and his Humanity against the Apollinarians, and demonstrates against both the one and the other, that there were in Jesus Christ two perfect and compleat Natures; the Divine Nature according to which he is equal to his Father; and the Human, that is to say, a real Body and an understanding Soul with the Properties of these two Natures. When St. Ambrose afterwards wrote down this Sermon, he added the Answer to a Difficulty which the Arians propos'd to him after his Sermon, *viz.* How it is possible, that the Father who was not begotten should be of the same Nature with the Son who was begotten. This is the Subject of this Treatise, which he compos'd sometime before the Death of Gratian in 383, and after the Book of Faith which he wrote in 379, that is to say, about the Year 382.

There is at the end of this Treatise, a Passage of St. Ambrose about the Incarnation, which is produced by Theodoret in his second Dialogue, as taken out of a Book, Entitled, *An Explication of the Faith.*

The Letters of St. Ambrose are placed in a new Order, and divided into two Classes. The First contains those whose time and Order could be found out. The Second contains those whose Date is not certainly known.

The Letter of the Emperor Gratian to St. Ambrose is of a more antient Date than the rest. He wrote to this Holy Bishop after his Return from the East, whither he had gone to assist his Uncle Valens. He signifies to him how much he desired to have him near him, and prays him to send him again that Book, which he had given him before, (meaning the two Books of the Faith, and to add to them the Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. St. Ambrose in the Answer which he made to this Letter, excuses himself for not coming to wait upon him when he returned from the East, and praises the Faith and Piety of this Emperor. He pro-

mises Satisfaction to his Demands. This Letter was written in 379, soon after the Return of Gratian.

The Second is written to Constantius, who was lately promoted to a Bishoprick. He exhorts him to govern his Church well in the midst of Storms and Tempests. He discourses to him very largely about the Instructions which he should give to his People. He recommends to him the Church of Imola, which was without a Bishop, and prays him to visit it often till a Bishop were ordained for it; because as for himself, he was so busy during the time of Lent, that he could not go far from his own Church. Lastly, he admonishes him to take heed lest the Arians that came from Illyricum should spread their Error among the Faithful of his Country. He adds, that they ought to think of the Misery which had befallen them, because of their Infidelity, which discovers that the Arians were driven out of Illyricum by the Goths who entred into that Country after the Death of the Emperor Valens: And therefore this Letter was written in the Lent of 379.

The two following Letters are addressed to Felix Bishop of Comum. In the First St. Ambrose thanks him for the Mushrooms which he had sent him, and complains that he had not yet come to see him. In the second he praises him, and invites him to be present at the Dedication of the Church of St. Bassianus Bishop of Lodi. If we may believe Ughellus the Author of *Italia sacra*, this Church was Consecrated in the Year 380, but that is very uncertain. This Bassianus subscribed at the Council of Aquileia.

The 5th. Letter to Siagrius Bishop of Verona concerns a Point of Discipline. This Bishop had condemned a Virgin who was accused of having violated her Virginity, to be examined by a Midwife. St. Ambrose nulls this Judgment in a Synod of Bishops. Siagrius being offended with this Proceeding, wrote to him, that it was to be feared the Inhabitants of Verona would complain of the Judgment which he had given. St. Ambrose shews in this Letter, that his Judgment was as Canonical as that of Siagrius was Irregular. He accuses this Bishop of being too hasty in giving this Judgment, which was so disgraceful to a Virgin who had been consecrated by his Predecessor Zeno, and who had always passed for a virtuous Maid. This was so much the more unjust, because there was neither Accuser, nor Informer, nor Witness against her. She had been defamed by none but a Club of Libertines unworthy of Credit, whom she had driven away from her House. And therefore this Judgment being against all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, was void in Form; neither was it better as to the Matter, because what it ordained was against good Manners, against Modesty and Civility. St. Ambrose represents to him, that there are other ways to be assured of the good behaviour of a Virgin, and that we must never proceed to these Extremities; that oftentimes this way is not successful, and leaves the Matter as uncertain as before; that it was very dangerous to make the Reputation of a Virgin consecrated to God, depend upon the Credit of a Woman who might easily be corrupted or deceived; that if these means might be us'd, it was only to be us'd to Maid-servants, who are more afraid of a Discovery than of Sinning; but it ought never to be us'd for trying the Chastity of Virgins consecrated to God; that in this particular Case 'twas to no manner of purpose to use these Means, because if it were true that this young Woman who was accus'd had been with Child, and put it to death after her being brought to Bed, as was given out, it had been impossible but this would have been known by many Persons, and consequently there must have been many Witnesses found against her; that the thing which had stirred up some Persons against her, was because she lived retir'd in her House and made no Visits to the Ladies of the World; that Maximus who was her true Accuser tho' he would not appear in it, had been engaged in a Law-suit and some Differences with her; that all this Accusation was founded only on a false Report which had been spread about; that Renatus and Leontius the Witnesses, at first contradicted themselves and afterwards disappeared; that Indicia having no more Accusers or Witnesses against her, brought Marcellinus and two other Witnesses, who averred that she always behaved herself very prudently, and in consequence of this, that he and his Collegues had declared that her Reputation was untainted, and excommunicated Maximus, Renatus and Leontius her Accusers, with this difference, that Maximus might be received again without doing Penance, by confessing his Fault only, whereas the other two were obliged to do Penance.

The 6th. Letter is to the same Bishop upon the same Subject. He represents to him also how odious the Judgment was which he had given, and the Respect which is due to Virginity. This Letter is placed in the Year 380, but there is no convincing proof brought of it.

The 7th. and 8th. Letters are written to Justus, who is thought to be the Bishop of Lyons, who was present at the Council of Aquileia. St. Ambrose explains in the first, after a very Mystical manner, the Questions which this Bishop had propos'd to him upon some places of the Holy Scripture. In the second he affirms that the sacred Writers wrote

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with Art, and gives many examples of it which are very intricate.

There are placed here among the Letters of St. Ambrose the Acts of the Council of Aquileia, which are maintained to be Genuine and Authentical, against the Opinion of Chiffletius, who thought fit to affirm that they were composed by Vigilus Tapsensis: But this is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture (d), and is confuted by the bare reading of these Acts, which discover that they are Originals. These Acts are not entire, for what concerns the Condemnation of Secundianus, and the Conclusion of the Council, is lost. The Six following Letters are written in the name of the Bishops of Italy who were present at the Council of Aquileia, and concern the History of that time. What we have to say of the Acts of this Council and these Letters, may be found in our Discourses of the Councils of Aquileia and Constantinople.

The 15th. address'd to the Bishops of Macedonia and to the Clergy of Thessalonica, was written upon the death of Ascholius Bishop of that City. St. Ambrose comforts them upon his death, because he was removed into a better life, and enjoys the happiness of Saints. He compares him to Elias and Elisha; he testifies how much he loved him, and how much he regrets the loss of him; he enlarges upon his Virtues, and congratulates the Churches of Macedonia upon the receiving Anysius for his Successor. To him the following Letter is written, which is also full of the Praises of his Predecessor Ascholius. He prays God that Anysius may be successor to his Virtues as well as to his See. These Letters are written in the Year 383.

In Letter 17th. St. Ambrose writes to the Emperor Valentinian against the Petition which Symmachus had made in the Name of the Senate for restoring the Altar of Victory. He remonstrates to him, that as all the Subjects of the Roman Empire ought to submit to him, so he also was obliged to submit to the only true God, and as they defend his Empire, so he was obliged to defend the Religion of Jesus Christ. That a Christian Prince ought neither to Dissemble nor Tolerate, and much less ought he to Authorize the Worship of Idols and false Gods. He wonders therefore, that under a Christian Emperor, there should be found any Persons so rash, as to hope, that he would grant an Edict for restoring the Altars of the Gods, and that he would contribute towards the Expence of it by giving Money out of his Exchequer: That tho' the Temples had not been destroyed, and the Worship of the Gods forbidden by the Laws of his Ancestors, yet he ought to do it now; but after the Laws have been in force for a long time, there was yet less reason to subvert them: That in this business he must never hearken to the Advice of a Pagan, how prudent soever he may be otherwise; and that if any Christian had been cowardly enough to consent to this Proposition, he deserved not to bear the Name of a Christian any more: That if a Pagan Emperor would re-establish an Altar, and oblige Christians to consent to it, this would be lookt upon as a Persecution. How then can a Christian Emperor do it, without committing Sacrilege? That there was no probability, that all the Senate had consented to this Proposition, since all the Christian Senators two Years before had entered their Protestation against it, and that they were not

(d) This is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture, &c.] These Acts are written in a Simple and Natural way. The Questions which are put to the Accus'd, and the Answers which they give, are not of the nature of those that are made at pleasure; but such as are made in the ordinary Forms. There is nothing in them which smells of Forgery. They contain particular Facts, which could not be known by any Man that had lived but 30 Years after. There is no Error in them contrary to History. In the other Letters of the Council of Aquileia, there is mention made of two Bishops of Dacia and Moesia condemned by this Council. The Bishops which are named in these Acts, are all Bishops of that time. What is said there, that this Council was called together from the East and the West, agrees with another Letter of a Council of Italy, where 'tis said, that there was a Synod held in the West, *quæ videbatur ex universis orbis partibus esse præcepta*. There were in this Council some Bishops of Gaul and Africk. All the Bishops are named there with their Bishopricks: In fine, all things conspire to confirm the truth of these Acts. The Opinion of Chiffletius is founded only upon frivolous Conjectures. Vigilus Tapsensis, says he, observes that Palladius wrote a Discourse after the death of St. Ambrose to refute what this Saint had said about the Trinity, and that Vigilus himself had answered this Work of Palladius in a little Book by it self. What follows from thence? Vigilus wrote a Treatise against that of Palladius; therefore it was the Acts of the Council held against the Hereticks. Who can believe it? Is there any thing more different, than these Acts are from a Piece about Doctrine against any Author's Book? These Acts treat of the judicial Condemnation of a Person, but say nothing of the Refutation of a Book. The other Conjectures are yet more weak. He objects, that these Acts are not found in the ancient Editions of the Councils, as if the first Collectors had collected all: How many Councils did they forget, and Synodical Writings which are in the Works of the Fathers. 2. That Valerian of Aquileia is named there before St. Ambrose. This

present in the Senate when it was done, because they thought that they could not have their liberty there to make head against it. He warns Valentinian that he should not suffer himself to be surprized, and exhorts him to do nothing new in an Affair of this Importance without the Advice of the Emperor Theodosius, whom he was wont to consult in Affairs of Importance. Now what Affair, says he, can be of greater Importance than this of Religion? What is more precious than the Faith? He prays him to desire of them a Copy of the Act of the Senate, and that they would leave him to answer it. In a word, he tells him with an assurance becoming an Holy Bishop, that if he should act otherwise, the Bishops would not suffer nor dissemble the Injury which he would do to Religion, and that if he came to the Church, he should not find a Bishop there, or else he should find one who would oppose his Entrance into it. 'And what will you answer then, says he, addressing his Words to the Emperor Valentinian? What will you answer to the Bishop when he shall say, the Church cannot receive Objections from him who has given Ornaments to the Temples of the Gods: His Gifts shall not be presented on the Altar of Jesus Christ who hath made an Altar for Idols. The Edict signed with your own Hand convicts you of the Fact. How can the Honour which you give to Jesus Christ be acceptable to him, since at the same time you worship Idols? No, you cannot serve two Masters. The Virgins consecrated to God, have no Privileges, and yet you have granted Privileges to Vestals? Why have you recourse to the Ministers of Jesus Christ after you have preferred before them the Petitions of Pagans?' St. Ambrose adds to these Remonstrances of the Bishops, the Charge which his Brother Gratian could draw up against him, if he should return into the World, and the Accusations which his Father Theodosius might justly make against him.

Because St. Ambrose had desired of Valentinian a Copy of the Petition which had been presented to him in the Name of the Senate, and which he answers in the following Letter, that is also here inserted. Symmachus therein desires of the Emperors, as Governor of Rome, and Deputy of the Senate, that they would cause the Altar of Victory to be repaired, that so the Oath might be administered according to ancient Custom upon the Altar, and that they would restore to the Vestal College and the Priests of the Gods, the Goods and Privileges of which they had been unjustly deprived, since the Gods being provoked with the Injuries done to their Priests, had avenged themselves by a cruel Famine, wherewith the Empire was afflicted. He asserts, That they ought not to imitate the Emperors who have taken away those ancient Ceremonies. He introduces the City of Rome desiring this Restauration, and he affirms that this may be done without any Expence to the Treasury. This Petition was written with all the Eloquence and Politeness possible.

St. Ambrose answers it in the following Letter, and reduces the Reasons of this Request to these three: The first is the Claim which the City of Rome makes to her ancient Ceremonies: The second is the Injustice which is done to the Vestal Virgins, and the Priests of the false Gods, by despoiling them of their Revenues: The third is the Vengeance which the Gods have sent down upon the Em-

Objection is no more against the common Opinion than against that of Chiffletius; for either Vigilus had the Acts of the Council of Aquileia, or he had them not; if he had them, why should he change the Order of the Bishops; if he had them not, wherefore was not the Bishop of Milan placed before the Bishop of Aquileia: He must therefore, as well as we, find out a reason why the Bishop of Aquileia goes before the Bishop of Milan: It may be, because the Synod was held in his own City, and the Order of the Emperor for calling the Synod together was directed to him. The 3d. and 4th. Reason of Chiffletius, is, because this Dispute favours not of Episcopal gravity, and all the Discourses there are made by the same hand. If one takes the pains to read the Acts, he will see that 'tis not so, and that there are Answers and Questions which are Originals, and could not be guessed at by any Author. He alledges for a 5th. Reason, that Anemius Bishop of Sirmium, does there impertinently assume the Title of the Head of Illyricum. But 'tis certain that he enjoyed it in the time of Constantine, and it does not appear that he was dispossest of it so soon after, since he enjoyed it still in the time of Justinian. 'Tis not certain that Thessalonica had yet received the Vicariate of Damasus, and tho' it were so, Sirmium was always the Head of the Western Illyricum; and it may be that the Bishop of Sirmium contended against him for the possession of this Vicariate, especially at the beginning. Chiffletius pretends that Ascholius Bishop of Thessalonica was present at the Council of Aquileia, but he has no other Proofs of it but the Authority of a Synodical Book full of Errors. The 6th. Reason of Chiffletius is, that the Answers of Palladius are ridiculous: But it may be they do not appear so ridiculous to all the World, and tho' they did, is this the first time that Hereticks have defended themselves ill? I shall not stay longer to mention the other Conjectures, which are as weak as the rest, so that there never was a fancy worse grounded than this of Chiffletius about these Acts.

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pire by Famine. To the first he opposes a contrary *Prosepoia*, wherein the City of *Rome* condemns her antient Superstitions, and demonstrates the Advantages which she has drawn from the Christian Religion. In answer to the second Argument, he compares the Virgins consecrated to God with the Vestal Virgins, and the Christian Bishops with the Priests of the false Gods. The Vestals continued Virgins, because of the Honour and Advantages which their Condition procured to them; but the Christian Virgins have no other Recompence of their Virginity, but their own Virtue. They complain that the Priests of false Gods, are deprived of Revenues from the Publick; but the Christian Priests are even deprived of the Right of Succession. The New Laws, says he, have made this Regulation, and yet we do not look upon it as an Injury, because we are not much concerned for this Loss. The Priests of the False Gods are capable of Donatives, but no Legacies can be made in favour of our Church-men. I do not complain of this severity, says St. Ambrose, for I would rather that Ecclesiasticks should have less Riches and more Grace. The Church hath no Patrimony but her Faith; if she has any Revenues they are for feeding the Poor. In short, St. Ambrose discovers the Falshood of *Symmachus's* Supposition, That the Gods of the Pagans being provoked, sent the Famine which afflicted the Empire the preceding Year. First, because this Famine did not begin till long after the Pagan Priests were deprived of their Rewards and their Honours. Secondly, because this Famine did not continue long, and Plenty succeeded it, tho' nothing was done in favour of the Priests of the Pagan Gods. He concludes this Answer with shewing, that the Emperors ought not to expect Protection from the Gods of the Pagans. These Pieces were written in the Year 384, when *Symmachus* was Governor of *Rome*.

The 19th. Letter to *Vigilius* lately chosen Bishop of *Trent*, contains some important Instructions, which he counsels him to give unto his People. The principal is; to dissuade the Faithful from contracting Marriages with Infidels; of this he treats largely in this Letter. But he admonishes him also by the bye, to teach his People the Obligation that lies upon them to pay Labourers their Hire; to instruct them that Usury is forbidden, and to exhort them to use Hospitality. One of the Reasons which he brings to shew, That a Christian ought not to marry an Infidel, is this, *That Marriage ought to be sanctified by the Priestly Veil, and by the Blessing, How then can a Marriage be made between two Persons of a different Belief?* The History of *Samson* and *Dalilah*, affords him a fair Field to enlarge upon, by which Example he shews that Christians ought to shun marrying with Persons of a different Religion. *Vigilius* died under the Consulship of *Silico* in 400 or 405. 'Tis commonly believed that he was 20 Years a Bishop; yet there are Acts of the Life of this Saint, where he is said to be only 12 Years instead of 20. If he died in 400, and was Bishop only 12 Years, this Letter was in the Year 388. If he died in 405, and was 20 Years a Bishop, the Letter may be written at the same time; it cannot be in the Year 381, because the Name of his Predecessor is found in the Subscriptions of the Council of *Aquileia*.

The 20th. Letter to *Marcellina*, Sister to St. Ambrose, contains a Relation of the Endeavours, that the Empress *Justina* used in the Year 385, to take from the Catholics of *Milan*, two of their Churches, and of the manner wherein St. Ambrose defended them. The Day after I received your Letter, says he, by which you signify to me, That you were very much tormented with troublesome Dreams, here began those Commotions which have created me a great deal of Trouble. They were not satisfied with asking the *Portian*-Church, which is without the City, but they demanded also the *New*-Church, which is within the City, and is greater than the other: The Lords of the Court and the new Officers, came to find me out, and told me that I must abandon this Church, and hinder the People from making any Sedition. I answered according to my Duty, That a Bishop cannot deliver up the Temple of the Lord. The next Morning there was great Crying in the Church, and the Prefect came thither to persuade us to give up at least the *Portian*-Church; the People opposed him with their Clamours, and he retired, saying, That he would make his Report of what was done to the Emperor. The next day, which was *Sunday*, after the Reading and Sermon, when I was explaining the Creed to the Catechumens, I was told, that Serjeants were sent to seize upon the *Portian*-Church, that they had already hung up Curtains, and that a great many People were flocking thither; I went on still in discharging my Duty and began Mass; but as I was offering, I was informed, that the People having met with an *Arian* Priest, called *Cartulus*, had laid Hands upon him. This made me weep, and I prayed to God in the midst of the Holy Sacrifice, that he would hinder the shedding of Blood in the Quarrel of this Church. At the same time I sent Priests and Deacons to recover this Man out of the Hands of the People. Immediately very severe Sentences were passed, First, against all the Companies of Merchants; so

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that at this Holy Time, which was the last Week of *Lent*, when Prisoners were wont to be set at Liberty, there was nothing heard every where but the rattling of Chains where-with innocent Men were loaded, and great Sums of Money were extorted from the People. The Officers threatened Persons of Quality if they would not deliver up the Church to them. The Counts and Tribunes came to me, and required me to deliver up the Church presently, saying, That the Emperor, in whose power all things are, does but demand his Right. I answered them, Did he demand any thing of mine, my Money, or my Land, I should willingly give them up to him, tho' all that I have belongs to the Poor; but Places consecrated to God belong not to the Emperor, neither is it in my power to give them. If you should demand my Patrimony, said I to them, take it; If you would have my Person, I am here ready for you, carry me away Prisoner, put me to death, if you please; In short, do with me what you please, I'm content, I will not call upon the People to succour me, I will not prosecute my self before the Altar to beg my Life, but I will rather willingly sacrifice my self for the Altar's sake. I was desired to put a stop to the Sedition of the People. I answered, That all that I could do, was to give no Encouragement to it, but God only could appease it; That if they thought I was the Cause of it, the Emperor might banish me whithersoever he pleased. I passed the rest of the Day in the Old Church, and at night I went back to sleep at my own House, that they might find me ready to be gone if they had a mind to force me away. Next Morning the Church was encompassed with Soldiers; the People came still flocking thither in great Multitudes; the Soldiers who had Orders to seize upon it, joyned with the People in the Prayers which were put up in it. In the mean time, St. Ambrose preached in another Church about the present Calamities. He recites here his Sermon full of Boldness and Respect, out of which take an excellent passage as follows. I was commanded to deliver up the Church; I answered, that it was not lawful for me to deliver it up, nor for you, Prince, to receive it. You cannot justly invade the House of any particular Man, and would you forcibly take away the House of Jesus Christ? I was told that every thing is lawful to the Emperor. I answered, That the Emperor has no Jurisdiction over Divine Things; That he ought not to assume this Boldness, and if he would reign long he must submit to God: For 'tis written, we must render to God what is God's, and to *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar's*; the Palaces are for Kings, the Churches for Bishops: The Emperor has power over the Walls of the City, but not over Sacred Edifices. 'Twas said, but 'tis very just that the Emperor should have a Church for himself. No, he ought not to have any. Here some came and told him, That they had already brought the Royal Hangings into the Church, and that the People which were there, earnestly desired his Presence. This gave him occasion to apply the Psalm which was read that Morning to the Case in hand, *O Lord, the Heathens are come into thine Inheritance, &c.* While he was discoursing upon this Subject, there came a Notary in the Emperor's Name to ask him, why he had acted contrary to the Orders of his Majesty. St. Ambrose answered, That he did not believe that he had done it. Why then, says the Notary, did you send Presbyters into the Church which he had a mind to take Possession of? If you be a Tyrant, the Emperor desires that you would declare your self so, that he may know what he has to do. St. Ambrose answered, That he had done nothing contrary to the Respect which he owed to the Emperor, nor contrary to the Interest of the Church: That he had indeed sent Presbyters to this Church, but he did not believe that he had herein done any thing contrary to his Authority; That if they took him for a Tyrant, they might put him to death; That he had no other Arms to defend himself withal but the Invocation of the Name of Jesus Christ; That under the antient Law the Kingly Power had been given to Priests, but they had never usurped it; that Kings were more desirous of the Priesthood, than Priests of the Kingly Power; that Christ himself run away for fear lest he should be chosen King; that *Maximus* would not say, that he had been wanting in his Loyalty to *Valentinian*. In short, that Bishops had never been Tyrants, but had often suffered hard things from them.

All the Day was spent in sadness, and St. Ambrose could not return to his own House, because the Church was encompassed with Soldiers; so he passed the Night in singing Psalms in the Church. The next Day the Book of *Jonas* was read. As St. Ambrose was expounding it, word was brought him, that the Emperor had commanded the Soldiers to withdraw, and ordered the Fines which were exacted from the Merchants to be restored. What Joys, says he, what Acclamations of the People! This was the Day wherein Jesus Christ was delivered up for us, the Day wherein Absolution is given to Penitents. This is, writes he to his Sister, what is passed, God grant that here may be an end of it. But the Threatnings of the Emperor make me fear still some greater Commotions: He says, that I am a Tyrant and more than a Tyrant: And

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when his Officers prayed him to come to Church, he answered them, If *Ambrose* would command you, you would deliver me up. Behold, what am I to expect after this! All those that heard him say this, testified sufficiently the trouble that it gave them; but there are some about him who have blown up the Coals. *Calligonus* Master of the Wardrobe came to me, and threatened me in these Words, Why do you despise the Emperor, Vengeance shall quickly come upon you? I answered him, That if God should suffer these Threatnings to take Effect, he would do as Eunuchs have been wont to do, and I should suffer as becomes a Bishop: Heavens grant, that all the Mischiefs which threaten the Church may fall upon me; That her Enemies may point all their Darts against me; that they may assuage their Rage with shedding of my Blood.' Thus ends this excellent Letter of *St. Ambrose*.

Tho' the first Efforts of *Justina* had such bad success, yet she did not give over her Persecution. To colour her Design, she caused a Conference to be proposed between *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop and *St. Ambrose*, before such Judges as they should name, hoping by these means to have a Pretence to force him away. Then an Officer was sent in the Name of *Valentinian* to signify unto him, That *Auxentius* had named some Judges, and that he should name some on his own behalf. *St. Ambrose* answered, That according to the good Maxim of *Theodosius* the Father of *Valentinian*, Bishops could have none but Bishops for their Judges; That Laymen could not judge between Bishops, and much less Infidels or Hereticks, such as *Auxentius* in all probability had chosen. This is what *St. Ambrose* remonstrated to *Valentinian* in Letter 21st. which is properly a Petition, wherein he shews that he had done nothing contrary to the Respect which he owes him by this Answer; That he only followed the Law which his Father had established, and that this was the Custom of the Church: That if a Conference about the Faith was necessary, it should be in the Church and before Bishops: That if *Auxentius* should appeal to a Synod, tho' it was not necessary to assemble one, (since if an Angel should come from Heaven and teach a contrary Doctrine, it ought not to be preferred before the unanimous Consent of all the Churches;) yet if a Council should be assembled, he was ready to appear there; That he would have come to Court and to the Emperor's Council, if his People, his Clergy, and the Bishops had not hindered him; That he was not wont to go thither but for the Interest of the Emperor, neither was it his Custom to frequent the Court.

At the time when *St. Ambrose* sent this Petition to be presented to the Emperor, he preached a Sermon to his People, to allay the Fear they were seized with, after they understood that *St. Ambrose* was cited to appear before the Emperor's Council. This is placed after the preceding Letter. There he declares to his People, that he had no design to abandon his Church; That they might arrest his Body by force, but they could not separate his Mind from it; That he would never willingly forsake them, but if he should be driven away by force, he would not resist. 'I can, says he, sigh and mourn, I can lament, Tears are my only Arms against Violence and against Soldiers; Bishops have no other Defence. I cannot, I ought not to resist any other ways; but as to flying away and forsaking my Church, that I will never do. You know that the Respect which I have for the Emperor does not make me yield cowardly; that I offer my self willingly to punishment, and that I do not fear the Mischiefs they threaten me with. If I knew that in my Absence the Church would not be delivered up to the *Arians*, and if it were the Duty of a Bishop to go to the Palace, I would go willingly; but this is not his Duty, for Matters of Faith cannot be handled but in the Church. If any one has a mind to oppose our Creed, let him come here, and I will defend the Faith which I profess, the Soldiers that encompass the Church and their rattling of their Arms, do not at all make me afraid, neither do they shake my Constancy; all that I fear is, that while you detain me, some Resolution may be taken against you. I am not wont to have any fear for my self, but I tremble for you. When the Vessels of the Church were demanded of me, I said, That if they would demand any thing that was mine, I should willingly give it; That I could give nothing that belonged to the Church, and that in refusing them I gratified the Emperor, since he could not receive them without doing an Injury to Jesus Christ.' After this, he exhorts his People to continue Spectators of the Combat which he was to maintain. He says, that he had no Reason to fear, because he was assured, that it was for the Cause of God, who could protect him against all his Enemies, and defeat all their Designs: That he had already smitten them with Blindness, since they did not perceive the Gate of the Church which was left open, tho' they had compassed the Church about, and sought for a way to enter into it; that he went forth daily to make Visits, or to go to the Sepulchre of the Martyrs, without being stopped by any Body, tho' 'twas already resolved to drive him away, and that *Auxentius* had a Design to invade his Church. Here he inveighs freely against

this *Arian*, and against the Law which he had gotten by surprize in favour of his Party. He observes, That he was ready to refute him, tho' there was no need of it, since *Auxentius's* Cause was quite desperate, and he had been condemned even by those whom he had chosen for his Judges, and in the Absence of his Adversaries: That after he was thus conquered, he would have taken the Emperor for a Judge, tho' he was yet but a Catechumen: That he had persuaded the Emperor the preceding year to take away a Church from the Catholics, but the Resistance of the People hindering him from compassing that Design, he had charged *St. Ambrose* with rebelling against the Orders of his Prince, tho' he always answered with much Moderation. 'If the Emperor, says he, demand of us Tribute, we will not refuse to pay it him, the Lands of the Church do pay it. If he would have the Lands themselves, he can take them, none of us do oppose it. I will not give them to him, but neither will I hinder him from taking them. We keep our selves within the bounds of a Just Obedience. We render to *Cesar* that which is *Cesar's*, and to God the things which are God's. Tribute is *Cesar's*. No body refuses him that. The Church is God's; 'tis unlawful to give it unto the Prince; he has no Authority over it. Could any thing be more respectful, or more to the Honour of the Emperor? 'Tis an Honour to him to be of the Church; he is in the Church, but not above the Church.

The 22^d. Letter contains the History of the Discovery of the Reliques of *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius*, and the Sermons which *St. Ambrose* made to his People upon this Subject. It is also to his dear Sister *Marcellina*, to whom he communicated an Account of what had passed in his Church. He writes to her, that having dedicated a Church at *Milan*, he was desired to Consecrate it with the same Solemnity, wherewith he had done the Roman Church (this was another Church which was near the Roman Gate) which he promised to do, if he could find any Reliques. That he had caused the Ground, at a place which was before the Rails of the Sepulchres of *St. Felix* and *St. Nabor* to be broke up; that in this place he found the Bones of two Men of extraordinary bigness with much Blood; That there were sufficient Signs to discover that they were Martyrs; that having brought thither some possessed Persons, it was known by their Agitation, that they were before the Sepulchre of Martyrs; that the People flocked together in great Multitudes for the space of two Days to see these Reliques, and that afterwards those Bones were disposed according to their Natural Order to be carried into the *Ambrosian* Church; that they were laid up in *Faustas's* Church, where Vigils were celebrated all that Night, and the next Morning they were translated to the *Ambrosian* Church; that while they were translating, a Blind Man was cured. This was the discovery of the Bodies of those Martyrs. *St. Ambrose* adds two Sermons made to his People upon this occasion, which contain also some Circumstances of it. In them he observes, that these two Saints are *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius*. He does not tell us, whence he knew it: But *St. Austin* informs us that he had got an Account of their Death, and the place where their Bodies were laid, by a Revelation which he had that Night. He speaks of the many Miracles which those Reliques wrought, of the Possessed that were delivered, of the Sick that were healed, of the Handkerchiefs that were touched, to carry them to the Sick. He tells his People, that these Bones must be put under the Altar; that such Victims could not be better placed than under the Altar where the true Sacrifice lay; that Jesus Christ is upon the Altar because he suffered for all, and the Martyrs are under the Altar, because they were redeemed by his Blood. He adds, that he had designed this place for his own Burial place, because it was fit that a Bishop should be interr'd in that place where he was wont to make the Oblation, but that he yielded this place to the Martyrs, and would presently go and place their Reliques in it. The People earnestly desired, that he would put off the performance of this Ceremony till Sunday, but he would delay it no longer than till the next Morning. And then he made another Discourse to his People, wherein he confutes the Infidelity of the *Arians*, and the Incredulity of some of the Faithful, by the Miracles which these Reliques had wrought, and chiefly by the Cure of the blind Man which was publick and certain. *St. Austin* Ch. 7. of the 19th. B. of his Confessions, and the Author of the Life of *St. Ambrose*, say, that an end was put to the Persecution by the discovery of those Reliques, which discovers to us that this Letter was written in the Year 386.

The 23^d. Letter is Written to the Bishops of *Emilia*, about a scruple they had concerning *Easter-Day* for the Year 387. *St. Ambrose* observes in the first place, that the Holy Scripture and Tradition teach us, that we must carefully find out *Easter-Day*; that the Council of *Nice* believed this so necessary; that they had made a Cycle of 19 Years; that by this means the Sacrifice in Honour of Christ's Resurrection might be offered in all places in the same Night; that the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Rome* had already

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St. Ambrose. ready made Regulations of this Business; But since there were many who would also have his Opinion, he thought himself obliged to write his Thoughts; and tho' the difference at present was only about the Celebration of the next *Easter*, yet he would shew what Day should be observed for time to come, whensoever the like Question should return. He says, that there are two things to be observed concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, the 14th. Day of the Moon and the First Month; that this Time was fixed for the Passover under the Old Testament, and that Jesus Christ observed this Law, by Celebrating the Passover on *Thursday* the 14th. Day of the Moon of *March*, and by being crucified on *Friday* the 15th. and rising the *Sunday* following. That therefore Christians ought to Celebrate the Feast of the Resurrection on the *Sunday* after the 14th. Day of *March*-Moon, a Day on which it is not any more lawful to Fast; and when the 14th. Day of the Moon happens to be *Sunday*, as it will fall out to be quickly, we must put off the Solemnity of *Easter*, till the following *Sunday*, because we must not Fast upon *Easter*-Day, nor break our Fast upon the 14th. Day, which is the Day wherein Jesus Christ was delivered up to be crucified. He proves by Examples that this is the Custom. He speaks afterwards of the First Month, and shews that 'tis not necessary to Celebrate the Day of the Resurrection in the First Month, Provided the Day of the Passion happens in it. He makes this Remark, because he was treating of the Passover for the Year 387. which was to be Celebrated on the 23d. of *April*, a Day which seemed not to belong to the same Lunar Month. 'Tis certain that St. Ambrose speaks of the *Easter* of that Year as being quickly to come to pass, *quod futurum est proxime*, and that he speaks of the *Easter* of the Year 380, as being already passed some Years ago, *superioribus temporibus*; which proves, that this Letter was written in 386, or 387, tho' there be a place in this Letter, which seems to prove, that it was written in the Year 381, because he speaks of the *Easter*, for the Year 378, as being two Years before. But this must be a Fault in the Transcriber; for what probability is there, that he should take so much Pains to fix an *Easter* which was not to happen till Six Years after, and that he should speak of it as the next Festival?

In Letter 24th. St. Ambrose gives an account to the Emperor *Valentinian*, to whom it is addressed, of his Embassy to *Maximus*, which the Emperor had entrusted with him the second time in the Year 386. He tells him, that when he came to *Triers*, he desired to discourse with *Maximus* in private, but he would not say any thing but in his Council, tho' he was told, that it was not the Custom for Bishops to do so; that when he was admitted there, *Maximus* came to salute him, but he would not receive his Kiss till after much Discourse; that *Maximus* accused him of putting a trick upon him in his first Embassy, and hindering his Passage into *Italy*; that he excused himself, and proved from the several Steps that he had made, that he had no design to deceive him; that he came to treat about a Peace in the Name of his Prince, and that not being able to conclude it, he returned; that he had not passed his Word to him that *Valentinian* should come and meet him; that he had never dissuaded this Emperor from doing it; that this Resolution of his was taken before he returned, and that he had sent Deputies to acquaint *Maximus* that he would not come; that he had acted with all the Moderation that is possible; that he had sent back his own Brother to him, tho' *Maximus* had put *Valentinian's* to Death, and by an unheard of Inhumanity refused still to restore his Body; that *Valentinian* had preferred Peace to War, tho' he might hope for Succours from the *Huns* and *Alanes* against the *Barbarians* whom *Maximus* had brought into the Empire; that *Maximus* ought not to blame those, who being with *Valentinian*, made their escape and fled to *Theodosius* for Refuge, since he put all to Death that he could lay hands upon, and among the rest, one *Vallian*, who was a brave Captain; that after this Discourse he received no other Answer from *Maximus* but that he would consider what he had to do. St. Ambrose adds, that *Maximus* understanding that he would not Communicate either with the Bishops who had received him into Communion, or who had desired the Death of some Hereticks, he received Orders to be gone Immediately, and at his going away, he had the dissatisfaction to see the Holy Bishop *Hyginus* sent into Banishment, and used with all possible Rigour, so that his Age and bad Usage reduced him to that condition, which left him no hopes but of Death.

The Two following Letters are about a Question which *Stodius* had put to St. Ambrose; Whether a Magistrate ought to Condemn Criminals to Death, and whether he that Condemns such Persons should be excommunicated. The practice in St. Ambrose's time was not very certain: Some Bishops excluded them from Communion, others on the Contrary received them; nay, there was also an example of some Bishops, who a little while before desired the death of the *Priscillianists*: Some Magistrates themselves abstained from these things. St. Ambrose confesses, that we ought not to excommunicate a Magistrate, who, according

St. Ambrose. to the Duty of his Office, Condemns a Man to Death, and Orders him to be Executed; but he wishes that Judges would abstain from doing it, and would have no Criminal condemned to Death, but only to a Prison or some other Punishment, that so they may have opportunity to reform themselves and do Penance if they be Baptized, or to receive Baptism if they be Catechumens. To prove that a Christian Magistrate ought to use this Clemency, he alledges the Judgment which Jesus Christ gave of the Woman taken in Adultery and makes many Reflections upon this Action in this Letter and the next. These Letters were written after Judgment was given against the *Priscillianists*, about the Year 386.

The seven following Letters to *Irenaeus* contain Allegorical Explications of some Difficulties about Passages of the Holy Scripture. There are Four of them which were formerly among the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture. 'Tis thought they were written about the Year 386; but there is no convincing proof of it. The order in which they are to be placed is better ascertained, because it is authorized by the first Words at the beginning of each Letter.

The Three Letters to *Orontianus* were written immediately after one another. In the Third he speaks of his own Persecution, and therefore they were written after the Year 386. These are also about some Difficulties of Scripture.

The Letters 37th. and 38th. to *Simplicius* are about Morality. In them St. Ambrose shews, that none but a Wise Man can be truly Free and truly Rich. These Letters are placed in the Year 387, tho' without certain proof.

The 39th. is a Letter of Consolation to *Sabinus* upon the death of his Sister. He says, that as he returned from *Bolonia*, he saw the Cities ruined. This may have reference to the irruption of *Maximus*, or that of *Eugenius*.

The 40th. Letter to *Theodosius* is more considerable. The Governor of the East had written to *Theodosius*, who was then at *Milan* after the death of *Maximus* in 388, or 389. That a Synagogue of the Jews and a Temple of the *Valentinians* were burnt, and that the Bishop was the cause of this Conflagration. *Theodosius* gave order that those who had done this Action should be punished, and that the Bishop should re-build this Synagogue at his own Charge. St. Ambrose who was then at *Aquileia*, understanding that *Theodosius* had given this judgment, wrote to him with all possible freedom, that his Order was not consistent with his Piety, and the Zeal he had for the Christian Religion; That the Bishop could not obey him without prevaricating. He defends also the Counsel of this Bishop, and the Action of those who had burned the Synagogue. He shews, that the Jews had often burnt the Temples of the Christians, without being punished for it, or condemned to re-build them; that it was unworthy of a Christian Emperor who had received so many benefits from Jesus Christ, to take part with a Synagogue of Jews against the Church. In a Word, he heaps together many Thoughts and expressions of this Nature, which have more of Declamation than true Reasoning, to hinder any Reparation of the Injury which was done to the Jews by burning their Synagogue: He threatens also the Emperor to deprive him of Communion if he did not recall these Orders. He did not only write to the Emperor about it, but he also made a Sermon upon this Subject in his presence, which is related in the following Letter written to his Sister. He prevailed so far, that the Emperor promised none of the Christians should be sought after for this Cause, after which he went, says he, to the Altar, which he should not have approached if the Emperor had not passed his Word about that matter.

The 42d. Letter is a synodical Epistle of a Council at *Milan*, being an Answer to that which *Siricius* and his Council had written to the Church of that City against *Jovinian* and his followers. This Letter is signed by seven Bishops, and a Priest who subscribed it in the presence of his Bishop and by his Command. In it they certify the Pope, that they were of the same Judgment with him concerning the excellency of Virginity. They prove that *Mary* the Mother of God never lost her Virginity in Child-bearing. They shew the necessity and usefulness of Fasting. Lastly, they condemn *Jovinian* and his followers whom *Siricius* and the Roman Church had condemned.

The Letters 43d. and 44th. are Explications of two Difficulties which *Orontianus* had started about the Creation of the World, which were not explained in St. Ambrose's Treatise upon this Subject written about the Year 389.

The five following Letters, address'd to *Sabinus* were written much about the same time: They contain nothing very remarkable.

The 50th. Address to *Chromacius* is about the Prophecy of *Balaam*. St. Ambrose was old when he wrote it.

In the 51st. he exhorts *Theodosius* to do Penance for the Massacre done by his Order at *Theffalonica*, and represents to him the Enormity of this Action. This Letter was written in the Year 390.

The 52d. to *Titianus* contains nothing remarkable; he congratulates him, that *Ruffinus* was made Prætorian Præfect, not only upon the account of the Honour that was done him by it, but also because this Office hindred him from

being Judge in a Law-suit which *Titianus* had with his Grand-daughter whom *Ruffinus* favoured. *Ruffinus* was made Prætorian Præfect in 392. and so the date of this Letter is certainly known.

In the 53^d. *St. Ambrose* testifies to *Theodosius* how much he was afflicted for the Death of *Valentinian*, which happened on the first of *March* 392, and this Letter was in the Summer following.

The two following Letters are written to *Eusebius* who was of an Illustrious Family of *Bolonia*. In the first *St. Ambrose* acquaints him with what he had done for an Officer whom he had recommended to him, and gives him an account of the News about his Grand-son *Faustinus*. In the second he writes to him that he had detained at *Milan*, *Ambrosia* the Sister of *Faustinus*. This is the Virgin to whom he had given the Veil, of which he speaks in the Book of the Institution of Virgins, published in 392. This Letter was written immediately after.

The 56th. Letter is an Answer of *St. Ambrose* to *Theophilus*, who had consulted him about the difference between *Ezagrius* and *Flavianus* for the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. *St. Ambrose* tells him at the beginning of this Letter, that *Ezagrius* had no cause to push on the Decision of this Affair, and that *Flavianus* ought to fear the event of it. He prays him to pardon these Words, which a just Grief drew from his Pen, because all the World quarrelled about them, tho' they did not sympathize with the Grief of others. He adds, that the Council of *Capua* having referred this Affair to *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt*, it was like to be determined by a Judgment which could not be suspected of Injustice, since the Judges did not communicate with either Party, but that *Flavianus* had recourse to the Emperor's Rescripts to avoid being judged by the *Egyptians*. This made *St. Ambrose* think that *Flavianus* was in the wrong, altho' he did not find the Cause of *Ezagrius* very good, and he condemns very sharply the procedure of *Flavianus*. But *Theophilus* having written to him that some means of accommodating this Affair might be found out, he was not averse to it, and counsels him to cite *Flavianus* yet once more, and if he persisted to refuse to appear, then to accommodate this Affair as he should think fit: Nevertheless he ought not to violate the Canons of the Councils of *Nice* and *Capua*, and must still preserve peace with all the World, lest they should seem to destroy that which had been built up. He advertises him also, that it was convenient to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, being persuaded that he will give no decision which can displease him, because the way to maintain Peace, is to do nothing which may stir up Division among the Bishops of his own Communion. Lastly, he declares to him, that he will joyfully receive what he should determine if the *Roman* Church approve it.

The 57th. Letter about the Affair of *Bonofus* is not *St. Ambrose's* but the Pope *Siricius's*. For first, in it he speaks of *St. Ambrose* as a third Person. *Bonofus*, says the Author of this Letter, *understanding your Judgment, sent to consult our Brother Ambrose, to know if he might return to his Church; and this cannot be understood of any but our Holy Bishop of Milan*. There was no other *Ambrose* Bishop at that time, and tho' there were, yet 'tis plain that he speaks of our Bishop in this place, since it was he who presided at the Council of *Capua*, of the execution of whose Judgment he was treating. Secondly, The Style of this Letter is no ways like that of *St. Ambrose*, and is very like that of *Siricius*. Thirdly, It appears plainly that it is a Bishop of *Rome* who speaks. Fourthly, *Holstenius* has published it in his Collection under the name of *Siricius*, upon the credit of the Manuscript in the *Vatican*. Neither is it to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* that this Letter is address'd, but to *Anyfius* of *Theffalonica*, and the Bishops of *Macedonia*. For 'tis evident that it was written to those to whom the Council of *Capua* had referred the Affair of *Bonofus*; and 'tis no less certain that it was referred to the *Macedonians*, to the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, and the other Neighbour-Bishops of *Bonofus*, who was Bishop of *Naissa* a City of *Dardania*. To convince any Man of these two things he needs only read the beginning of the Letter. *I have read the Letters which you wrote to me concerning the Bishop Bonofus, wherein you desire our Opinion, either to clear up the Truth, or through Modesty only; but the Council of Capua having ordered that the Neighbours of Bonofus and his Accusers, should be Judges of this Affair, and chiefly the Macedonians, together with the Bishop of Theffalonica. . . . It belongs to you who are entrusted with this Cause, to judge according to the Order of the Council of Capua, because you are substituted in the room of this Synod, who has chosen you to enquire into this Affair. And the same Bonofus having sent to consult our Brother Ambrose whether he should enter into his Church, received for answer, that he should undertake nothing against your Judgment, but follow what you should Ordain, since the Synod has committed to you this Trust.* Two things are evident from these Words: First, That the Bishops of *Illyricum*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, were entrusted, together with the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, by the Synod of *Capua*, to enquire and judge of the Cause of *Bonofus*. Secondly, That this Letter is address'd to those who were thus entrusted. But some may say, if it be so, why does it speak of the Bishop of *Theffalonica* and those of *Ma-*

cedonia in the third Person? Why does not the Author write thus, *The Synod of Capua having referred this Cause to you and to your Brethren*, but, *The Synod of Capua having thought fit, that the neighbouring Bishops of Bonofus, and chiefly the Macedonians and the Bishop of Theffalonica, should enquire into and judge this Cause, &c.* 'Tis easy to answer, that the Reason is, because he relates in this place the proper Words of the Synod of *Capua*. Now it often happens, that when such Writings are alledged to the Judges wherein they are spoken of, the way of speaking of them is not changed, but they are named in the third Person as they are in the Writings. But what is said afterwards is address'd to them, and what is related is applied to them. And this the Author of this Letter does in the next Line; *vestrum est igitur qui hoc recepistis Judicium, &c.* 'Tis needless to insist any longer upon a thing so clear; and therefore the true Title of this Letter is that which *Holstenius* has in his Collection; *Siricius, to our dear Brethren Anyfius, and the other Bishops of Illyricum*. This Letter is no ways unworthy of this Pope as some pretend. He does not assume to himself the Judgment of a Cause referred to others. This is no ways contrary to the Prerogatives of the Roman Church; on the contrary this is according to Rule and agreeable to the Canons: This is the Practice and Judgment of the antient Popes, who had a most profound Veneration for the Decisions of Synods, and who inviolably kept the Laws of the Church.

The Letter 58 is written to *Eugenius*, sometime after this Tyrant came into *Italy*, that's to say, in the Year 392.

The Pagans who had attempted thrice in vain to obtain of *Valentinian* the Restitution of the Goods which belonged to their Temple, address'd this New Emperor with the same Petition. He refused twice to grant it; but at last the great Lords of the Pagans having petitioned that these things might be restored, he did it, saying, That he did not give them to the Temple, but to themselves, for the Services they had done him. *St. Ambrose*, who mightily opposed all the Petitions of Pagans under *Valentinian*, speaks with no less Boldness to the Tyrant *Eugenius*, than he had done to *Valentinian*. He remonstrates to him, that how great soever the Power of the Emperor be, 'tis infinitely below that of God, who sees the bottom of our Hearts, and from whom nothing is hid; that he ought not to grant for the Importunity of these great Lords, any thing prejudicial to Religion; that the Bishops would not blame him for the Gifts which he had given to the Pagans; that they did not Envy them these Goods, but they could not approve of his Authorizing, by this Grant, the Use that these Pagans would make of it to restore their Religious Worship; that it was never lawful to contribute directly or indirectly to the Worship of False Gods; that in former Ages the Christians of *Antioch* dwelling at *Jerusalem*, being obliged to pay a Tax at *Antioch*, at the time of the publick Sports, would never give it, but upon Condition that it should not be employed for the Sacrifice of *Hercules*, but in other Expences necessary for the good of the Commonwealth; that if Christian Subjects being forced to obey, thought themselves obliged to do so, a Christian Emperor who was Master of his own Will, had much more reason to use the like precaution.

In the Letter 59, to *Sabinus* Bishop of *Placentia*, *St. Ambrose* makes an Encomiastick upon *St. Paulinus* and his Wife, who having sold their Goods to distribute the price of them to the Poor, had taken a Resolution to retire to *Nola*. This gives him occasion to shew the Advantages of Solitude and Voluntary Poverty. This Letter was written some time before *St. Paulinus* retired to *Nola* at the beginning of the Year 393.

The 60th. Letter is to *Severus*; where he speaks of a Priest called *James*, who was come from *Persia* to retire into *Campania*, that he might serve God more quietly; as also of the troubles and Wars wherewith his own Country was harass'd. This Letter has relation to the War of *Eugenius* in the Year 393, or to that of *Maximus* in the Year 387.

The Letter 61st. to *Paternus* is about a Point of Discipline. This Man who had been Lord Treasurer, as we learn from the Letters of *Symmachus*, and the 14th. Law of *Metallis*, had consulted *St. Ambrose*, if he could marry one of his Sons to his Daughter's Daughter, or his Grand-Daughter. *St. Ambrose*, answers him, that he wonders he should ask such a Question of him; that the bare Proposal of the thing discovered that it was forbidden; that the Law of God forbidding the Marriages of Cousin-Germains, does much more strongly imply a Prohibition of this, tho' it was not by name forbidden in the Divine Law; that the Civil Laws forbid it, and that *Theodosius* forbade Marriages between Cousin-Germains; that if this Law were dispens'd with, yet it ought not to Authorize this sort of Marriages, because a Dispensation is only for him that obtains it. The reason which he alledges, that his Son was not related to his Grand-Daughter by the Father's side, but only by the Mother's side, proves nothing, since Marriage was equally forbidden between Brethren, whether they were born of the same Father and Mother, or of the same Mother and different Fathers. Lastly, he says, that it would be more advantageous to his Family, that his Son and his Daughter should

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should marry to others, because by this means he should have in his Family Children both by his Son and his Grand-Daughter. The Law of *Theodosius* which he cites is of the Year 384, and therefore this Letter was written after that Year: 'Tis there said, that *Paternus* possess'd a great Office which makes it to be placed in the Year 393, because the Law which we have cited, discovers to us, that in this year he was Lord High Treasurer, *Comes Sacrarum largitionum*: But he might have been so before.

The Letter 62 was written by St. *Ambrose* to the Emperor *Theodosius*, immediately after the Death of the Tyrant *Eugenius*, who was defeated and killed in the Month of September of the year 394. St. *Ambrose* retired from *Milan* when he understood that *Eugenius* was coming thither, that he might avoid meeting this Tyrant: But as soon as he was gone out of *Milan*, St. *Ambrose* returned in the Month of July. Some time after, the Emperor *Theodosius* having defeated *Eugenius*, wrote to St. *Ambrose* to return thanks to God for his Victory. This Saint made Answer in this Letter, that he would do it with Joy, and that he would offer up in his Name an acceptable Sacrifice to God; he praises the Piety of this Emperor, who did not seek after the Poms of a vain Triumph, but desired the Bishops to offer up Sacrifices of Thanksgiving. He signifies to him, that he had satisfied his desire; that he had carried his Letter to the Altar, and laid it upon the Holy Table; that he held it in his Hand while he was offering Sacrifice; 'To the end, says he, that your Faith might be made known by my Mouth, and that your Majesties Letter might serve as Matter for an Episcopal Oblation.' Afterwards he praises God for having placed a Prince upon the Throne who surpass'd the greatest Princes in Glory, and the holiest Bishops in Humility. 'What can be wished for, what can be desired more,' says St. *Ambrose* to him? you possess, Sir, all Virtues, you are a Prince of singular Piety and Clemency. All that can be wished for, is, that God would encrease in you this Piety, and that the Church which rejoices that Innocent Men live in Peace and Tranquility, may receive also the Consolation of seeing the guilty absolved. Shew Favour at least to those who have not hitherto taken Arms against their Prince.'

The 63d. Letter address'd to the same Emperor, followed quickly after the preceding, wherein St. *Ambrose* begs favour for those of *Eugenius*'s Party who retired into the Church after the Death of this Tyrant.

The 64th. is addressed to the Church of *Vercelles*, which had lost her Bishop. This was not *Eusebius* who died in the year 370, but *Limenius* who was present in the year 381, at the Council of *Aquileia*. If we believe the Acts of St. *Gaudentius* of *Novara*, produced by *Mambrinius* and *Bolanus* upon the 12th. of January, St. *Ambrose* a little before his Death made a Journey to *Vercelles*, upon the account of some Dissention which was in that Church, which was probably about the Election of a Bishop; and this makes some believe that this Letter was not written till the Year 394. But this Conjecture is founded upon a very uncertain Ground; for it supposes these two things which are not well proved, First, that what is related in the Acts of St. *Gaudentius* of *Novara* is true; secondly, that the Division which obliged St. *Ambrose* to go to *Vercelles* was about the Election of a Bishop. It seems also that St. *Ambrose* needed not have written this Letter if he had been upon the place himself. Some have said, that this Letter was not St. *Ambrose*'s, because that *Venice* is named in it: But if this Objection be of any force, we must also for the same reason reject the second Answer to *Symmachus*, which is without all Controversy St. *Ambrose*'s. This Letter has his Style and his Air of Writing; he has inserted into it some entire Fragments of his own Commentary upon the Gospel of St. *Luke*, and upon *Psalms* 119. He exhorts the People and the Clergy, to put an end to the Divisions which distracted them about the Choice of a Bishop. He admonishes them afterwards to beware of hearkening to two Men called *Sermation* and *Barbatiannus*, who were gone out of a Monastery of *Milan*, to go and lead a licentious Life at *Vercelles*, where they preached, That no Merit belonged to Abstinence, nor any peculiar Grace to Virginity; and that it was a Folly for any one to fast and mortify himself. St. *Ambrose* makes a long Digression to refute these Errors, and to prove the Usefulness of Abstinence and Fasting, and the Excellency of Virginity. Afterwards he returns to his subject, and treats of the Qualities of the Person who ought to be chosen for a Bishop. One of the principal is, that he has had but one Wife. St. *Ambrose* extends this Prohibition to those also who had contracted a first Marriage before their Baptism. Thus he understands the Passage of the Apostle St. *Paul*, and the Canon of the Council of *Nice*. There is also another Condition observed by St. *Paul* concerning the Qualifications of a Bishop, That he should not be a Novice, or one lately instructed in the Faith. Because they transgressed this Rule in the Ordination of St. *Ambrose*, he is forced to justify himself, by saying, that he was Ordained against his Will. At last, he says, If great Care ought to be taken in the Choice of a Person who is to be placed upon any Episcopal Throne

whatsoever, it was a Matter of the greatest Importance to place a Person of singular merit upon the Episcopal Throne at *Vercelles*, because the Bishop of this Church was entrusted with the care of a Monastery and a Church, and should joyn the practice of a Religious Life with the Virtues of a Bishop; as St. *Eusebius* did, who was the first that united these two things in the West, by settling Monasteries in a City, and governing his Church without renouncing a Monastick Life. Here he enlarges upon the praises of this Holy Bishop, and of *Denys* of *Milan*, the companion of his Banishment, and of the Troubles he endured for the Defence of the Faith of the Church; and proposes the Life of their Disciples as a Pattern. He concludes with a long Digression, wherein he recommends the Practice of Christian Virtues and chiefly of Poverty, of Abstractedness from the World, of Retirement, of Patience, of Charity, of Abstinence, &c. I believe that this last part has been since added, and that it is a Fragment of some Discourse of St. *Ambrose*, for it has no relation to, nor connexion with what goes before.

These are all the Letters of St. *Ambrose*, of which the Order and Time can be guessed at: The others which compose the second Class are without Date, tho' they have prefixed the Figures to these as well as to those that went before. The Nine first contain Expositions upon some places of *Exodus*, of *Leviticus*, of *Deuteronomy*, and the Prophet *Micah*. These were formerly among the Commentaries upon the holy Scripture. The four following are upon some places of the Epistles of St. *Paul*.

The 78th. address'd to *Marcellus*, is about an Arbitration, which he made of a Law-Suit that this Bishop had with his Sister. St. *Ambrose* was named Judge of it, but he chose rather to make an end of it, to the content of the two parties, by giving his Sister the Revenue of the Land in Question during her Life only.

In the 79th. he exhorts his Clergy not to neglect the Function of their Ministry, because of the Pains, the Fatigues, and the Persecutions they were to endure in the discharge of their Duty.

The 80th. 81st. 86th. 87th. 88th. 89th. 90th. 91st. and 92d. are short Letters about private Affairs.

The 82d. is address'd to a sick Man called *Bellicius*, who was converted in the height of his Disease, and was now beginning to recover. St. *Ambrose* tells him, that God had sent this Sickness to save him; that he had smitten him with this Infirmary to cure him by it; that God knowing his inward thoughts, saw that he had good Designs but delayed the Execution of them, and therefore God had sent him this Sickness to serve for an Admonition to him; that he had already begun to know the Lord, but he was more-over to receive the Sacraments, by which the World is redeemed, Sins are pardoned, and Grace is Distributed. The following Letter is address'd to the same sick Person, wherein he compares his cure to that of the Man born blind. In Letter 84th. and 85th. he discourses of the true Treasures and the true Riches, and shews, that none but the Rich are truly happy.

The Funeral Orations upon *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* are placed here after the Letters of St. *Ambrose*. They are two Admirable Pieces. The first was spoken in 392. in the presence of the Sisters of *Valentinian*. There he Praises the Virtues of this Prince, and makes no doubt but he was saved, though he died before he received Baptism, because Faith and a desire of receiving the Sacrament supplied the want of it. He promises to pray for him. In the Second he particularly commends the Clemency, the Charity and Humility of *Theodosius*, and concludes with comforting his Son *Honorius*, before whom he spoke this Funeral Oration in 395.

It cannot be doubted but St. *Ambrose* compos'd Hymns. St. *Austin* in his Book of Confessions, B. XII. and in his Book of Musick Ch. 9. commends the Hymn at Vespers, *Veni creator omnium*, as St. *Ambrose*'s. He could not be deceived in this matter; but since he has not set down the number of these Hymns which St. *Ambrose* compos'd, it may be doubted whether all those that go under his Name be his. Those for the daily Office appear to be more certainly his than the rest; to which may be added the Hymns upon the *Hexameron*. As for the rest they appear to be in another Style, and of another Author. 'Tis certain that the *Vexilla Regis* is none of his.

St. *Ambrose* wrote also other Books which we have not at Present. We have already observed, that we have not now his Genuine Book of the Sacraments and of Philosophy, which is many times cited by St. *Austin*. The same Saint cites also the Commentary of St. *Ambrose* upon *Isaiah*, in B. IV. to *Boniface*, Ch. 62. and B. II. against *Julian*. St. *Ambrose* also mentions it in his Commentary upon St. *Luke*. We have not now his Instruction to *Fritigilda*, which *Paulinus* mentions in his Life, nor the Instructions to *Pansophius*.

But if some Books of St. *Ambrose* have been lost, it must be confessed that several have been attributed to him which are none of his.

First, there have been put out under his Name a Multitude of Sermons, and not one of them his: There are 36
H h h h of

St. Ambrose.

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of them printed among those of St. Maximus, 14. in the Appendix to St. Austin's Sermons, two of which are in both places. That which was the 64th. is the Translation of a Discourse of St. Basil upon the Words of the Rich-Man, *I will pull down my Barns*. The Exposition upon Ch. 31st. of the Proverbs is the 37th. Sermon of St. Austin. The Benedictiones did not think fit to print these, and so have only given the Catalogue of them. As for the Rest which are 58 in number, they have published them here, but they confess that they are none of St. Ambrose's: and indeed there is not one of them which has his Style and Air.

Secondly, There have been attributed to St. Ambrose some Treatises upon the Scripture, which having no Author that is known have passed under several Fathers Names. Such is the Discourse of the Dignity of the Human Nature, which has also been attributed to St. Austin, under the Title of a Discourse about the Creation of the First Man, which Alcuinus cites under the Name of Albinus, and which has also been inserted entire into the Book of the Spirit and the Soul. Such is also the Discourse of the Forbidden Fruit, which is amongst the Sermons of St. Austin. The Discourses upon Elijah and Elisha are the Sermons of St. Maximus.

The Treatise of the 42. Stations or Encampings of the People of Israel in the Desert, belongs to a pretty antient Author, but it has not the Style of St. Ambrose. It uses the Latin Translation of Origen's Works.

I say nothing here of a Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which is believed to be Hilary's the Deacon, because I have spoken of it in another place.

The Commentary upon the Revelations is a very late Author's. He speaks of the Lombards and cites St. Gregory. The Name of the right Author of this Commentary has been found at the end of an Oxford Manuscript, where it is attributed to Berengaudus, whom Dionysius Carthusianus cites with Bede and Haimo in his Commentary upon Ch. 10. of the Revelation.

To these Treatises may be added the Harmony of the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke concerning the Genealogy of Jesus Christ; for it is not St. Ambrose's, because this Author follows the Hypothesis of Africanus, which St. Ambrose does not.

Thirdly, there are many Treatises upon different Subjects attributed to St. Ambrose, whose true Authors have been discovered.

The Treatise upon the Creed, which is better entituled in the Manuscripts, a Treatise of the Trinity, and the Resurrection, is a collection of Passages out of many Fathers. They have taken the liberty in the Roman Edition to make abundance of Additions and Alterations in it. The Benedictiones will publish it just as it is in the Manuscripts.

The Book of the Divinity of the Son is probably Gregory's of Basica, as we proved when we gave an account of the Works of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

The Treatise entituled of the Mysteries of Easter, is a Sermon which is improperly divided into Chapters. It has rather the Style of St. Maximus than of St. Ambrose.

The Book of the Sacerdotal Dignity is Gerbertus's, under whose Name it has been Published by Mabillon in his *Analecra* where 'tis entituled *A Pastoral Book*.

The Discourse to a Virgin consecrated to God has a quite different Style from that of St. Ambrose.

The Book of the Vocation of the Gentiles and the Epistle to Demetrius, are certainly none of St. Ambrose's since they were written since the Birth of the Pelagian Heresie. we shall afterwards examine to whom they ought to be attributed.

The 29th. Letter to Florianus is of a Style much below St. Ambrose's, and therefore it is rejected in the Appendix. 'Tis yet more evident, that the 34th. which is a Relation of the Martyrdom of St. Agnes, is the work of an Impostor who having written a History as he himself pleased, added at the end, that it is St. Ambrose's who having found these Memoirs in some Divine Books, wrote them for the Edification of the Church, and addressed them to some Virgins. The Style of this Relation shews the Author to be a Liar, and discovers the Imposture.

The 35th. Letter about the Invention of the Reliques of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius relates this Event after quite another manner than St. Ambrose does in his Genuine Works, and is written in a Style perfectly different from this Father's. The same may be said of the 55th. Letter concerning the Invention of the Reliques of St. Vitalis and St. Agricola, which ends with this Form, *regnante Christo domino nostro*, &c. which belongs to the Ages much later than St. Ambrose.

The two Prayers for preparation to the Eucharist, have nothing at all of St. Ambrose's Style. There are found in some Editions, many other Meditations and Prayers of the same nature, but none of them have any thing of his Genius.

The Book of the Combat between Virtues and Vices, which is also attributed to St. Austin and St. Leo, belongs to Ambrosius Autpertus, as is observed in the Preface to this Work, which is in the Appendix to the Sixth Book of the New Edition of St. Austin, p. 219.

The Exposition of Faith is an Abridgment of St. Ambrose's Book addressed to Gratian.

The Book of the Holy Spirit is a Fragment of some more considerable Treatises written by a Latin Author Antient enough, but different from St. Ambrose.

The Book of Penance belongs to one Victor, as the last Words prove invincibly, *nulla capiaris oblivione Victoris*. The very Name of Victor is at the beginning of two antient Manuscripts. We shall enquire afterwards, whether it ought to be ascribed to Victor Carthagenensis, or to Victor Tunonensis.

'Tis not necessary to advertise the Readers that the Book of the Life and Manners of the Brachmans, is a Ridiculous Discourse, and unworthy of St. Ambrose, or any Man of Sense.

The Style of St. Ambrose is not always equally lofty, for he proportions it, as St. Austin observes, to the things of which he treats. Sometimes it is very careless, sometimes 'tis very labour'd, but 'tis always grave, serious and noble; it is short, sententious, and full of Strokes of Wit. The Books that he took pains about are very smart, exact, and ingenious; and adorned with Figures and Flowers of Rhetorick. His other Books, tho' they are less polished, yet have their sweetness and smoothness. His Words are choice enough, and his expressions noble. He diversifies his Matter with a wonderful variety of Thoughts and Words. He is ingenious at finding out the most natural and agreeable Turns of Wit. He does not raise great passions, but he diverts and instructs his Reader, and insinuates himself into his Mind and Heart by soft and pleasant strains. Neither does his Discourse want strength, and he urges a thing vigorously, when there is occasion. As he joyned together in the conduct of his Life a wonderful Generosity and inflexibility with all possible prudence and moderation, so he knew how to temper in his Discourses the boldness and authority of a Bishop, with an Air of sweetness and charity. We have already declared, what Judgment is to be made of his Commentaries upon the Scriptures, and of his dogmatical Books. His Books of morality are certainly the most excellent of all his Works, and those he took most pains about. There are some of his Letters which may pass for Master-pieces in their kind, particularly those which are written to the Emperors. He who wrote them, plainly discovers that he was a Man brought up at Court, who has such a free Air and easy Way as is not acquired but by seeing the World. The conduct and Policy which he observed in the greatest part of his Actions and Discourses, discover likewise that he had been accustomed in his younger Years to manage great Affairs, and that he had a Genius very fit for them. He was but moderately learned, chiefly in Ecclesiastical Matters. But being born in an Age of great Light, and having great sharpness of Wit, and a wonderful facility of speaking, and labouring continually in reading the Fathers that went before him, he became able to discharge with Honour all the Offices of his Ministry, and to fill up the place which he possessed to his Credit.

The first Edition of the Works of St. Ambrose, is that which Maffellius Venia, an Augustine Monk, dedicated to the General of his Order, Ambrosius Coranus. The Time and Place where it was printed is not set down. The second was made at Milan by the Care of a Priest called Cribellius in 1490. These two Editions contain but a few Treatises.

[Cornelius à Beughem in his Catalogue of Books printed before the Year 1500. mentions an Edition of St. Ambrose's Epistles in 1480. in Fol. Of the Generation of John, at Augsburg 1476. Of the Flowers of Wisdom, Homilies: Venice 1488. They seem by their Titles to be spurious.]

Two years after, Amerbachius Printer at Basle, made another Edition of the Works of St. Ambrose much larger, but less correct. This Edition was re-printed in 1506, by Johannes Petri Printer also at Basle, who added only a great Index.

Erasmus undertook a New Edition of the Works of St. Ambrose which he divided into four Tomes. The first contains the moral Works; The second, the Polemical; The third, the Orations, Epistles and Sermons; and the last, the Commentaries upon the Old and New Testament. These four Tomes make two Volumes. This Edition was many times re-printed at Basle, and once at Paris by Chevallon in 1529.

The Edition of Erasmus being full of Faults, Johannes Costerius a regular Canon of Louvain, took the pains to correct the Text of St. Ambrose by many Manuscripts, and caused it to be printed a-new at Basle in 1555, by Episcopus.

At last, Gillotius having gathered together a much greater Number of Manuscripts, caused the Works of St. Ambrose to be printed at Paris by Merlinus, in the year 1568. This Edition, tho' more correct than all the rest, was little minded, and in a manner wholly eclipsed by the Reputation of the Roman Edition which followed soon after. Cardinal Montaltus, who was afterwards Sixtus V. desiring to purchase a Reputation among learned Men, undertook it while he was but a Cordelier and General of his Order, and caused four Volumes of it to be published when he was Cardinal,

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dinal, in 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1582, which he dedicated to Gregory XIII.

The 5th. and 6th. appeared under the Pontificate of Sixtus V. in 1585, and 1587.

This Edition was after that the Pattern and Original which was followed in the Edition at Paris, begun in 1586, and in all the other following Editions which are very numerous. 'Twas believed that a Book published with so much Ostentation, valued so much by the Publisher, printed on so fine a Character, and with so much care, must needs be very correct and perfect; and yet this Edition has many essential Defects which disfigure it. The first and most considerable is, that the Roman Correctors took the Liberty to change, cut off, and add what they thought fit, tho' they had no ground to do so from the Authority of any Manuscript. They carried it so far as that they did not content themselves with changing those Terms which appeared to them harsh, and substitute others according to their Fancy, but they also blotted out or added whole Lines and Periods, which made a perfectly new Sense, and altogether different from the Author's, as may be seen by comparing the antient Editions and the last, with this Roman Edition. Secondly, they have inserted into the Commentaries the whole Text of the sacred Books, which hinders the reading the Commentary of St. Ambrose without Interruption. Thirdly, the Order which they have observed in ranging the Books is not natural. They have placed some Letters amongst the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture, they have separated Books that ought to follow one upon another, as the Complaints of Job and David, whereof one is placed in the first Tome, and the other in the second; they have joyned together some Treatises which should be separated; they have ranked the Letters in a very inconvenient Order. In a word, by too much refining, they have corrupted all, as Faber says in a Letter to Fronto Ducaus, where he observes the Faults of the Roman Edition of St. Ambrose. 'I have found, says he to him, that nimis fuere ingeniosi in alieno opere, as in the Books De Interpellatione sanctorum Job & David, which they have separated and placed the one in the first Tome, and the other in the second; to do which they were forced, quaedam interpolare minime probabili exemplo. They have done the same in priore Apologia David; and in the second that which is yet worse; for because it is said in the 8th. Ch. that the History of David with Bathshebah is not a History (which shews that this Book is none of St. Ambrose's, but some Origenist's, who Allegorizes almost all the Bible, as also it seems by the reading of it to be collected and made up of two or three Sermons) they have taken away five or six Lines which are found in all the antient Editions.' Fourthly,

they have made a particular Class of some supposititious Books, and yet they have left a great number of them amongst St. Ambrose's genuine Works. There are some of them whose Forgery is so manifest, that they cannot be pardoned, such as the Books de Arbore interdicta, de Dignitate Hominis, de Vocatione Gentium, the Epistle ad Demetriadem in Symbolum Apostolorum, and many others. They must be very ignorant who believed that these Books were written by St. Ambrose, and very impudent who left them amongst his genuine Works, when they had a design to make a distinct Class of those that were supposititious.

In short, the Authors of this Edition have made no Notes, or marked in the Margin any different Readings; they have only added at the end the Theological and Scholastical Dissertations of one Ferdinand Wellosillus, which are a Collection of common Places, and Passages of the Fathers upon different Questions, which are of no use at all for understanding the Text of St. Ambrose.

Now to commend the Edition of the Benedictines, I need only say that they have avoided all the Faults of the Roman Edition: For first, they prescribed it to themselves as an inviolable Law, that they would put nothing into the Text, which should not be approved by the Authority of one or more Manuscripts, and they have changed nothing without acquainting us with the Manuscript upon whose Authority they did it. Secondly, they have taken out the Text of the Bible, and left the Commentary of St. Ambrose continued after the same manner as he composed it, excepting only the distinction of Chapters which is a great ease to the Reader. Thirdly, the Order which they observed in ranging the Books is plain and natural. Besides this, they have noted the Chronology of each Discourse, and ranged the Letters according to the Order of their Dates. Fourthly, they have not placed any Book that is manifestly supposititious amongst those that are genuine. They have only left amongst them the second Apology of David, and the Books of the Sacraments, because many learned Men believe them still to be St. Ambrose's, tho' it is very probable that they are not. Lastly, they have prefixed to every Chapter most useful Arguments, wherein they discover the time of each Work, and give the Contents of it. They have also placed at the Bottom of the Pages such Notes, as contain not only the different Readings of the Manuscripts, but also very useful Explications of difficult places in the Text, whose sense they have discovered by the most diligent Enquiries with all possible Exactness, without diverting to Questions which are of no use for understanding the Text of their Author. All which give us occasion to say, that this Edition of the Works of St. Ambrose is as perfect as it can be, and comes no ways short of the late Edition of St. Austin.

St. EPIPHANIUS.

St. Epiphanius was born about the year 332, in a Village of Palestine, near the City of Eleutheropolis, and passed his youth in the Monastick Discipline with St. Hilarion, Hefychius, and other Monks of Palestine. He tells us, (Heresie 26.) that he was like to have been surprized by the Hereticks called Gnosticks, but God of his mercy preserved him. He was chosen afterwards about the year 366. Bishop of Salamis the Metropolis of the Isle of Cyprus. In this place he acquired very great Reputation for his Ability and Piety; and happy had it been for him if he had not been engaged towards the latter end of his Life in the Dispute of St. Jerome and Theophilus against the Origenists, which disturbed his Repose, and created him a great deal of trouble. This Dispute began in the year 391, between St. Epiphanius and John of Jerusalem. He accused this John of maintaining the Errors of Origen; and going into Palestine, he Ordained Paulinianus, the Brother of St. Jerome, Deacon and Priest, in a Monastery which was not under his Jurisdiction. John of Jerusalem complained immediately of this Action of Epiphanius, which was contrary to the Canons and the Discipline of the Church. St. Epiphanius maintains what he had done in a Letter which he wrote to John of Jerusalem, produced by St. Jerome. This Contest farther exasperated their Minds, which were already very much embittered upon the subject of Origen; both the one and the other endeavour to engage Theophilus of Alexandria on their side. This Bishop, who seemed at first to favour the Party of John of Jerusalem, at last declared against Origen, condemned his Books in a Council held in 399, and persecuted all the Monks that were suspected to favour his Memory. These Monks being persecuted, withdrew to Constantinople, where they were well enough received by St. John Chrysostome: which so enraged Theophilus, that from that time he conceived a mortal Hatred against St. Chrysostome, as plainly appeared by his following Actions. Nevertheless Theophilus desiring to strengthen his Party, acquainted St. Epiphanius with what he had done against Origen, and solicited him to do the same thing. This Saint who had a great Aversion to this Author, as-

sembled a Council in the year 401, in the Isle of Cyprus, wherein he caused the Reading of Origen's Books to be condemned, and wrote to St. Chrysostome to exhort him to do the same thing: But he not approving of this Proposition, St. Epiphanius came himself to Constantinople, by the Persuasion of Theophilus, to cause the Decree of the Council of Cyprus to be put in execution there. Socrates and Sozomen tell us, That before he entred into the City, he Ordained a Deacon in a Church depending upon the Jurisdiction of Constantinople. Cardinal Baronius thinks that these two Historians are mistaken; and that the Ordination of Paulinianus made by Epiphanius in Palestine, in a place depending upon John of Jerusalem, gave them occasion to think, that St. Epiphanius had Ordained a Deacon in the Diocese of St. John Chrysostome. However this be, St. Epiphanius being come to Constantinople, would not hold Communion with St. Chrysostome, and also did all that lay in his power to procure from the Bishops that were then at Constantinople, an approbation of the Sentence of the Cyprian Council against Origen; but he found but very few willing to sign the Condemnation of one that died in the Communion of the Church, upon so slight Grounds, and others refused to approve his Sentence. St. Epiphanius not being able to compass his Design by these means; resolved to be present the next day in the Church of the Apostles, and there with a loud Voice before all the People to condemn the Books of Origen, and all those who defended them. But when he was in the Church, St. Chrysostome advertized him by his Deacon Serapion, that he went about a thing that was against the Ecclesiastical Laws, and which would expose him to great Danger, for it was to be feared, that the People would make some sedition, of which he himself being the Author could not complain, after he had been forewarned of it. This Consideration put a stop to St. Epiphanius's Undertaking, who was so transported against Origen, that when the Empress Eudoxia, had recommended to his Prayers the younger Theodosius, who was seized with a dangerous Sickness, he caused this to be told her for an Answer, that the Prince her Son should not die, provided she would shun the Conversation of Dioscorus

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and the other Defenders of *Origen*. The Empress being surprized with this Answer, which she did not expect, ordered him to be told, That if God would take away her Son, she would submit to his Will, that it was in his Power to take him away as he had given him to her, but it was not in the Power of St. *Epiphanius* to raise him from the dead, since he suffered his Archdeacon to die a little while ago. The Heat of St. *Epiphanius* was a little abated, after he had spoken to *Ammonius* and his Companions, whom *Theophilus* had driven away for *Origenism*, for these Monks gave him to understand that they maintained no Heretical Doctrine, and that he had condemned them with too much precipitation. Whereupon he departed immediately to return to *Cyprus*, and 'tis said that being ready to embark, he told the Bishops that conducted him to the Ship, *I leave you the City, the Palace, and the Theatre*. He died by the way, or soon after his Return in 402, or 403.

The Books of St. *Epiphanius* are first of all, his great Work of Heresies, entituled, *Παράγωγος* or *Κατάγωγος*, that's to say, an Apothecary's-shop, or Repository of Remedies, which is divided into three Parts.

The first contains the Heresies before Jesus Christ, which amount to 46; the second contains 23 of them, and the third 11 of them, so that this Book contains in all, the History of 80 Sects or Heresies, the Catalogue of which may be seen.

The Letter written to two Monks serves for a Preface to the whole Work, and for an Answer to a preceding Letter of those two Monks, wherein they had desired St. *Epiphanius* to set down in Writing what he knew concerning Heresies. He seems to have begun this Book in the Year 374, and ended it about the Year 376. In it he not only gives an Account of the History, and the Errors of the Sects and Heresies he writes about, but he also refutes them as well as he could, and employs one part of his Discourse in establishing the Doctrine of the Church.

The second Work of St. *Epiphanius* is his *Anchoratus*, so called, because it is a sort of an Anchor to which the Faithful may adhere. In it he explains the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Mystery of the Trinity; he proves the Resurrection, and refutes the Errors of the *Pagans*, the *Manichees*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. This Book was composed for the Christians of *Pamphylia* before the foregoing Book, as appears by the Preface, where it is noted, that he wrote it in the 10th. Year of the Emperor *Valens*, which is the Year 373.

After this Book followed his *Anacephalosis*, or Recapitulation, which is an Abridgment of his great Book of Heresies.

In the Treatise of *Weights and Measures*, having explained the signification of the different Notes that are to be found in the Greek Bibles, he gives an account of the Weights, Measures, and the Money of the Jews, and other Nations. In this Book he gives a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, according to the Canon of the Jews, which comprehends the Books of *Ruth* and *Esdras*, and he writes the History of the Greek Versions or the Text of the Bible. He is of Opinion, that the Lxx Interpreters, translated all the Books of the Bible, and that they made this Version in separate Cells, being all inspired of God to compose it after the same manner. There is much Learning in this Treatise.

The *Physiologus* is a Treatise of a very particular Design, wherein he relates the true or false Properties of many Animals, and draws from them some moral Reflections, good and bad, as well as he could.

The Treatise of the *Twelve precious Stones*, which were upon the Pontifical Garments of the High-Priest of the Jews, is an Historical Explication of the Names, the Figures and properties of those precious Stones. This Book has been cited by St. *Jerome*, in his Epistle 228 to *Fabiola*, and *Anastasius* has made an abridgment of it, which goes also under the Name of St. *Epiphanius*.

The Book of the *Life and Death of the Prophets*, is a Collection of an infinite number of Fables and Trifles, which cannot be attributed to St. *Epiphanius*, without making him pass for an Enthusiast.

If we believe *Petavius*, The nine Sermons and the Treatise of the *Mysteries of Numbers*, which bear the Name of St. *Epiphanius*, are not this Bishop's of *Salamis*, but some other Bishop's who had the same Name, as may be discerned by the Style and other Marks. Tho' I cannot perceive that these Books are more unworthy of St. *Epiphanius* than the *Physiologus*, neither do I find so great a difference in the Style.

The Letter to *John of Jerusalem*, translated by St. *Jerome*, is made up of two Parts.

The First is about the Difference which he had with this Bishop about the Ordination of *Paulinianus*, and concerning *Origenism*.

The second concerns a particular Matter of Fact which St. *Epiphanius* relates in these Words: 'When I entered into the Church of a Village of *Palestine*, called *Anablatha*, I found there a Curtain hanging over the Door, whereon was painted an Image like that of Jesus Christ,

or some Saint (for I do not remember whose Picture it was, says he :) But seeing in the Church of Christ the Image of a Man, contrary to the Authority of the Holy Scripture, I tore it, and gave Order to the Church-Wardens to bury some dead Body in this Curtain; and when they answered me in a murmuring way, that if I would tear this Curtain, I should give them another, I promised to do it, and now I perform my Promise.'

The first part of this Letter is acknowledged by all the World as a Genuine Piece, but *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and some others are of opinion, that this second is supposititious. They alledged many conjectures to prove it, but I find only three that have any probability.

The First is, that this Letter seems to be finished before the Relation of this History.

The Second is, because St. *Epiphanius* condemns in it the Use of Images as a thing contrary to the Authority of the Holy Scripture and the Practice of his own time.

The Third, because St. *Jerome* making an extract out of this Letter in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, says nothing concerning this History. These Reasons, however, appear not to me strong enough to make me absolutely reject this Letter. For first, altho' what concerns the principal Subject of the Letter was ended before the Second Part, yet it cannot be proved that the Letter was perfectly finished: And St. *Epiphanius* being to write of this particular Matter of Fact, could not do it, before he had made an end of the principal Affair, for which he wrote; besides, no Man can say, that this Letter was finished before these Words which are at the end of all, *I Wish that God may have you in his Holy keeping*; Secondly, it is very possible that the Use of Images, which had been very rare in the first three Ages of the Church, was not yet established in *Palestine* and *Cyprus*, and that St. *Epiphanius*, who was a plain zealous Man, thought it was dangerous to introduce it, and that he also spoke in too rigid a manner against this Custom. Lastly, though St. *Jerome* has Translated this whole Letter, yet he cites no part of it in his Apology to *Pammachius*, but those places which were to his purpose, neither does he recite the whole First Part, and we must not wonder, that he says nothing of the second, since it did no ways concern the Contest which he had with *John of Jerusalem*. Moreover, this second Part has the same Style with the first, and it agrees well enough with what St. *Epiphanius* says in *Heresie* 27th. It is cited by the Author of the *Caroline Books*, B. IV. Ch. 25. and 'tis said in the 7th. Council, Art. 6. Tome 5, that the *Iconoclasts* alledged that St. *Epiphanius* was of opinion that Images should be taken away, which cannot be meant of any other place but of the second Part of this Letter. Thus though it be true as appears by the Testimony of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, in his Panegyrick upon *Theodorus*, and in his Treatise of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, that from that time there were Pictures in some Churches, which represented the Histories of Scripture, and of the Actions of Saints and Martyrs, yet it cannot be said, that this Custom was general; and it must be confessed that St. *Epiphanius* disapproved it, tho' without Reason, and that he was mistaken in saying, that it did not agree with the Holy Scripture: For I believe that it would be contrary to the Candor and Sincerity that Religion requires of us, to attempt to give another Sense to his Words.

Last of all, we have a Letter of St. *Epiphanius* written to *Diodorus of Tarsus*, related by *Facundus* in Ch. 3. of his IVth. B. which is a kind of a Preface to the Book of the Precious Stones in the Garment of the Jewish High-Priest, written by St. *Epiphanius* at the request of this Bishop.

I shall not stay to give an abridgment of St. *Epiphanius*'s Treatise of Heresies, which would be an useless and troublesome Business: I shall content my self with producing in short the chief Dogmes which he establishes contrary to the Errors of the Hereticks.

First, he proves the Unity of God against the *Pagans*, against the *Valentinians*, the *Marcionites*, and the *Manichees*. He establishes his Immensity, his Almighty Power, his Infinite greatness, his Spirituality, and his other attributes, by refuting the Hereticks who believed the contrary. He proves the Mystery of the Trinity, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit in many places, and chiefly in *Heresies* 62, 69, 71, 74. and in his *Anchoratus*.

In *Heresie* 23 and 65, he shews that God Created the World and the Angels.

He endeavours to explain in *Heresie* 70. in what Sense Man is created after the Image of God.

In *Heresie* 24 and 36. he shews that Sin is not a Substance, and that God is not the Author of it.

He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in *Heresie* 77, 30, 69, and shews that Jesus Christ was one Person only, composed of the Divine and Human Nature.

He shews in *Heresie* 77. that the two Natures were not confounded after their Union, and that they kept their own Properties.

He proves the Resurrection in *Heresie* 42, and 64. and in the *Anchoratus*, where he maintains, that the same Flesh which we now have shall be raised again.

He holds in *Heresie* 24, and 46. that Jesus Christ descended into

into Hell, to save those that had lived well and believed in God.

He teaches that the Soul is Immortal and Spiritual, and that it partakes of Happiness after Death. See what he says about this in *Heref.* 75.

In *Heref.* 8. he shews that the Sacraments of the New Law are more Excellent and more Efficacious than those of the Old.

In his *Anchoratus* he speaks of Faith as a Disposition necessary to the receiving of Baptism. Tho' he speaks obscurely enough of the Eucharist in his *Anchoratus*, yet he says enough of it to make us understand that it is truly the Body of Jesus Christ, and that the words of his Institution are to be understood according to the Letter and without any Figure or Metaphor.

He acknowledges Free-Will in *Heref.* 16, and yet he admits the Grace of Jesus Christ.

In *Heref.* 30. he speaks of the wonderful Effects of the Sign of the Cross.

He proves the necessity of Ecclesiastical Traditions in many places, and chiefly in *Heref.* 69. 51, and 57. he shews the necessity and usefulness of Fasting, in the *Heref.* 33, 75, and 80. There he observes that the Christians fasted during Lent, and every *Wednesday* and *Friday* in the Year, except after *Easter* until *Whitsunday*. He supposes that these Fasts are of Apostolical Tradition, and that we are obliged to observe them, and that we must abstain from Meat in the time of a Fast: He says that in the last Week of Lent nothing but plain Meats were eaten, that is to say, Bread and Water, and that many fasted the two or three last Days without eating any thing.

In *Heref.* 76. he establishes the distinction between Bishops and Priests.

He ranks in the Order of the Clergy, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons. The other Ministers according to him do not partake of Holy Orders.

These inferior Ministers, are the Readers, Deaconesses, Exorcists, Interpreters, Diggers and Porters.

He observes in *Heref.* 75. and at the end of *Heref.* 80. that the Assemblies of People in the Church were chiefly made on *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Sunday*, and also in some places on *Saturday*: That Baptism and the Celebration of the Eucharist were attended with such Ceremonies as were prescribed either by the Gospel, or by the Tradition of the Apostles. That Mattins were sung, and that Christians kneeled at their Prayers Day and Night. That Hereticks, Idolaters, and all those that were guilty of enormous Crimes were excommunicated, and their Oblations not received.

He proves Prayers for the Dead in *Heref.* 76. and refutes *Aërius* who said the contrary.

He says in *Heref.* 78. that the Saints enjoy eternal Happiness, and that we ought to Honour them.

As to the Honour due to the Virgin, he keeps a middle way between the *Antidicomarianites*, who dishonoured her, by saying, That she had other Children besides Jesus Christ, and the *Collirydians* who adored her. He says, that we must honour her, but we must not adore her, nor give her superstitious Worship. Read the *Herefies* 78, and 79: where he testifies that there is nothing certainly known concerning her Death, nor about the Place where her Body is: yet it seems that his Piety induces him to believe that she never died, but he does not deliver this Opinion as a certain Truth.

He praises Virginity in *Heref.* 4, 8, 5, 61, and 80. but he does not condemn Marriage, nor yet second Marriages. There he declares plainly that the Church does not admit any to Holy Orders, but such as will observe Celibacy, and that she excludes Bigamists.

And yet he confesses in *Heref.* 59. that there are still some places where the Deacons and Subdeacons do not observe Celibacy; but he adds, that this is done upon sufferance, because of the weakness of Men, or the Multitude of People. Lastly, he says, that it is a great Sin to violate the Vow of Virginity.

He says in *Heref.* 59, that a Husband, who having divorced his Wife for Adultery or some other Crime, marries another, is free from Sin according to the Authority of Scripture, and that he is nowise unworthy of Eternal Life, and that he ought to be permitted to continue in the Church.

He would not have Women undertake any Ecclesiastical Function, and he proves in *Heref.* 79. That this ought not to be suffered. In short, if one would have an abridgment of the Doctrine, the Discipline, and the Morality of St. Epiphanius's time, he needs do no more but read what St. Epiphanius has said of them at the end of his Book about *Herefies*, where he has given the sum of them, so as to serve for an Antidote against all the Errors of Hereticks.

Any one that gives the least attention to the Doctrine of Epiphanius which we have now represented, may easily perceive, that there is scarce any Author, who has made more Observations concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient Church, contrary to the Errors and Disorders of the Innovators of our Times: Yet they have endeavoured

to find in his Writings part of their Errors, and have had the boldness to impute to us the Heresies which he refutes. This *Scultetus* has done with so much fraud, that 'tis impossible to read what he says about it, without conceiving an indignation against so unjust a procedure. He says First, that St. Epiphanius rejected the Invocation of Saints and the Virgin in *Heref.* 79. but this is a mere Cheat. St. Epiphanius indeed there condemns those who adored the Virgin, and gave her that sovereign Worship which is due to God only: He maintains that the Church neither adores the Virgin nor the Saints, altho' she has an Honour and due Respect for them. And do not we say the same thing? and can any other Doctrine be imputed to us without a palpable Calumny? But, says *Scultetus*, St. Epiphanius says in *Heref.* 75. That the Saints were prayed for, and therefore he cannot approve of their Invocation. This Author methinks should not have cited a place which so plainly opposes the Opinions which he maintains, which I shall set down entire. 'As to what concerns the custom of reciting the Names of the Dead, what can there be more useful and more reasonable? this is, First of all to persuade those that are present that the Souls of the Dead are still alive, and that they are not annihilated. Secondly, to make us apprehend that there is good hopes of those that are dead. Moreover Prayers are not only useful to the Living but also to the Dead, tho' they do not blot out all their Sins; yet they serve to expiate some of those which they committed in this Life. We mention Sinners and Righteous Men; Sinners, to implore the Mercy of God for them; Righteous Men, such as the Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Bishops, the Hermits, and all Christians, that Jesus Christ may be distinguished from all his Creatures, and that we may learn to give to him the Worship that is due to him only; being persuaded that we ought not to equal Mortal Men to the Lord, whatsoever Righteousness and Holiness they have. After this he distinguishes two Sorts of Saints, those that are on Earth, and those that are in the Heavenly Jerusalem; and he adds, that the Church does well to observe a Custom which she has received by Tradition; that the Laws of our Fathers cannot be subverted, nor the Commands of our Mothers despised without impiety, according to the Words of Salomon, *Hearken, my Son, to the Commands of your Father, and do not reject the Admonitions of your Mother.* Jesus Christ our Father has taught us his Doctrine by Writing and by Tradition: The Holy Church our Mother has Laws which cannot be destroyed nor abrogated. Nothing is greater nor more admirable than those Laws, and all those who would oppose them, are self-convicted of an Error.' Can there be any thing more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, or more contrary to the principal Errors of the Innovators! But, says *Scultetus*, these Arabian Women who offered Sacrifices to the Virgin, did not believe her Eternal or Infinite. But tho' these Women did not, it may be, think so, yet they gave her that Worship which is due only to a sovereign and infinite Being, by offering Sacrifices unto her, and placing all their Religion in doing so.

The second Objection of *Scultetus* is about the use of Images, which St. Epiphanius condemns in his Letter to John of Jerusalem, and which he seems also to reject as contrary to the Law of the Gospel. We have already answered this objection, by saying, that indeed St. Epiphanius seems to have disallowed the use of Images, because this Custom was not then established in his Country. But 'tis certain, and *Baillet* himself does not deny it, that 'twas then established in other Churches. Moreover, we must not wonder, that St. Epiphanius speaks of it as a Practice contrary to the Gospel: For 'tis well known, that those who speak against Customs that were not established in their own time, do sometimes make use of Expressions too vehement in rejecting them; as for Example, St. Cyprian condemning the practice of those who did not put Water into the Chalice, makes no scruple to say, that their Custom was contrary to the Law of Jesus Christ. Many other Examples may be brought of this nature, and the Calvinists themselves must acknowledge, that the same is to be said of the Words of St. Epiphanius, since they cannot affirm, that the use of Images, whereof St. Epiphanius speaks in this place, is contrary to the Gospel.

[This Excuse is not defensible: The New Testament is as severe against Idolatry as the Old was, and more, if

we consider upon how much nobler Foundations it is constituted. Neither is this only a Matter of Discipline; or if it is, yet it is not an indifferent thing. The Church of Rome was very sensible of this, when she removed the second Commandment out of the Catechisms, by which she orders her People to be instructed. If the Abuses occasioned by placing of Images in Churches had never been more dangerous than they were in St. Epiphanius's time, this Plea might have been valid for those Churches which still desired to retain them; or if the Church of Rome, in her Offices, Catechisms and Directions to her Priests to guide them in their Sermons and Exhortations to the People, had taken all possible care to obviate all Objections whatsoever which could

St. Epiphanius. have been raised, she could then have justly urged it. But Mr. Du Pin knows very well that her constant connivance if not Command, has long ago precluded her from all Pretences of this nature: He knows also, that the Laity in all Countries of the Communion of the Church of Rome where they have not been over-awed by a promiscuous conversation with Protestants, have without check paid as gross Acts of Worship to senseless Images of (sometimes fictitious) Saints, as ever the Heathens of old paid to the Images of Jupiter or Apis; and lastly he knows, that his Church is in this Point wholly inexcusable, because it has established and still maintains a Custom, not mentioned at least, if not expressly forbidden in Scripture; unknown to the purest Ages of Christianity, opposed as contradictory to the Law of God at its first appearance, by Men eminent for Piety and Learning in the time when they lived, and received as Saints by the Catholick Church after their Deaths, and abused by the ignorant People to the basest Idolatry and Superstition in all Countries where-ever it has been allowed.]

The third thing which Scultetus pretends to find in the Books of St. Epiphanius contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, is the condemnation of the Sacrifice of the Mass. He endeavours to prove that St. Epiphanius never taught it, because, he says in *Heret. 55.* and *42.* That Jesus Christ came to abolish the Sacrifices of the Old Law, by one Sacrifice only. The meanest Writer of Controversies would easily answer this Objection, by saying, First, That St. Epiphanius in this place speaks only of the Sacrifices of the Old Law, to which he opposes that of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and that he does no ways exclude the unbloody Sacrifice of the Eucharist. Secondly, That the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, properly speaking, is not different from that upon the Cross, and that it is always the same thing which is offered, tho' after a different manner. Thirdly, That St. Epiphanius acknowledges, that the Priesthood of Melchisedeck, and consequently the Sacrifice, continued under the New Law.

The fourth Objection of Scultetus is about Purgatory. He affirms that St. Epiphanius did not own it, because he says in *Heret. 59.* That no Man can change his Condition after his death, and that then there is no more room for any one to repent and to merit Glory. But does it follow from this Proposition which all Catholicks acknowledged, that those who died in a State of Damnation could no longer hope for Salvation? Does it follow, say I, that those who died in the Guilt of some small Sins could not be purified from it after their deaths? All the Catholicks deny this Consequence, and St. Epiphanius has plainly owned it to be false, when he says in *Heret. 75.* that Prayers for the Dead could expiate some Sins, tho' they could not blot out great Crimes.

The fifth Dogm of the Church which Scultetus opposes by St. Epiphanius, is the Vow of Continence: But the Passages which he alledges, are so far from opposing it, that they plainly discover that it was used in the time of this Father, and that the Church punished those very severely who violated it.

The last is about Baptism administered by Women. St. Epiphanius in *Heret. 76.* says, that it was not lawful for them to baptize. Do not we say so also? But does it follow from thence that their doing of it in a case of necessity is not valid? This is what Scultetus should prove, but it is not the Question of St. Epiphanius.

These are the false Consequences which Scultetus urges to oppose the Doctrine of the Church: But he does so grossly calumniate us, by charging upon us the detestable Opinions of some Hereticks, that he must have renounced all kind of Modesty to affirm such manifest Untruths with so much boldness.

First of all, He accuses us of making Women the Ministers of Baptism, as the Marcionites did. But where is it found that Women do Administer Baptism in our Churches? They never do it but in great necessity. And 'tis no Heresie to say, that in this Case all sorts of Persons may Administer it, 'tis no part of the Error of the Marcionites or the Collyridians.

Secondly, He charges us with trusting to Revelations and Miracles, as the Nazarenes did. But is it an Error to believe that there have been, and that there may be Revelations? That Man must have no Religion who says the contrary. The Hereticks are to blame for feigning false Miracles, but the Catholicks are not to blame for Believing true ones.

Thirdly, He compares Transubstantiation to the Enchantments of *Marcus*, who having put white Wine into a Glass, made one part of the Liquor appear Red as Blood, another of a Purple colour, and a third of a Blue. But what Affinity is there between our Holy and sacred Mysteries, and the Diabolical Actions of these Ministers of Demons? What Relation has our Doctrine to these Impieties?

The other Accusations of Scultetus are no less Calumnious: For do we offer the Sacrifice of the Mass in honour of the Virgin, as the Collyridians did? Do we teach that Concubinate is lawful, as Aetius did? Do we adore Idols? The Images to which we pay a bare External Respect, are they the Images of Simon and Helena, and other Hereticks? Are they not the Images of Jesus Christ and the Saints, to whose Persons only all our Worship is referred? Do we

condemn Marriage and the use of Meats as *Tutian* and the *Encratites* did? Do we believe that the Souls of the Wicked may be delivered out of Hell? In short, is there any Similitude between all the Errors of the Hereticks related by St. Epiphanius, and the Doctrines of the Church? Do not we Believe what the Church Believed in his Time? Do not we Practise what she Practis'd? On the contrary, are not they the Innovators of our Time, who take part with the Hereticks of that Time against the Church? Do not they deny with Aetius the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters? Do not they find fault with Prayers for the Dead, and the Honour which is given to Saints? Do not they condemn the Celibacy of Priests, the Vow of Virginity, the Monastick State, the Ceremonies, the Sign of the Cross, the Solemn Prayers? These are the Errors which St. Epiphanius condemns in the Hereticks of his Time, and which he refutes by the Practice and Tradition of the Church. And therefore that may justly be charged upon the Sect of Innovators, which Scultetus has unjustly charged upon Us, That their Doctrine is a Garment patched together, and made up of many Pieces and many Shreds of ancient Heresies.

[Who is most in the right, Scultetus, or our Author, will not be hard to judge, to any one who is acquainted with undisguised Popery; I say undisguised, because Mr. Du Pin goes upon the palliating Principles laid down by the Bishop of Meaux. There is no question but the Seeds of those Corruptions began to spring up in St. Epiphanius's Time, which afterwards grew so high in the Church; yet tho' they honoured the Dead who died in the Lord, and prayed for those who were Guilty of lesser Sins, they neither called upon the former, nor believed a middle State for the latter, if St. Epiphanius's Authority be decisive, in those places which are faithfully urged by Scultetus. In the case of Images in Churches, Mr. Du Pin gives it up, because St. Epiphanius says expressly that it was against the Word of God: *Contra auctoritatem Scripturae*. In the Matter of the Real Presence our Author and Petavius before him, lay great Stress upon a Passage in the *Anchoratus* Sect. 57. wherein speaking of the Sacrament as Christ's Body, he says, *ὁ γὰρ μὴ πιστεύων εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀληθινόν, ἀλλ' ἑῶν, ἐκπίπτει τῆς χάριτος καὶ σωτηρίας*; He that does not believe it to be the real Body of Christ, as he said himself, is fallen from Grace and Salvation. Now to know the full meaning of St. Epiphanius in these Words, we are to go back to the beginning of Sect. 55. There he raises a dispute of the meaning of Adam's being created after the Image of God, since there is so great disparity between their Natures: And he finds that this cannot be Physically understood, because to be *κατ' εἰκόνα*, and to be *κατὰ οὐσίαν*, are very different things; yet since it is said in Scripture, we ought to believe it.

Now to prove this Assertion he urges the Institution of the Lord's Supper: Our Saviour said (says he) of the Bread, this is my Body; and yet it is not like Flesh in the least, so as to resemble Christ's Human Nature, nor like the invisible Godhead, so as to resemble his Divinity: But because he has said it we must not dispute it, since if we should dispute it, we should fall away from Grace and Salvation. This Illustration therefore cannot in reason be carried farther than the Original Question which it was designed to illustrate; wherefore seeing that St. Epiphanius confessed, that when we say, that man is created after the Image of God, we do not mean that he is created after the Nature of the Invisible, Incomprehensible and Spiritual God; it is plain that his illustration of the Eucharist is equally figurative as this Expression of man's Nature, which he is now explaining.

But it is needless to run through all the rest of the Articles here particularly named. St. Epiphanius's Authority is decisive of neither side; if it were, we must believe that Divorces are lawful for other Causes besides Adultery, and that such Divorces perfectly dissolve the Marriage Bond, for this was his Opinion, as appears from *Heret. 59.* Sect. 4.]

The Style of St. Epiphanius is neither beautiful nor lofty, on the contrary, it is plain, low and mean, it is rude and unpolished; without Coherence and Connexion. He had much Reading and Learning, but no Faculty of discerning, nor Exactness of Judgment. He often uses such things for Reasons to refute the Hereticks which are false. He was very credulous and not very accurate. He is mistaken in many places about very considerable Matters in History, and gave credit too lightly to false Memoirs, or to uncertain Reports. He had much Zeal and Piety, but little Conduct and Policy.

The Works of St. Epiphanius were printed in Greek at Basle by Oporinus in the Year 1544. Cornarius's Translation of this Work, had been published and printed at Basle by Robertus Ullinterus in 1533. The same Printer caused it to be re-printed in 1540, and in 1545; It was also re-printed at Paris in 1564, at Basle in 1560, and in 1578, and at Paris in 1612, with some Corrections of Jacobus Billius: The *Physiologus* was published by Gonsalus Ponce de Leon at Rome in 1587, and printed afterwards at Antwerp in 1588: The Book of the Lives of the Prophets, was published in Greek and Latin with the Notes of Zebennerus, and printed at Scheuling in 1612. The Oration concerning the Burial of Jesus Christ, was published in 1614.

At last, Petavius undertook a new Edition of St. Epiphanius, and having found the Version of Cornarius very defective

defective, he made a new one, which he printed at Paris in 1622, together with the Greek Text reviewed and corrected by two Manuscripts. This Edition is in two Volumes in Folio; the first contains the Book of Heresies; the second contains the *Anchorate*, the *Recapitulation*, and the Book of *Weights and Measures*, of *Petavius's* Translation, the *Physiologus*, the Book of *precious Stones*, and the Homilies,

together with the antient Versions of his Works, the Letter to *John of Jerusalem*, the Life of *St. Epiphanius* written by *Metaphrastes*, and the Animadversions of *Petavius*, which are rather Critical and Chronological Dissertations, than Notes to explain the Text of *St. Epiphanius*. This Edition was lately re-printed in Germany.

PHILO CARPATHIUS.

THIS said in the Life of *St. Epiphanius*, that this Saint Ordained one named *Philo* Bishop of *Carpathus*, and that he committed to him the Charge of making Ordinations at *Salamis* in his Absence. Upon this Ground it has been thought that this Man lived in the time of *St. Epiphanius*, and that he was Bishop of the Isle of *Carpathus*, which is upon the Coast of *Asia*, near the Isle of *Crete*: There has also been attributed to this *Philo*, a Commentary upon the *Canticles*. But all these Suppositions are found to be false: For first, the Life of *St. Epiphanius* which is filled with an infinite Number of Fables and Forgeries, was written by a modern Greek, and has no Authority, and can no more prove that there was a *Philo*, than that there was a *Papius*, or an *Eudemus*,

or a *Polybius*, or a great many others whom this fabulous Author has feigned to embellish his History. Secondly, he does not say that this *Philo* was Ordained Bishop of the Isle of *Carpathus*, which was not under the Jurisdiction of *St. Epiphanius*, but of a City called *Carpasus*, which was in the Isle of *Cyprus*, mentioned by *Pliny*: Now it does not appear that this City ever had a Bishop. In short, the Commentary upon the *Canticles*, is the Invention of some modern Greeks which contains many things, that may be found word for word in the Commentary of *Gregory the Great*. And tho' it were true that these places were added, as some Authors have suspected, we cannot lay much stress upon an Author so little known as he is.

Q. JULIUS HILARION.

THIS Author, of whom the Ancients make no mention, has written a Chronicle, or a Book of the Duration of the World, from the Beginning of the World down to the Year 397; which makes it credible that he lived about this time. He speaks of a Treas-

tise which he wrote about *Easter*; he believed that the World would be at an end 470 Years after *Jesus Christ*, and he held the Opinion of the *Millenaries*, which still confirms his Antiquity. His Treatise was first published by *Pithaeus*, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS.

EVAGRIUS Ponticus, a Disciple of the *Macarii* (not *Evagrius* of *Antioch*, mentioned in the second Volume, nor *Evagrius Scholasticus*) was Ordained Deacon of *Constantinople* by *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. He sided with the Defenders of *Origen*, and left *Constantinople*; but returned thither in the Year 379, to meet *Melanius*, and there took upon him the Habit of a Monk. From thence he retired into the Solitudes of *Nitria*, where he spent the rest of his Life until about the year 406. *Socrates* affirms that he wrote very useful Books: 'One, saith he, is entituled, *The Monk*, or of an active Life; the other, *The Gnostick*; i. e. of a contemplative Life, or for enlightened Men. This Book is divided into fifty Chapters. The third is entituled *Antirrheticus*, which is a Collection of Passages out of Scripture against the Temptations of the Devil; divided into eight Parts, according to eight sorts of Thoughts. He wrote, besides six hundred *Gnostick* Problems, two Books of Sentences: Whereof one is addressed to the *Canobites*, and the other to a Virgin. Whoever reads those Books, will easily see their Worth, and find them to be worthy of Admiration.' *Palladius*, *Evagrius's* Disciple, in the 86th. Chapter of his *Monastick History*, speaks much in his Commendation, and observes that his Writings were either Books of Piety, or Monastick, or Polemical Books; and this agrees with what *Socrates* said before. *St. Jerome* in his second Book against *Pelagius*, says, That he wrote to Virgins, to Monks, and to *Melanius*, and that he composed a Treatise of *Apathy*, i. e. Of *Freeness from Passion*; and that the Books of this Author were known in the West as well as in the East, because some of them had been translated by *Ruffinus* his Disciple. *Gennadius* mentions this Author in his Catalogue of *Ecclesiastical Writers*; and says, That he had translated into Latin *Evagrius's* Treatise against the Eight principal Temptations, One hundred Sentences for the *Anchorets*, Fifty for learned Men, and some other Sentences that were something obscure: He speaks also of certain Rules dedicated to the Monks and Nuns. There is a Book commonly ascribed to this Author, entituled, *The Lives of the Fathers*; and some have believed that *Gennadius* said so: But they misunderstood him; for he doth not say that *Evagrius* was the Author of those Lives, but that the Book entituled, *The Lives of the Fathers*, did make mention of *Evagrius* as a learned and pious Man: and accordingly we find in the 27th. Chapter of the second Book of those Lives, that *Evagrius* is mentioned, and his Learning and Piety are commended; whereas it is not likely that *Evagrius* would have commended himself.

We have some Fragments of this Author's Works, and several of his Sentences in the Code of the *Monastick Rules*,

in the *Lives and Apothegms of the Fathers*, in the *Asctick Treasure*, published by *Poussin*, and particularly amongst the Works of *St. Nilus*, where there are several of *Evagrius's* Writings; whether *St. Nilus* quoted them, or whether it happened by the Editions of Transcribers, is uncertain. *Socrates* Chap. 7. of the third Book of his History, cites a passage of *Evagrius*, taken out of his *Gnostick Treatise*, where it is said, That it is impossible to define the Divinity, and to expound the Trinity. The same Author afterwards cites two passages of *Evagrius* in the 23d. Chapter of the 4th. Book of his History; whereof one is taken out of the *Gnostick* Book, and the other out of the *Practical* Book. *Maximus*, *St. John Damascene* and *Anthony*, quote many Sentences of this Author, which are found amongst the Works of *St. Nilus*.

Cotelerius in the third Volume of his *Monuments of the Greek Church*, page 68, &c. hath given us part both of the *Gnostick* and of the *Practical* Books of *Evagrius*, which he took out of two Greek Manuscripts, and out of Authors who quoted those Discourses. They begin with a Letter to *Anatolius*, which is a Preface to the whole Work of the two Books: This Preface is followed by 71 Chapters or Sentences drawn from the *Gnostick* Book, which are written without Order, and confounded one with another: There is more Order in the 100 Chapters drawn from the *Practical* Book. The following Treatise contains eleven Instructions for the Monks. And this is what *Cotelerius* could find of the Works of *Evagrius*.

His *Antirrhetic Treatise*, or of the eight evil Thoughts, is equally imperfect, as we have it: For that which *Bigotius* hath given in Greek, the Translation whereof was found in *St. John Damascene*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, before the Book of *St. Nilus* of the Eight Vices, is not the entire Treatise of *Evagrius*, but only an Epitome containing the Titles, and the Sum of those Eight Chapters, as *Bigotius* judiciously observes, and may be proved by the Testimony of *Socrates*; who assures us, That that Book of *Evagrius* contained several passages of Scripture, whereas there is not one in this.

Some also ascribe to *Evagrius* the History of an Hermite called *Pacon*, related in *Palladius*, Chap. 29. and to be found amongst the Works of *St. Nilus*, published by *Suarez* at *Rome*, who observes that this Treatise was ascribed to *Evagrius* in his Manuscript, as well as the following, which is a Dogmatical Letter concerning the Trinity; the Author whereof refutes the Errors both of the *Arians* and *Macedonians*. This Letter belongs to *Evagrius*, who wrote it while he was at *Constantinople* with *St. Gregory Nazianzen*.

It is very probable also, that the Sentences or Maxims which are from page 543, to 575, of the Writings attributed

ted to St. Nilus, are written by *Evagrius*, as *Holstenius* confesses, upon the Authority of Manuscripts. The Greek Manuscripts have quoted some of them under his Name, and they have great relation to those which *Gennadius* speaks of. To these must be added those which we find under the

Name of *Evagrius*, at the latter end of the first Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in Greek and Latin, of the Year 1624; and a small Treatise of the Names of God, which is very obscure, published by *Cotelerius* in the second Volume of his *Monuments of the Greek Church*, p. 116.

M A R K.

Mark the Hermite, of whom we are to speak in this place, lived about the end of the Fourth Century; *Palladius* and *Sozomen* speak of him as of a very holy Man. He composed some Ascetical Treatises, which have been attributed by *Bellarmin* and some others to one *Mark*, who lived under *Leo* the Emperor, in the Ninth Century: But *Photius* having made a very exact Extract of those Treatises, it is impossible they should be of a Man that lived since him; And therefore, they must be ascribed to that *Mark* who lived about the latter end of the Fourth Century. This is what he saith of it in the Two hundredth Volume. 'I have read eight Books of *Mark* the Monk, whereof the first is entituled, *Of the Spiritual Life*; it may be profitable to those who have undertaken to lead a Religious Life, i. e. to be Monks, as well as the following; in which he shews, That they are deceived who think to be justified by their Works; shewing, that this is a very dangerous Opinion. He adds to this Instruction wholesome Precepts, that lead to a spiritual Life. The third Book is of *Repentance*; his Design here is to shew, that this Virtue is of use at all times. This Book aims at the same end as the foregoing, and the same use may be made of it. His Style is clear enough, because he makes use of common terms, and speaks of things in general; but he wants the smoothness of Old *Athens*. If there be some Darkness, it doth not proceed from the Terms he useth, but from the things he treats of; which are of such a nature, that it is easier to comprehend them by practice than by discoursing. Wherefore you shall find the same Obscurity not only in the Books now mentioned, but also in those that follow, and in all the Books of those that have written of the Monastick Life, and have discoursed of the Motions and Passions of the Soul, as well as of the Actions which they produce; it being impossible to teach with Words those things that depend upon Practice. The fourth Book, by way of Questions and Answers, shews, That by Baptism we have received not only the Pardon and Remission of our Sins, but also the Grace of the Holy Spirit; and many other spiritual Gifts. The fifth is a kind of Conference of the Spirit with the Soul: Whereby he proves, That we our selves are Authors of our Sins, and that we ought to accuse no body else upon that account. The sixth is in the form of a Dialogue between *Mark* and an Advocate, who discourse of these following Subjects: That none is to seek Revenge for an Injury received, because the Wrong we suffer is to be looked upon as a Punish-

ment for our Sins; he adds, that 'tis difficult to please Men, and that Prayer is to be preferred before any other Labour. He concludes, by explaining wherein the Desires of the Flesh consist. He treats of Fasting in the seventh Book, that is not written by way of Dialogue. The eighth is directed to a Monk called *Nicolas*, treating of the Ways of appeasing of Anger, and of quenching of Lust. There is also a Ninth Book against the *Melchisedechians*, wherein he spareth not his own Father, who had been tainted with that Heresie. Those that would read useful Books, will not lose their time in reading of this. The Order of these Books is not the same in all Copies; In some those are found last which we have named first. This Observation of *Photius* is verified by the Latin Edition of these eight Books, which were published by *Johannes Picus*, President of the Inquests in the Parliament of Paris, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. The four first are there in *Photius's* Order; but the fifth in his Order is the last there; the sixth is the last but one; and the Book concerning Fasting is immediately after that dedicated to *Nicolas* the Monk. That against the *Melchisedechians* is lost. This Author attributeth much to the Faith and Grace of Jesus Christ, and very little to the good Works and free Actions of Men, differing therein from most of the Ascetical Writers. He likewise ascribeth much to the Vertue and Efficacy of Baptism; and pretends, that it delivers us not only from Death, but also from Lust; and puts us in a condition of doing either Good or Evil: So that they who have received Baptism are as Free either to Good or Evil as the First Man was. His Opinion is that a perfect Christian is free from Temptations and from Passions; and maintains, that many of the Gospel-Admonitions have the nature of Precepts; An ordinary excess of spiritual Men. In short it cannot be denied that among many true Maxims, there may be some stretched, and contrary to Truth and right Reason: which is but too common in the most part of Books of a Spiritual Life, both Antient and Modern. The Original Greek of these Homilies is not only among the MSS. of the King's Library, and in some others, as *Ordin* hath observed; but also in the First Volume of the Greek and Latin *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Printed at Paris 1624.

I say nothing of another *Mark*, a Deacon of Gaza in Palestine, who is reckoned to be the Author of the Acts of St. *Porphyrius* of Gaza, related by *Metaphrastes* and by *Syrinus*; because I resolved not to engage in writing any Account of the Acts of the Martyrs, being unwilling to launch into a Sea where it is difficult to avoid being often Shipwreckt.

S I M P L I C I A N U S Bishop of Milan.

Simplicianus, Bishop of Milan, Successor to St. *Ambrose*. exhorted St. *Austin* by his Letters to exercise his Parts, and apply himself to expound the Holy Scripture: So that he may be said to have been to St. *Austin*, what *Ambrose* was to *Origen*. We have found several Expositions of hard places of Scripture which St. *Austin* dedicated to him. He also wrote a Letter wherein he asked Questions as if he had been to learn, and yet Instructed

by his question. This is what *Gennadius* observes of this Author. St. *Ambrose* writ several Letters to him; and we have two Letters of St. *Austin*, wherein he answered several Questions of *Simplicianus*, concerning some obscure Passages of the Holy Scripture. This Bishop held the See of Milan, but a little while, for he died towards the latter end of the Year 400, or in the beginning of the Year 401.

V I G I L I U S of Trent.

There were several of this Name (a). He that we speak of is the Bishop of Trent (b), who suffered Martyrdom under the Consulship of *Stilichon*, in the Year 400 or 405 of Jesus Christ, to whom St.

Ambrose wrote a Letter, which is the 24th. among his Letters. *Gennadius* affirmeth, that this *Vigilius*, Bishop of Trent, wrote a Letter or small Book in commendation of Martyrs, dedicated to *Simplicianus*; which Contained the Acts

(a) Here were several of this Name.] This is the antientest. There was another of Africa, who Wrote upon the Revelations, mentioned by *Cassiodorus* in the 9th. Chap. of his Institutions. *Gennadius*. Chap. 51, speaketh of a Deacon called *Vigilius*, who wrote a Rule for the Monks. *Vigilius* Bishop of Tapsus in Africa, famous for his Writings against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, is a different Person from all these. There was one *Vigilius*, the Seventh Bishop of Breſcia after *Philastrius*. One *Vigilius* a Bishop subscribed in the Council of *Agatha* or *Agde*.

But these Names cannot be taken one for the other, without mistaking the Chronology and History.

(b) Bishop of Trent.] It is certain that *Vigilius*, Bishop of Trent, lived at the latter end of the 4th. Century, because the 24th. Letter of St. *Ambrose* is directed to him. *Ussuardus* saith, that he suffered Martyrdom under the Consulate of *Stilichon*, who was Consul in 400 and 405. There is more probability that it was in 400, because in that very Year *Sisinnius* suffered Martyrdom.

Vigilius of Trent. of those who suffered Martyrdom in his time by the Cruelty of the Barbarians. *Surius* mentions this Letter, May, 13. And it is believed that that *Simplicianus*, to whom it is dedicated,

(c) 'Tis believed that that *Simplicianus* to whom it is dedicated, is the Successor to St. Ambrose in the Church of Milan. This Conjecture of *Miræus* is indeed probable; This Letter is directed to one *Simplicianus* a Bishop. He of Milan lived at that time; and *Paulinus* observes in the Life of St. Ambrose, that the Reliques of *Sifinnius* were sent to Milan. It is true that *Gennadius* having spoken of *Simplicianus* as of an Author and Bishop known

is the Successor of St. Ambrose in the Church of Milan (c). There he gives an account of the Martyrdom of *Sifinnius* and his Companions.

Vigilius of Trent.

to him; and then speaking of *Vigilius* his Letter, he doth not say that it was directed to him, but only, *ad quemdam Simplicianum*, to one *Simplician*; which makes it doubtful, Whether it was to the Bishop of Milan that this Letter was directed. But perhaps *Gennadius* did not think upon it. However, *Vigilius*, Bishop of Trent, both lived and wrote at the same time that *Simplicianus* was Bishop of Milan.

PRUDENTIUS.

Prudentius **Q**uintus Aurelius Prudentius Clemens was born in Saragossa, a City of Spain, in the Year 348 (a); and being called to the Bar, was afterwards made a Judge in two considerable Towns, and then promoted by *Honorius* the Emperor to a very honourable Office. But at the Age of 57 Years, he resolved to mind the things of his Salvation, and to spend the rest of his life in composing of Hymns to the praise of God, and the Honour of the Saints; with some Poems against the Pagan Religion, and touching the Duties of Christians. These particulars of his Life are set forth by himself in a Preface to one of his Poems. The Catalogue of his Poetical Works, to the most whereof he gave Greek Titles, is as follows:

Psychomachia, or The Combat of the Soul, there he describes in Hexameter Verse the Conflict of Virtue against Vice in the Soul of a Christian; and particularly of Faith against Idolatry, of Chastity against Uncleanliness, of Patience against Anger, of Humility against Pride, of Sobriety against Excess, of Liberality against Covetousness, and of Concord against Dissention.

Cathemerinon, or Poems concerning each Days Duty; they contain several Odes or Songs about the most ordinary Exercises of Christianity: As for Example; Prayers and giving of thanks at lying down and rising up, before and after Meals, about Fasting, upon the Death of Kindred or Friends, of the Nativity of Christ, and upon the Epiphany.

After these Hymns come several others, entitled *Reges cælestes*, or of Crowns, because made in Commendation of Martyrs.

The following Poems regard several Points of the Christian Religion, and are therefore entitled *Apotheosis*, or Treatises upon the Divinity. In these he refuteth the Errors of the Heathens, of the Jews, Sabellians, Arians, and Apollinarians, and discourses of the Nature of the Soul, of Original Sin, and of the Resurrection.

Hamartigenia is a Treatise concerning the Original of Sin, against the Errors of *Marcion*.

The two Books against *Symmachus* oppose Idolatry. In the first is shewed the Original and Baseness of false Deities; and there is an account of the Conversion of the City of Rome. In the second, the Petition which *Symmachus*

(a) IN the Year 348.] He saith in the Preface to the *Cathemerinon*, that he was born under the Consulship of *Salia*; for so we are to read and understand that place.

*Oblitum veteris me Salia Consulis arguens
Sub quo prima dies mihi*

Most Authors understood not the meaning of it; as *Aldus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, *Possevinus*, and even *Labbée* who believed that he was Consul in a City called *Messalia*, which is thought by *Labbée* to be *Marseilles*: That is a mistake: They took the Name of the Consul *Salia*, who was Consul with *Philippus* in the Year 348, for the Name of a town; and so they ascribed to *Prudentius* the Consular Dignity that belonged to *Salia*, under whose Consulship *Prudentius* came into the

presented to the Emperors, to obtain the Re-establishment of the Altar of Victory, and of the Service of the Gods, with the Ceremonies of the Pagan Religion, is answered.

The last of *Prudentius* his Works is an Abridgment of some Histories of the Old and New Testament in Distichs. *Gennadius* speaks of a Book written by *Prudentius*, called *Dittochaon*, i. e. Double food, wherein he had comprized the Historical Part both of the Old and New Testament according to the Persons Names. This Book is very like that we now speak of, but only written in a looser Style, and far from the Beauty of his other Works. And whereas *Prudentius* calls the *Dittochaon* a considerable Book upon the Old and New Testament, this is a small one, upon some places only; which makes me think that it is simply an Epitome of *Prudentius*'s whole Work (b).

However, *Gennadius* says, that *Prudentius* wrote a Commentary upon the *Hexameron* as far as to the Creation and Fall of the First Man: But that Book is lost.

Prudentius is no very good Poet, he often useth harsh Expressions not reconcilable to the Purity of *Augustus*'s Age. His thoughts are just enough, and worthy of a good Christian: He has some things elegantly written which are read with Pleasure.

Prudentius's Works were Printed and Published at Rome, by *Aldus Manutius*, in the Year 1501, in Quarto. This Edition was followed by those of Germany, and others which are conformable to them; where are added *Erasmus*'s Notes upon the Hymns upon Christmas, and the Epiphany, and those of *Sichardus* upon the *Psychomachia*. The Edition of Antwerp of 1540 in Octavo, contains the Annotations of *Antonius Nebrissenfis* and *Sichardus*. That of 1564, was made after the Notes and Corrections of *Pulmannus*, *Graffemburgius* and *Victor Giselinus*, who added his own Commentaries. Most of the late Editions, which are numerous, have been made after that. In 1613, *Prudentius* was printed at Hanover with *Weitzius*'s Notes; and in 1614, the two Books against *Symmachus* were printed at Paris with the Commentaries of *Grangæus*: The last Edition of *Prudentius* was at Amsterdam, in 1667, in Twelves, with the Notes and Corrections of *Nicolaus Heinsius*.

World. In the same place he says that he was 57 Years old when he began to write, which shews that it was in the Year 405.

(b) *Prudentius* his whole Work.] This Abridgment is ascribed by some to *Amænius*; and *Georgius Fabricius* observeth, that it goes under his Name in a Manuscript belonging to one of Strasburg. It is also printed under the same Name in some Editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. In all the Manuscripts, *Prudentius* is said to be Author of it; and *Aldus* says, that he saw an Antient one where the Title of it was *Dittochaon*, or *Dyrrochaon*: But it is not to be Wondered at, if the Abridgment of *Prudentius*'s Works made by one *Amænius*, should be taken for the very Work of *Prudentius*, and perhaps this is the Cause of its being lost.

DIADOCHUS.

Diadochus **I**t is well known that *Diadochus* was Bishop of Photice, a City of Epirus, but the time wherein he lived is not known. *Bellarmino* and others that mention him, place him at the End of the Fourth Century, but without proof. However he is antienter than *Maximus*, who quotes him in his Answers to *Thalassius*. *Photius* in the 201 Volume saith, that he had read a Book of that Bishop, which contained Ten Definitions and One Hundred Chapters, and observes that this Book is useful for those who design to live a Spiritual Life. The Ten Definitions prefixed before the Hundred Chapters are not extant: These (as we learn by the Titles which *Photius* hath preserved of them) were properly Reflections upon the principal Perfections

of a Spiritual Life. The hundred Chapters of the Spiritual Life were published by *Tyrrianus*; they contain several Maxims concerning a Religious and Spiritual Life; they are written with a plain Stile, as most Ascetical Treatises. Ascetical Stile, is are. There are several false Thoughts, and to be understood such spiritual Notions as will not be re- of those extraordinary Exercises lished by every Body.

and Mortifications, which the old Monks, and Hermits, obliged themselves to observe, over and above the ordinary Duties of the Christian Life, that every Christian was by his Profession, made at his Baptism, bound to practise.

K k k k AUDEN-

A U D E N T I U S.

WHat Gennadius observeth of this Author whom he mentions immediately after *Prudentius*, is this: '*Audentius* a Spanish Bishop wrote a Book against the *Manichees*, *Arians* and *Sabellians*, and chiefly against the *Photinians*, who are now called *Bono-*

siacks; he entituled this Book, *A Treatise of Faith against all Hereticks*. He there shews, that the Son of God is coeternal with the Father; and that he did not begin to be God when he made himself Man, and that he was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

S E V E R U S E N D E L E C H I U S.

WE have a Bucolick, or Pastoral Poem, of one *Severus Endelechius*, about the end whereof there is a Discourse of the Efficacy of the Sign of the Cross, and of the Christian Religion, to the embracing of which *Tityrus* exhorts his Companion. This Au-

thor lived since *Constantine*, but the Time is not known. His Poem is pretty well writ. It is likely he lived about the end of the Fourth, or the beginning of the Fifth Century.

F L A V I A N U S.

Flavianus Presbyter of *Antioch*, having governed that Church during the *Arian* Persecutions, in the Absence of *Meletius* his Bishop; was after his Death, in the Year 380, chosen by the Oriental Bishops to fill that See, which was not to be looked upon as Vacant, since *Paulinus*, Collegue to *Meletius* was yet alive. This Ordination renewed the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*. The Western Bishops, who of a long time favoured *Paulinus*, could not endure that a Bishop should be ordained while he lived, against the agreement made with *Meletius*, That the Survivor should remain sole Bishop. They complained lowdly of that injustice; but those who sided with *Meletius* being the Major Part, would not suffer *Paulinus*, and so nothing was enacted against *Flavianus*. The Death of *Paulinus* in the Year 389, did not put an end to the Division of the Church of *Antioch*; his Party acknowledged *Evagrius* for their Bishop, whom *Paulinus* ordained before his Death, and accused *Flavianus* before *Theodosius*. This Emperor commanded him to go to *Rome*, there to be judged: But *Flavianus* excused himself because of the Winter, promising to execute the Emperor's Orders in the Spring following. But the Synod of *Capua* in the Year 390, remitted this business to *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt*. The Emperor commanded *Flavianus* to repair to *Alexandria*, which he refused to do, and answered the Emperor, That if they found fault with his Doctrine he was willing to be judged even by his Enemies; but if the Question was about his Bishoprick, he would not dispute the matter but readily quit it. The Emperor admiring his Constancy, sent him back to *Antioch*, and suffered him to live quietly: His resolution provoked *St. Ambrose*, and the Western Bishops: But *Theophilus* endeavoured to appease that Quarrel by a Milder way than a determinate Sentence: *Evagrius* being dead, no other Bishop was ordained in his room, and there were but few Christians at *Antioch*, who owned not *Flavianus* for their Bishop. But he did not communicate with the Western Bishops before the Year 398, when *St. Chrysostom* undertook to make his Peace with *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*, and with the Western Bishops. And thus was *Flavianus* acknowledged by all as the lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, and ended his Days in Peace, in the Year 404. *St. Chrysostom* often commends him in his Sermons. He describes his Journey to the Emperor's Court, to get a pardon for the People of *Antioch*; and tells the particulars of the Speech he made. *Theodoret* also speaks much to his Advantage, and observeth, l. 4. of his History c. 25. that *Diodorus* and he maintained the Faith of the Church against the Assaults of the *Arians*, he adds, that *Flavianus* did not then preach, but furnished *Diodorus* with Notions and Arguments from Scripture to use in his Sermons; but when he was Bishop of *Antioch* he preached himself. *Theodoret* in his Dialogues quotes some places of this Father's Homilies touching the Incarnation; he quotes a Homily upon *St. John* Baptist, upon the *Theophany*, and a Homily upon *Easter*: An Homily upon *Judas's* Treachery, a Homily upon *St. Luke*, and another upon these words. *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*. None of these Homilies, nor any other of the Works of this holy Bishop are extant, unless perhaps some of his Sermons are among those that are attributed to *St. Chrysostom*. [*Phosius* cod. 52. of his Bibliotheca speaks of a Letter written by *Flavianus* to the Bishops of *Osrhoene*, and of another to an *Armenian* Bishop.]

St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

ST. *John*, Sir-named *Chrysostom*, because of his Eloquence (a), was of *Antioch*; his Father's Name was *Secundus*, and his Mother's *Anthusa* (b). He lost his Father when he was young (c), and his Mother took care to breed him up like a Christian. He learned Rhetorick under *Libanius*, and Philosophy under *Andragathius*, both very famous in their profession. He first designed to follow the Law (d), but soon altered his Mind, and became a Church-man. He left *Libanius* his School to study the Scriptures, and had for his Tutors *Diodorus* and *Cartorius* Superiors of the Monks, that were in the Suburbs of *Antioch*. He was afterwards baptized by *Meletius*, and cho-

(a) *Sir-named Chrysostom, &c.*] It is not known when he was first called by that Name, so justly given him: Some say he had it in his Life-time, but neither *St. Jerome*, nor *St. Augustine*, nor *Theodoret*, nor any other among the Ancients, give him that Name, but call him only *John* of *Constantinople*. *Sozomen* observeth, that *Antiochus* Bishop of *Ptolemais*, had this Name given him, but does not say, that it was common to him with our Saint. Many Authors have written his Life, but very few have done it faithfully. *Palladius* alone may be credited in this Case. *Bigotius* published the Original Greek of this Author, and with him may be joined *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret* who have in their Ecclesiastical Histories given an account of several Circumstances of the Life of *St. Chrysostom*. *Theodoret* made some Speeches in his Commendation, the Extracts whereof are preserved by *Phosius*, in the 273 Volume. Little regard is to be had to the other Writers of his Life: for they have filled their Relations with Fables. The first of them is *George*, who is thought to have been Bishop of *Alexandria*. Some think that part of his Relation was taken out of *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, but that is not probable. This Author lived about the year of Christ 600. After him *Leo* the Emperor, *Simeon* Metaphrastes, an Anonymous Author, *St. John Damascene*, *Cosmas Vestitor*, *John Euchaita*, the Patriarch *Philothus*, and *Matthaeus Camariota*, have written Lives and Panegyrics of our Saint; but very ill, and stuffed with many Fables.

(b) *His Mother's Anthusa.*] There was another *John*, Son of *Publia*, mentioned by *Theodoret* in his History, l. 3. c. 19. for in the first place, all Historians assure us, that *St. John Chrysostom's* Mother was called *Anthusa*; as *Palladius* in his

Life, c. 5. *Socrates* in his History, l. 6. c. 3. Secondly, *Publia* was an old Woman in the Time of *Julian* the Emperor, in the Year 362. according to *Theodoret*, and *St. Chrysostom's* Mother, was alive in 404, as appeareth by his own Letters, the 238th, and 239th. and she was but 40 Years of Age in the Year 368. In short, *John* the Son of *Publia* was an only Child; whereas *St. Chrysostom* had a Sister older than himself, to whom he wrote his 238th. Letter.

(c) *He lost his Father when he was Young.*] *St. Chrysostom* says it in his first Book of *Priesthood*, c. 1. Some have affirmed that his Parents were Pagans, but he says himself in the first Homily, against the *Anomeans*, that he was bred and brought up in the Church; and it is clear by the place we have quoted out of his Book of the *Priesthood*, that his Mother was a Christian when his Father died, which was soon after he was born.

(d) *He first designed to follow the Law.*] Some say that he was called to the Bar, but *Palladius*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* only say, that when he was fit for it he quitted it. There is a Letter of *Libanius* to one *John* to congratulate him for a publick Pleading, wherein he had spoken much to the Praise of the Emperor and of his Children. But this *John* is not our *St. John Chrysostom*, who was then a Priest: For this was the Emperor *Theodosius*, who left the Empire to his Sons about the Year 395. *St. Chrysostom* indeed confesseth in his first Book of the *Priesthood*, that he did follow the Bar, but does not mention his Pleading. Such was his Eloquence, that *Libanius* at his Death said, that he alone was worthy to succeed him, if the Christian had not snatched him away.

St. John Chrysostom. sen by this Bishop to be Reader. He was so highly esteemed, that he was marked out by an Assembly of Prelates to be made Bishop, as well as *Basil his Friend* (e). But knowing the Day when they were to ordain him, he hid himself, avoiding that Dignity with as much Care, as others sought for it with earnestness. About the Year 374, he retired to a Mountain near *Antioch*, where he lived with only one old Monk the space of four Years; then he chose to dwell in a Cave for two Years, after an austere manner. The severity of a solitary Life, and continual Labour did much impair St. Chrysostom's health, which obliged him to return to *Antioch*, about the Year 380. There the great *Meletius* ordained him a Deacon, and soon after he went to the Council of *Constantinople*, where he died. After his Death St. Chrysostom sided with *Flavianus*, who made him Priest, and having received that Order he gave himself wholly to preaching, and therein got such reputation, that after the Death of *Nectarius* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, he was with general Consent chosen to fill up that See. The Emperor was obliged to use all his Authority to make him leave *Antioch*, and at last he was forced to take him away secretly. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, whom the Emperor had sent for to ordain St. Chrysostom, had more inclination for one *Isidorus* a Presbyter; wherefore he secretly opposed the Ordination of St. Chrysostom. But *Eutropius* and other Officers of the Court upheld St. Chrysostom so far, that *Eutropius* (to oblige *Theophilus* to ordain him) shewed him a Memorial containing several Heads of an Accusation formed against him, and put it to his choice, whether he would ordain St. Chrysostom, or prepare himself for his Trial upon those Accusations. *Theophilus* chose the former, and ordained St. Chrysostom the first Day of March 398. This was the beginning of that hatred which *Theophilus* bore to St. Chrysostom, and which proceeded further than can well be believed, as we shall see afterwards.

St. Chrysostom being entred upon the Government of the Church of *Constantinople*, began with endeavouring to reform the manners of the Clergy, and then fell to reprovng the Vices of the Court; and this got him the ill-will of many, for he was of a severe Temper not agreeable to men of the World, and his way of living was singular and retired. They found fault, that he always eat by himself, and would never appear at those Feasts where he was invited, which they looked upon as proceeding from Scorn and Contempt of others, though it was only an Effect of his Constitution and Weakness of Stomach, or of his great Sobriety. He discharged the Duties of his Office with wonderful Exactness and Care, knowing that the Revenue of the Church is the Patrimony of the Poor; he cut off the superfluous Expences of his Predecessors, to increase the Allowances of Hospitals for the Sick. And the Hospital at *Constantinople* not being large enough, by reason of the great Number of Sick and Strangers, he caused several others to be built, and for each of them he appointed two Priests to take care of the Sick and Strangers. He particularly provided for Virgins and Widows. He constantly preached to the People, exhorting them not to neglect the publick Service. And he is said, first to have instituted solemn Processions in *Constantinople*.

But his Pastoral care was not restrained to his particular Church, but extended it self also to the Churches of *Thracia*, *Pontus*, and *Asia*. He pulled down some Temples of false Deities that were still in *Phoenicia*. To the *Goths* that were infected with *Arianism*, he sent Priests, Deacons and Readers that spake their Language, thereby to endeavour the Conversion of that People from their Error: He also sent Missionaries to the *Scythians* that inhabited along the *Danube*. He wrote to the Bishop of *Tyre* against the *Marcionites* of those parts, offering him the Emperor's help: But he never did the Church a more signal Service, than when he re-united the East and West, by reconciling *Flavianus* with the Western and *Egyptian* Bishops.

He assembled at *Constantinople* a Synod of two and twenty Bishops about September in the Year 400. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Valentinople* in *Asia*, came to it, and presented to the Council a Petition containing seven Articles against *Antoninus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, the Metropolitan of *Asia*. He was accused, First, Of Melting the Holy Vessels, and converting them into Money, which he bestowed upon his Son. 2dly. That he had taken a Marble Stone from the entrance of the Baptistry, to use in his own Bath. 3dly. That the Pillars which remained after the Building of the Church were used to support the Roof of his own Hall. 4thly. That he kept a Servant who was guilty of Man-slaughter. 5thly. That he had sold the Lands, which were left to the Church by *Basilina*, Mother to *Julian* the Emperor, as if they had belonged to

St. John Chrysostom. his own Estate. 6thly. That he had again taken his Wife, whom he had put away, and had two Children by her. 7thly. That a Custom was introduced by him, so as to become almost a Law, to take Money for the Ordination of Bishops, proportionably to the value of their Bishopricks. *Antoninus* appeared at the Council that was called by St. Chrysostom, where these Accusations were brought against him by *Eusebius*. They insisted particularly upon the last, as being the most important. *Antoninus* denied all; and could not be convicted, because there were no Witnesses; Wherefore the Council deputed three Bishops to go into *Asia*, and hear the Witnesses that were to be produced by the Accuser. One of these three Bishops being *Antoninus* his friend, feigned himself sick, that he might not inform against his friend. The two others went to *Hypapa*, a City in *Asia*, where they waited to no purpose for Witnesses, because the Accuser was agreed with the accused, either through fear of his Power, or because he had no sufficient Proofs. The Deputies, weary of waiting, went away, having written a Letter, in which they Excommunicated *Eusebius* as an Impostor for making default. Sometime after *Antoninus* died, and his Death caused new Troubles in the Churches of *Asia*. In this juncture of time the Clergy of *Ephesus* and the Bishops of that Province made application to St. Chrysostom, and prayed him to come into their Country, to establish some Order in the Church of *Ephesus*. He came thither in the end of Winter, of the Year 401, and assembled a Synod of Seventy Bishops, wherein Six Bishops were deposed, who were convicted of giving *Antoninus* Money for their Ordination. The Heirs of that Bishop were enjoined to return them the Money he had received: and they Ordained *Heraclides* a Deacon, Bishop of *Ephesus*. What concerned the Church of *Ephesus* being thus regulated, St. Chrysostom returned through *Nicomedia*, where he turned out *Gerontius*, who was formerly St. *Ambrose's* Deacon, but went to the East and was ordained Bishop of *Nicomedia*: He settled in his home *Pansophius*; and going on in his Journey, in every place, he took from the *Novatians* and *Quartodecimani* the Churches which they were in possession of.

While St. Chrysostom was doing these things in *Asia*, *Severinus*, Bishop of *Gabala*, a famous Preacher, (to whom, at his going away, he had committed the care of his Church) did all he could to get the applause both of the Nobility and People. This begot some jealousy in St. Chrysostom, who expelled him out of *Constantinople* after he returned; and this he did by the Solicitation of a Deacon of his, named *Serapion*. But the Empress caused him to come again, having reconciled them, though with much difficulty.

This Reconciliation was followed by another quarrel with *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, an old Enemy to St. Chrysostom. The Historians represent that Bishop as an ambitious Man, passionate, fierce, covetous, and cunning; who would never yield, but compass every thing he undertook; who easily provoked Men to be his Enemies, and sooner or later would undoe them: He was no friend to St. Chrysostom, because he was obliged to ordain him against his will: but the hatred he bore to him broke out upon the account of three *Egyptian* Monks, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, and *Euthymius*, Sir named the *Long-brethren*. *Theophilus* was very angry with them, because they reproved his Conduct, and received *Isidore* that was become his enemy: He condemned them in a Synod of *Alexandria*, assembled in 399, because they would not subscribe the Condemnation of *Origen*. After this Condemnation he went himself with Soldiers to drive them away, with all the Monks that lived under their Rule. These poor Monks not knowing whither to go, because *Theophilus* persecuted them every-where, came to *Constantinople*, and represented to St. John, the Violences of their Bishop, beseeching him to have compassion on them. St. Chrysostom gave them leave to say their Prayers in a Church he assigned for them, but did not admit them to the Communion of the Eucharist. He only writ to *Theophilus* to re-establish them. On the contrary, *Theophilus* sent Men to *Constantinople*, who delivered to the Emperor a form of Accusation against these Monks; who in their own defence, accused their Bishop also. St. John Chrysostom gave *Theophilus* notice of it, who answered him fiercely: That he ought to have known, that by the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, a Bishop is forbidden to judge of Causes that are out of the limits of his own Jurisdiction: That he had no right to receive Accusations against him; and that if he must be judged, the Judgment belonged to the Bishops of *Egypt*, and not to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. St. Chrysostom having received this Letter, exhorted both the one and the other to Peace; but neither were disposed towards it. The Monks accused by *Theophilus*, and some of their Brethren, persuaded of their in-

years Old: *Photius* tells us, that *Basil* St. Chrysostom's Friend, was *Basil* of *Seleucia*. This is yet a grosser mistake, because this latter was not ordained Bishop before the year 431, and he lived till 458. *Basil* St. Chrysostom's Companion, was rather Bishop of *Raphanea*, or another of the same Name Bishop of *Biblos*, whose Names are found in the Subscriptions of the Council of *Constantinople*.

(e) *Basil his Friend*. It is not certainly known who this *Basil* was, nor Bishop of what place; but it is certain, that he was not the great St. *Basil*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, have improperly confounded them; for *Basil* Chrysostom's Friend was of his own Age, and instructed by the same Masters, as appeareth by the beginning of St. Chrysostom's Book of the Priesthood; whereas St. *Basil* was much older, and was Bishop of the Church of *Cæsarea*, before St. Chrysostom was 25

St. John Chrysostom. nocence, continually Petitioned the Emperor; who yielding to their Supplications, at last appointed Judges; who after examination of the Accusations against the *Long-brethren*, found them to be Calumnies; and so gave Judgment against some of the Monks that were the Authors of them. All this happened in the Year 401.

In the year 402, St. Epiphanius, Bishop in Cyprus, (who held with Theophilus, because he was a great Enemy to Origen) came to Constantinople. St. Chrysostom invited him to take a Lodging in his House; but Epiphanius, pre-engaged by Theophilus, writing to him, gave him this answer; That he was so far from lodging in his House, he would not so much as enter into it, nor joyn in the publick Prayers whilst he was there, unless St. Chrysostom first banished the *Long-brethren*, and condemned Origen. St. John having refused to do it, St. Epiphanius designed to go himself into the Apostles' Church on the Lord's-day; and there publickly condemn Origen's Books, and excommunicate the *Long-brethren* with their Adherents. But as he was going, he met with Scapion the Deacon, who told him from St. Chrysostom, that he undertook things against Order; and against the Canons: That he had ordained a Deacon out of his own Diocess, and celebrated the Eucharist, without permission from the Ordinary; and that he was about a thing that was neither just nor reasonable, and dangerous for himself, for he had to do with a Populace which would soon be up; and that St. Chrysostom would not answer for what might happen. This Discourse made Epiphanius withdraw, and desist from his Enterprize. The *Long-brethren* after this went to him, and complained that he condemned them before hearing, and without Conviction; they shewed, that they had not dealt so with him, having every where defended both his Works and his Person. Epiphanius reflecting upon this Remonstrance, and considering what Troubles Theophilus had engaged him in, returned towards Cyprus. At his going away he told the Bishops, *I leave you the Town, the Palace, and the Theatre*. He died before he got to his own Country.

After the departure of St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom made a Speech against the Disorders of Women: The Empress Eudoxia supposing that it was meant of her, complained to the Emperor, and urged Theophilus to come to Constantinople. This Bishop, who waited for an opportunity to destroy St. Chrysostom, came immediately about the beginning of the year 403, and brought with him several Egyptian Bishops. Those of Asia that were deposed by St. Chrysostom, or were not satisfied with his Behaviour, repaired likewise to Constantinople. Theophilus had his Apartment in one of the Empress's Houses; from whence he sent the Accusers of John to the Emperor, who commanded that both they and Chrysostom should appear before Theophilus his Synod, to be judged there. St. Chrysostom denied them to be his Judges; affirming, That it belonged to the Bishops of his, and of the adjacent Provinces, and not to Strangers, to take Cognizance of that Matter. Notwithstanding this Reason, which Theophilus himself had alledged to avoid being judged by St. Chrysostom, he held a Synod of six and thirty Bishops, in the Suburbs of Chalcedon, to condemn St. Chrysostom. One John exhibited nine and twenty Articles against him.

St. Chrysostom was cited to the Synod to answer those Accusations, but he sent three Bishops and two Presbyters, who in his behalf declared to Theophilus and his Synod, that he was ready to submit to any that might be his Judges, but not to Theophilus his professed Enemy, nor to the Egyptian Bishops, who could not regularly judge the Bishops of Thrace. St. Chrysostom objected in writing, particularly against Theophilus; because when he came out of Alexandria, he said, *I am going to depose John*: Against Aecadius of Beroa, because he threatened him long before: Against Severianus and Antiochus, because of the Quarrels betwixt them, which were publick and notorious. He so much depended upon his Innocency, that he promised to appear at the Synod, if these four Bishops would retire: They did not hearken to this Proposition, but cited him to the Synod three times. He answered still, That he would justify himself before a more numerous Synod; but he had reason to reject a Council, where his Enemies were to be his principal Judges. However, his Process was brought before the Council. Theophilus was present, and received the Memorials of Accusation which himself had made. One Isaac a Monk, whom St. Chrysostom had reproved, for going abroad oftner than Monks ought to do, exhibited a Bill against him with nine Articles: After examination of some of them, Paul of Heraclea, President of the Council, required the Bishops to give their Opinions: They all declared that St. Chrysostom ought to be deposed; and having delivered their Opinions, they wrote a Letter to the Emperor, and another to the Clergy of Constantinople, giving notice of the Judgment they had given against St. John Chrysostom. After this, three Bishops of Asia, deposed by St. Chrysostom, petitioned the Council for their Restauration; and it is probable that it was granted them. And, on the contrary, Heraclides, who had been ordained Bishop of Ephesus, was deposed. This is what Theophilus his caballing

obtained of the Council: the Acts whereof were extant in Photius's time, who gives an Epitome of them in the 59th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*. They were divided into thirteen Acts or Sessions.

The news of St. Chrysostom's Deposition stirred up a great Sedition at Constantinople; the Emperor commanded that he should be banished, and the People resolved to keep him by force: But three days after he went out of the Church of his own accord, to surrender himself to them that had Order to seize him, and was conveyed to a small Town of Bithynia. His going away encreased the Tumult of the People, who both with Prayers and Threatnings addressed to the Emperor to call him back; which so amazed Eudoxia, that she became Petitioner for his Return, and sent one of her own Officers to fetch him. When he was come back, he would not perform the Episcopal Functions till he was restored by a more numerous Synod than that which deposed him; he besought the Emperor to call one, and in the mean time withdrew to a place without the City: But the People, impatient of delays, led him into the Church, and he was restored by thirty Bishops, and Theophilus was obliged to depart.

After this, it seemed that St. Chrysostom had nothing to fear; but of a sudden a new storm arose against him. Towards the end of the year 403, the Empress Eudoxia caused her Statue to be set up near the Church: The People in honour to the Empress, celebrated some publick Games by that Statue. St. Chrysostom looking upon those as indecent things, preached against them: This provoked the Empress, who still preserved a grudge against him, and resolved to have a new Assembly of Bishops, to drive him out of the Church of Constantinople. It is said, that the Saint hearing of it, provoked her yet more, by beginning a Sermon with these Words: *Now Herodias is in a fury again; now she demands the Head of John in a Charger once again*: However, at the end of that year, Theophilus being afraid to go to Constantinople, sent thither three Bishops from Egypt; who being assembled with them that were then at Court, and some others come from Syria, Pontus and Phrygia, they undertook to judge St. Chrysostom. He went to them, and desired to see his Accusation, or to know his Accusers, that he might make his defence about the Crimes laid to his Charge: But these Bishops declared, that it was not necessary to examine, whether the things alledged against him were true or false; it was enough for his Condemnation, that he returned to his Bishoprick when deposed by a Council, and was not absolved by another Council; because it was provided in the fourth Canon of the Council of Antioch, That whosoever was guilty of this, could never hope to be restored, nor so much as be admitted to plead for himself. Elpidius and Tranquillus who defended St. Chrysostom; answered, That this Canon was made by Arians: and that he was restored by those Bishops that communicated with him. The Bishops of the Council denied that the Canon was made by Arians; and insisted upon this, That the number of those who deposed St. Chrysostom, was greater than of those that communicated with him at his return to his Church. On this ground they confirmed the Sentence of Deposition, which the first Council pronounced against St. Chrysostom.

By vertue of this Judgment, the Emperor, at the beginning of Lent, 404, forbade him to go to the Church: He obeyed, and left the Clergy alone to perform Divine Service. But he was not suffered to be long at rest, for upon Holy Saturday, Lucius, Captain of the Guards, came with Soldiers into the Great Church in the Evening, and drove away forty Bishops that communicated with St. Chrysostom, all the Clergy, and part of the People: Then he placed armed Men about the Sanctuary, entred into the Baptistry, and misused those that were there. Some Soldiers that were not yet baptized, went to the Altar, and spilt upon their Cloaths the consecrated Elements that were in the holy Vessels. This Violence was followed by the Prince's Edicts against St. Chrysostom, and against those that communicated with him. The next day the People met together in the publick Baths, and were driven out by force: So that such as were for St. Chrysostom were obliged to meet in several places of the Town; and were afterwards called by their Enemies *Joannites*. They did not yet dare to meddle with the Person of St. Chrysostom, who was so much beloved of the People, that they were ready to take up Arms to prevent his being taken away. This Saint, unwilling to be the cause of a Civil War, got away from those Guards that the People set about him, and put himself into the hands of those that were to take him. He was led to Nice; and the same day that he went, which was the 20th. day of June, there happened a Fire in the Great Church, which burnt it to the ground, with the Palace joyning to it. Seven days after, one Arsacius, an old Man of eighty Years of Age, Brother to Nestarius, was ordained in the room of St. Chrysostom. This Arsacius furiously persecuted St. Chrysostom's Friends. This Saint tarried not long at Nice, but left it on the 13th. of July to go to Cucusus, the place of his Exile, where he arrived in September. He endured much by the way, but was kindly received by Dioscorus Bishop of

St. John Chrysostom.

of the place. In the mean time Laws were published at Constantinople against those that adhered to St. Chrysostom; Three of them are in the Theodosian Code. The first of the first of September, l. 16. tit. 2. c. 3. It is against foreign Clerks, who kept Meetings, in private places. The second of the tenth of the same Month, is tit. 4. c. 5. of the same Book: By this Law those are to be fined who suffer their Slaves to go to private Meetings. The third in the same place, c. 6. forbids all the Meetings of those that did not communicate with Arsacius Bishop of Constantinople, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, and Porphyrius who was chosen Bishop of Antioch in the place of Flavianus. All these Laws are against them that took John's part, and held private Meetings, and refused to communicate with those three Patriarchs. About the latter end of that Year a shower of Hail of extraordinary bigness did much Mischief in Constantinople; and the Emperors died soon after: John's Friends looked upon both these Accidents as Judgments from God for the injurious usage of St. Chrysostom.

The Patriarchs of the East having declared against St. Chrysostom, he could expect no relief, but from the Western Bishops, and particularly from the See of Rome, which had always been the refuge of Bishops that were unjustly persecuted in their own Country. To prevent Pope Innocent, Theophilus sent him a Letter by one of his Readers, acquainting him with St. Chrysostom's deposition. This being publicly known in Rome, Eusebius Deacon of Constantinople, petitioned the Pope that he would suspend his Judgment, till he were rightly informed of the matter. Three days after came four Bishops, sent by St. Chrysostom, who delivered to the Pope a Letter from him, imploring his succour, and that of the Bishops of the West; with another Letter from forty Bishops and the Clergy of Constantinople; which declared, That St. John Chrysostom was condemned unjustly, and without being heard. St. Innocent being persuaded that Theophilus had not proceeded regularly, sent Letters of Communion to St. Chrysostom, as well as to the Bishops that condemned him; and declared, that it was requisite to call an unexceptionable Council both of Eastern and Western Bishops. Theophilus afterwards sent to Rome the Acts of the Council held against St. Chrysostom; but this altered not the Pope's Resolution; who declared, that he could not refuse Communion with St. Chrysostom before a new Council had condemned him. Soon after Theoctetus brought a Letter from five and twenty Bishops, signifying to the Pope, that St. Chrysostom had been expelled out of Constantinople, and sent into Exile; the same was afterwards confirmed by another Letter of fifteen Bishops, brought by the Bishop of Apamea; and by the Testimony of Palladius of Hellenopolis, who was forced to flee to Rome; and by Letters from the Clergy of Constantinople, which gave an account of the Violences exercised against their Bishop, and the whole Church of Constantinople. The Pope, moved with these things, writ to St. Chrysostom and to his Clergy those Letters which are preserved by Sozomen in his History, l. 8. c. 26.

St. Chrysostom's friends every-where published these Letters; and wrought so far with Innocent, that he obtained of Honorius, Emperor of the West, a Letter to his Brother Arcadius, in the behalf of St. Chrysostom; by the which he requested of his Brother, that a Council might be assembled at Thessalonica, where Theophilus should appear as one accused. Three Bishops, two Presbyters, and two Deacons, were deputed to carry this Letter, with the Letters of several Western Bishops, written in favour of St. Chrysostom. But these Deputies were stopt at Athens by the Governor; and sent by Sea with a Guard to Constantinople. They were not permitted to enter into the Town, but were conveyed to a Castle in Thrace, where they were shut up. A Counsellor of State, called Patricius, went thither to ask for the Letters; they answered, that their Order was not to deliver them to any but the Emperor, and the Bishops to whom they were directed. Patricius withdrawing after this Answer, another Officer, named Valerius, was sent to take them by force. They next day Money was proffered them, to admit to their Communion Atticus, who succeeded Arsacius in the See of Constantinople. They refused it, and demanded to be sent back. When they could not be made to comply, they were put into an old Vessel with twenty Soldiers, that carried them to Lampacus, where they shifted their Vessel, and arrived at Otranto, a Port of Calabria, twenty Days after their Embarking, and four Months from their departure out of Italy. This Deputation was dated in the Year 404.

In the mean time St. Chrysostom being unhealthy in the place of his Exile, was obliged often to shift his Quarters, as appeareth by his 131st. Letter. But notwithstanding his banishment and infirmities, he still sent Priests and Monks to preach the Gospel among the Goths and Persians, and to take care of the Churches of Armenia and Phœnicia; as appears by his 14th. 123^d. 126th. 203^d. 204th. 206th. and 207th. Letters. But his Enemies would not let him be quiet, but persuaded the Emperor to send him further to Pitinus, a Town upon the Euxine Sea: Immediately Soldiers were sent to convey him thither; the usage which he endured; and the fatigue of the Journey so weakened him, that he fell sick of a violent Fever, which carried him off in a few

hours. In the place where he died, there was a Church of St. Basiliscus Martyr, where he was buried the 4th. of November, 407, having been three Years three Months, and four and twenty Days in Banishment: Aged sixty Years, and ten Years ordained Bishop of Constantinople. After his Death, the East and the West were divided for some time upon his account, because those of the West revered his Memory; and the others on the contrary looked upon him as a condemned Bishop, whose Name they refused to insert into the Diptychs; That is to say, in the Registers of those that were to be mentioned with Honour at the Celebration of the Eucharist. One would have thought that the Emperor Arcadius his Death happening five Months after, should have removed the greatest obstacle, which hindered the Bishops of the East from doing justice to the Memory of St. Chrysostom: but Theophilus exercised his hatred against him, even after his death: He wrote against him a Book full of Invectives, and reproachful Railings; and prevented, while he lived, any honour to be done to the Memory of St. Chrysostom in the East.

When Theophilus was dead, the Spirits of the Eastern Bishops began to relent; and they began to be more favourable to the Memory of that Saint. Alexander Successor to Porphyrius in the See of Antioch, was the first, who in the Year 413, inserted the Name of St. Chrysostom into the Diptychs, and who by that means was re-admitted to communicate with Pope Innocent. Acacius of Beroa likewise received Letters of Communion from the Pope, upon condition that he should not shew any hatred against St. Chrysostom afterwards.

About the Year 428. Atticus Bishop of Constantinople, inserted the Name of St. Chrysostom into the Diptychs, and exhorted St. Cyril of Alexandria to do the same. This Bishop scrupled it at first: But at last St. Isidore Pelusiota persuaded him to do it. Thus all the Churches did right to the Memory of St. Chrysostom, and Peace was restored.

The Number of St. Chrysostom's Works is so great, that the Antient Criticks durst not pretend to make a Catalogue of them: St. Isidore and Suidas, looked upon it as almost impossible. George and Nicephorus say, that he composed above a thousand Volumes. Suidas and Cassiodorus affirm that he wrote Commentaries upon the whole Bible: From all which it is evident, that how many soever of St. Chrysostom's Works are yet extant, they are fewer than they have been, and so much the rather; because among those that we have, some are none of his, though they bear his Name.

The 65 Homilies upon Genesis, are the first of St. Chrysostom's Commentaries of the Bible, according to the Order of the sacred Books; the thirty two first were preached in Lent, in the third Year of his being Bishop. This Subject was interrupted by the Festivals; for he was to preach upon the Passion of Jesus Christ. After Easter, he undertook to expound the Acts of the Apostles, and was near a Year about that Work: Afterwards he betook himself to his former Task, and finished his Exposition of Genesis, in thirty four Homilies. These Homilies are Commentaries upon Genesis, rather than Sermons. And he applies himself particularly to explain the Text of Scripture literally. The Examples of Virtues or Vices spoken of in the Text, which he expounds, are commonly the Subject of his Homilies. The Style is plain, and without those Figures and Ornaments which are to be found in his other Sermons.

The Nine Sermons of St. Chrysostom upon single passages of Genesis, are more florid, and contain more moral Thoughts. The first is, upon the first Words of Genesis. In the beginning, God created the Heavens and the Earth: in it he treats, of Fasting and Alms-deeds.

The second is upon these Words of the first Chapter, v. 26. Let us make Man after our own Image: There he gives the reason why Moses speaking of the Creation of Man, uses the Expression, God said, Let us make; whereas he said of the Creation of other things, God said, Let them be: And there he shews wherein this Resemblance with God consists.

In the third he makes some further Reflections upon Man being like God, and upon the Dominion given to him over other Creatures; and there he answers the Question, why Beasts fall upon and kill Man; and confesses that it is, because Man by Sin has lost the Empire he had over them. St. Austin quotes this Homily in his first Book against Julian, and produces a passage out of it to prove Original Sin.

In the fourth the three kinds of servitude which Mankind is fallen into by sin are discoursed of, which are, the Subjection of the Wife to her Husband, that of one Man to another, and that of Subjects to their Princes. He insists much upon this last, and occasionally speaks of the Attention Men ought to give to Sermons.

In the fifth he shews, that those who live well purchase their Liberty; and declaims against those that refuse to assist the Poor.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth, are concerning the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. In the first he shews, that Adam knew Good and Evil before he tasted the Fruit of that Tree. In the second he says, that it is so called, because Evil is more perfectly known after Commission; there he also explains those Words of our Saviour to the

St. John Chrysostom. good Thief: *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* The third is about God's forbidding Man to eat of the Fruit of the Tree.

The ninth is upon the Names of *Abraham* and *Noah*, where he discourses of brotherly Correction.

The tenth Homily upon *Genesis* in the English Edition is not genuine; it has the same Preface with the third Homily upon *David* and *Saul*; it is written in a swelling Style, and full of Metaphors, and quite different from the first Part.

The following Sermons are upon the History of *Hannah*, *Samuel's* Mother, in the first Book of *Samuel*; but it treats of several Subjects.

The Preface to the first is upon the Fast of the last Lent, and upon the Sermons which he had made since against the *Gentiles*; and after *Flavianus* his return upon the Feasts of the Martyrs, and against swearing. After this he resumes the Subject of Providence, which he was entred upon: he demonstrates, that it is God who gave unto Man the knowledge of the things which he ought to know; that sickness and death have their use: He takes notice that the Love which Parents have for their Children is an effect of Providence, and that Mothers are not less concerned in the Education of their Children than Fathers: And upon occasion of this last Reflection, he relates the History of *Hannah*, and he speaks of it in the following Sermon, and thereupon he Discourses of Moderation, of Modesty, and the Reverence due to Priests, and of Grace before and after Meat.

In the third, he speaks of the Obligation which lies upon Men, to give their Children good Education.

In the fourth, upon the second Part of *Hannah's* Song, he reproves those who neglect Divine Service to go to Plays and publick Shows, and discourses of the usefulness of Prayer.

In the fifth he shews their Error, who go to Church only upon great Festival Days. He expounds the rest of *Hannah's* Hymn, and he speaks of the Advantage of Wealth above Poverty. These five Discourses were preached by St. Chrysostom in *Antioch*, about *Whitsuntide*, after *Flavianus* his Return. In this last Sermon, he mentions a Discourse upon the first Part of *Hannah's* Hymn not extant.

There are three Sermons about *David* and *Saul*. In the first, after a Declamation against those that frequent Plays to the neglect of Holy Worship, and a Declaration that they should be excommunicated, he treats of Patience, and forgiveness of Enemies; proposing for an example *David's* Action, who would not kill *Saul*, though God had delivered him into his Hands.

In the second, that Action is commended, and preferred before all the other great Actions of that King. He prosecutes the same Argument, in the third Discourse, where he also complains of those who were given to Plays: He observes, that it is as great an Act of Virtue to bear an Injury patiently, as to give Alms.

At the End of these there is another Sermon against Idleness, which hath no Relation to the Rest.

The Homilies upon the *Psalms*, are Commentaries rather than Sermons: St. Chrysostom does not enlarge so much upon Moral Topicks, as to give the sense and understanding of the Text. He follows the Version of the *LXX*, but he often hath recourse to the Differences of the Antient Greek Versions, and quotes even the Hebrew Text in some places to clear Difficulties: There are some *Psalms* upon which we have no Homilies of St. Chrysostom, as the first and second; but there are upon the third, and following to the 13th; upon the 41st, and 43d, and so on to the 117th; and from the 119th to the last; which make in all Sixty Homilies, which certainly are St. Chrysostom's. To these may be added, the Homily upon the 13th, *Psalms*, and two others upon the fiftieth, which have likewise St. Chrysostom's Style. Those upon the 51st, 95th, and 100th, are more doubtful; yet I see no reason that we should reject them. It is not so of the Commentaries upon the 101st, *Psalms*, and upon the Six that follow, which are *Theodore's*. The Commentary upon the 119th, belongs to some modern Greek, that speaks against the *Iconoclasts*, and takes out of *Theodore's* Commentaries part of what he Writes. There are also four Sermons upon particular passages of the *Psalms*, but they must not be joyned to the rest; because they are not Explications of the Text of the *Psalms*, but Sermons upon distinct Subjects.

These are a Discourse upon these Words of the 44th, *Psalms*: *The Queen standeth at thy Right hand*, preached in *Constantinople* some Days after *Eutropius* his Disgrace, who had retired into the Church, but was gone out again. He speaks in his Preface, of the advantage of reading the Holy Scripture. He describes afterwards how the Church was beset, when *Eutropius* had taken Sanctuary there. He relates what he had done to help him, and with what sincerity he had spoken, without fearing the Threatnings uttered against him. He observes that he was taken by his own fault, for the Church had not forsaken him, but he had quit- ted it: But yet it was no wonder that he reaped no greater benefit from that Sanctuary, because he entered not into it with a Christian Heart; that when any Man flies into

the Church to take sanctuary there, he ought to go in with his Mind as well as with his Body; because the Church is not made up of Walls, but of an Holy Union among the Members of Jesus Christ. Upon occasion of the Eunuch's Disgrace, he shews how little Solidity there is in the Goods of this World, and draws a fine Picture of the Instability of Riches, and then concludes with an excellent Description of the Church. 'Nothing, says he to his Auditors, is stronger than the Church; Let it be your Hope, your Heaven and Refuge: It is higher than the Heavens, of a larger extent than the Earth: She never waxeth old, but still retaineth her strength and vigour, for this cause the Scripture calleth her a Mountain, to shew her stability; a Virgin because she cannot be corrupted; a Queen because of her Magnificence and Splendour; and it gives her the Name of Daughter, by reason of her Union with God, &c.'

Both the Sermons upon these Words of the 48th, *Psalms*. *Be not thou afraid when one is made Rich*, were likewise preached in *Constantinople*. In them he recommends Alms-deeds and Hospitality; and he touches upon the necessity of being present at Divine Service.

The Homily on these words of the 145th, *Psalms*, *My Soul blest thou the Lord*, is a Sermon for the holy Week, called then *the great Week*. The reason of that Name St. Chrysostom gives in the beginning of his Discourse, which is this. 'This Week, says he, is called *the great Week*, because Jesus Christ wrought great Mysteries at this Time: He delivered Man from the Tyranny of the Devil, he overcame Death, bound the strong armed Man, blotted out Sin. But as this Week is *the great Week*, because it is the first of Weeks; for the same reason Saturday is called the great Day: and for this cause many of the faithful do upon this Day Double their exercises; some fast with greater Austerity, others watch continually, others bestow much on the poor: some apply themselves with greater Zeal, to the Practice of good Works, and by their Piety bear witness to the Mercy of God: Emperors themselves honour this Week, they grant a Vacation to all Magistrates, that so being freed from Worldly Care, they may spend these Days in the Worship of God: They give honour also to this Day, by sending Letters every where to command the Prison Doors to be opened. Let us also have regard to these Days, and instead of Palm-branches, let us offer him our Hearts. Then he explains the *Psalms*, *My Soul praise thou the Lord*. The Royal Prophet, says he, cries out *Praise the Lord, O my Soul*; why does he direct his Discourse to the Soul? to teach us that the Soul should apply herself to the Words that are uttered: For if he that prayeth doth not understand his own words, how would he have God to give ear to him? God often doth not grant our Petitions, but that is for our good; he defers some time, not to deceive us with vain hopes, but to make us more zealous and diligent, for the fervency of Prayer commonly ceaseth when we have what we have desired: so that to keep up our Devotion, God is pleased to withhold his Gifts. He observes in this Sermon, that the Righteous after Death live with us, pray with us, and are amongst us, &c.'

St. Chrysostom writ a Commentary upon *Isaiah*: but we have only part of it from the beginning, to the eleventh Verse of the eighth Chapter. Both the historical and spiritual Sense is set forth with much solidity and clearness.

There are also five Homilies of his upon these words of *Isaiah*. ch. 6. *I saw the Lord upon an high Throne*, and one concerning the *Seraphim* spoken of in the same place; they are moral Discourses upon various subjects, and especially of the reverence due to sacred things, and of the Dignity of the Priest-hood; there is a very remarkable passage concerning the Ecclesiastical and the Civil Power. 'Uzziab, saith he, went himself into the Holy of Holies to offer Incense: being King he would usurp the Priest-hood: I will, said he, burn Incense, for I am worthy to do it. O ye Princes keep within the Limits of your own power: The bounds of Ecclesiastical Power differ from those of secular Government. The King rules over earthly things, the Church's Jurisdiction relates to Heavenly goods. God hath committed to Kings the things of the Earth, and to me those of Heaven: When I say to me, I mean to Priests. So that, though a Priest prove unworthy of his Office, yet for all that you ought not to despise the dignity of the Priest-hood. God hath made the Body subject to Kings, and the Soul to Priests. The King pardons corporal Offences, but the Priest remits Sins. The one compels, the other exhorts; the one imposes a law, the other gives council; one uses Spiritual Weapons, the other sensible Arms; one wages War against *Barbarians*, and the other against Devils. But the Ecclesiastical power is the nobler of the Two, wherefore the King receives the Priest's blessing, and in the old Law the priest anointed the Kings. But this King would go beyond his Bounds, and extend his Power, too far, and enter the Temple by force, to offer Incense: but what did the Priest say to this? Sir, you are not permitted to offer Incense. Behold this is a generous liberty; here was a Soul that could not flatter basely. You are not, says he, to go into the Sanctuary, nor

St. John Chrysostom. nor to offer Incense to the Lord, That is reserved for me to do. King *Uzziah* could not bear this reproof, but transported with Pride, he opens the Sanctuary and burns Incense. The Priest is despised, the sacerdotal Function is set at nought: The Priest is without power: For the Priest's right is only to reprove freely, and to admonish judiciously. Having then advised the King with that boldness which became him, and the King refusing to yield, but on the contrary preparing Arms to assert his Authority; the Priest crieth out, I have done what my Duty commanded me to do, I have no power to go further, O Lord defend the Priest-hood which is despised; thy Laws are violated, and Justice is overthrown, undertake for them.' This is the Account which St. Chrysostom gives of the High-priest's Constancy in the Fourth Homily. In the Fifth he speaks of his Meekness. 'I have shewed you the firmness of the High-Priest; now take notice of his lenity, for we have need not of Courage only, but much more of Meekness, because Sinners hate to be reprov'd, and seek all occasions to avoid admonition: and so must be drawn and restrained with mildness and Charity.'

In the Homily concerning the Seraphim he speaks of that Celestial Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*: He says, that formerly that Hymn was sung only in Heaven, but since the Lord appeared upon Earth, we are allowed the Benefit of that Divine Consort. 'Wherefore, says he, when the Priest is by the holy Table to offer the Eucharist, he does not utter that Hymn, but after he has named the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Congregation have lifted up their Hearts to God.' This passage discovers the Antiquity of this Preface to the Office of the Eucharist.

To these Homilies should be joyned the Sermon upon *Isaiah*. ch. 45. v. 7. *I am the Lord, I form the Light and create Darkness, I make Peace and create Evil.*

There is no Commentary of St. Chrysostom upon *Jeremiah* (f); but only one Homily upon *Ch. 10. v. 23.* of that Prophet, where he proves the freedom of Man's Will.

To these Homilies upon the Prophets must be added two Sermons of the obscurity of Prophecies wherein he gives reasons why prophecies are dark. He tells us in the first, that the Prophets spake obscurely of the Evils which were to come upon the *Jews*, because that had they spoke plainly, they might have been ill used, and perhaps killed by the *Jews*. This he proves by an infinite Number of Examples of Prophets killed by them, for telling the Truth. It is added, that Prophecies were dark, that the *Jews* might not understand them, till they were to comprehend them. In the second, he says, that the event has cleared the Prophecies, That the Veil which covered them was taken off in the New Testament, and so the obscurity wherein they were wrapt up has been dissipated. At last, he observes, that the Old Testament having been Written in Hebrew, is the less clear, because Versions commonly make the Sense more obscure.

This Father's Commentaries upon the New Testament are more full and entire.

St. Matthew's whole Gospel is expounded in fourscore and ten Homilies (g), and that of St. John in eighty seven. There are four and fifty Homilies upon the *Acts*, and thirty two upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; forty four upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; thirty upon the second; a Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*;

(f) There is no Commentary of St. Chrysostom upon *Jeremiah*.] There was a Manuscript in some Libraries that went under St. Chrysostom's Name; but it was so pitiful a Business, that it was not judged worth publishing: no more than some *Scholia* upon the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

(g) St. Matthew's whole Gospel is expounded in 90. Homilies.] In the Translation there are 91, but the 29th. is divided into two, though it is but one in the Greek Original; and so the Translation ought to be mended in the number of the Homilies upon St. Matthew, and in the Greek Text to be corrected in the number of the Homilies upon St. John; for though it distinguishes 88 Homilies, yet there are but 87, because the Preface is not to be reckoned one of them.

(h) Part of these Homilies were preached at Antioch, and the other at Constantinople.] Photius observes, that it is easie to know which Homilies St. Chrysostom preached at Antioch; because they are more elaborate than those that were preached at Constantinople. But though this general Rule may serve to distinguish them, yet some Particulars in the Homilies themselves are remarkable, to determine where they were preached. It is evident, that the Homilies upon *Genesis*, were preached at Constantinople, as we observed before after Photius, for he positively says so in the 33d. Homily upon *Genesis*, which is the 28th. according to Photius, who reckoneth but 61 Homilies upon *Genesis*. Erasmus believed, that the 54 Homilies upon the *Acts* were not St. Chrysostom's; and Sir Henry Savil seems to have doubted of it: But without ground, for they are written in his Style, and in several places he discovers himself. The Style of the Homilies upon the *Psalms*, shews that they were preached at Antioch, not to mention the Authority of George of Alexandria, and some other modern Greeks that confirm the same. It cannot be known when he made the Commentary upon *Isaiah*. The seventh Homily upon St. Matthew, shews plainly that it

four and twenty Homilies upon that to the *Ephesians*; fifteen upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*; twelve upon that to the *Colossians*; eleven upon the first to the *Thessalonians*; five upon the second: Eighteen upon the first to *Timothy*; ten upon the second; six on the Epistle to *Titus*; three upon that to *Philemon*; and thirty four upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. It is said, that these last were collected after the Death of St. Chrysostom, by a Priest called Constantine who had been his Disciple; but there is no Proof of this; and it is more likely that he writ them himself. Part of these Homilies were preached at Antioch, and the other at Constantinople (h).

These Homilies consist of two parts: The first contains a Commentary upon the Gospel, the other a moral Exhortation to the People. In the Commentary he gives a reason of the Contents of the Gospel, examines all the Circumstances thereof, weighs the Words, and discovers in those places which seem most plain, great numbers of fine things, to which no attention would have been given, had he not taken notice of them. He keeps still to the literal sense, and of all Explications, he always chuses, not the most subtle, but the most natural. He seeks for no allegorical or figurative sense. He useth no far fetched notions to prove his Opinions; avoids all entangled and hard Questions, contenting himself to make clear and useful Observations upon the History and upon the Text of St. Paul. He gives a perfect light to all the places of this Apostle's Epistles, which seem most difficult, and particularly to those, which are thought to speak of Predestination and of Grace. His Expositions remove all that which at the first view makes them appear terrible and fearful. Every-where God is represented as a good and merciful Being, and willing to save all Men, and who affords them all necessary means of Salvation. Men are exhorted to answer that Call of God; since it is their own fault if they be not saved; for those that are damned damn themselves. He tells them often, that God requireth no impossible thing of them: That with God's help they may keep the Commandments, and practise Virtue. St. Chrysostom finds these comfortable Thoughts in the passages of St. Paul, which seem most terrifying; and endeavours to prove, that they are not contrary to the mind of this Apostle. The Exposition he gives of the most difficult places, is no ways forced; yea, it seemeth very often to be the most simple and natural. However, to my thinking, it is always the most profitable and edifying, and the fittest to be preached to the People, which are much edified by such remonstrances as tend to practice, but can reap little or no fruit from Speculations about God's eternal Decrees, and other abstracted matters, that have but little relation to the government of Life and Manners.

All the Exhortations that conclude St. Chrysostom's Homilies, are ordinarily about some points of Morality; as about the fear that men ought to stand in of God's Judgments, the Necessity of Repentance, the Contempt of Riches, Forgiving of Enemies, Humility, Abstraction of the Heart from worldly things, diligent Meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, and God's Laws; an Abhorrency of Plays and Shows, Charity towards the Poor, Alms, and Hospitality; brotherly Reproof, the Duties of Husbands to their Wives, of Parents to their Children, of Masters to their Servants, of Lay-men towards their Pastors, Patience in Afflictions, that Holiness wherewith Men should come

was preached at Antioch; for he says there, that they, to whom he spake, boasted of being Inhabitants of that City, where the Name of Christians took its beginning. That Town is again pointed at in the 68th. Homily, according to the Latin, and the 67th. according to the Greek: Whereby it is manifest, that these Homilies were preached at Antioch. In the 21st. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he plainly says, that he was preaching at Antioch. In the 3d. Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*, he makes mention of *Daphne*, a Suburb of Antioch, as belonging to the Town where he preached. The Sermons upon the Epistle to the *Colossians* were preached at Constantinople; for in the 3d. Homily he speaks with Episcopal Authority, threatening Sinners to deny them the Peace of the Church; he also mentions the Episcopal Throne whereon he was sitting, and calls himself Bishop. Of the same time are the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*: In the 11th. upon the first Epistle, he says, that he presided over them that heard him. The same is to be taken notice of in the 4th. Homily upon the second Epistle. In the 4th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he threatens to put those out of the Church, who should hire Mourners at the Funerals of their Relations; which justifies his being Bishop. In the 26th. Homily upon the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, there are these Words, *That the Son of Constantine caused his Father to be buried in this City.* As to the rest, there is no certain proof from what he says, to tell us where they were preached: But the Style of the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Galatians*, being smoother and more polished; whereas that of the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, and *Philemon*, being careless and without Art; we may believe, according to Photius his Rule, that the former were preached at Antioch, and the latter at Constantinople.

St. John
Chryso-
stom.

to the Sacraments; the Benefit of Prayer, and the Conditions required therein, of Fasting, and the Advantages of a monastical and solitary Life, Assiduity in divine Offices, Attention to preaching, Sobriety, Purity, Modesty; Meekness, Clemency, Contempt of Death; and many other like Subjects, which he handleth with such familiar, and yet such solid and convincing Reasons, that there are no Discourses more capable of inspiring Notions of Piety and Virtue. He does not go about, as most Preachers do, to set forth studied Notions, which divert the Understanding, but do not touch the Heart. He goes to the Bottom of Things, searches the secret Folds of Man's Heart; and not contented to have discovered and described Vice, he begets an horror of it; He sets forth the most powerful Motives to deter Christians from it, and the most proper means to correct it, and to practise true and solid Virtue. He stretches nothing too far, but distinguishes exactly the matter of a Precept, from the Advice therein contained: He is neither too meek nor too severe: He is neither too familiar, nor keeps too much distance; never complies beyond what is meet, nor terrifies to Discouragement: In a word, his Exhortations are an excellent Pattern of preaching to the People.

The Sermons in the Fifth Volume upon several Texts of the New Testament, are not Commentaries, but moral Instructions, or Homilies upon different Subjects.

The first is of Forgiveness of our Enemies; upon the Parable of that Debtor, to whom his Master remitted ten thousand Talents, and yet afterwards exacted the hundred Pence from him that owed them to him. He speaks of the exact Account that Men must render to God. 'Rich Men,' saith he, must give account for the use of their Riches; 'poor Men of their Patience; Judges of the Discharge of their Office; but above all, Church-men shall account for their Ministry; they shall be more strictly examined. It shall be asked of him to whom the Word of God was committed, whether out of Idleness or Flattery, he omitted none of those necessary things which his Ministry obliged him to speak; if he explained all and concealed no Truth. A Bishop charged with the Direction of a Diocese, hath yet a far greater Account to give: His Examination will be not only about his Doctrine, and his helping of the poor, but especially about the Orders which he shall have conferred, and a Thousand other Obligations of the Priesthood. St. Chrysostom speaking of St. Peter in that Homily, calleth him the Head of the Body of the Apostles; the Mouth of the Disciples, the Firmament of the Faith, the Foundation of Confession; and the Fisherman of the whole Earth.

The second Sermon of this Volume is against Dancing and Luxury; there he shews, that Preachers are bound to reprove Vice, and that they ought never to forbear, tho' their preaching seems to be without Fruit: Then he begins to explain the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, making several moral Reflections on the particulars of that Parable in the four following Sermons. The last is quoted by Photius in the 277^b. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*, where he speaks of an Earthquake at *Antioch*, where he preached these Sermons. He observes in the fourth, that God does not permit any to return from the Dead, and gives the reason of it.

The seventh Sermon is an Exposition of the Parable of the Man that was sick of the Palsie; he uses Jesus Christ's Words, concerning that sick Man, and his Cure, to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

The eighth is upon these Words of Jesus Christ in St. Matthew, Chap. 26. v. 39. *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass*, &c. There he explains the Mystery of Christ's Incarnation, and in what sense he feared Death; and would have avoided it.

The ninth on these Words of St. Matthew, *Enter in at the strait Gate*, is against publick Shows: At the latter end of it, the Case of *Dives* is compared with that of *Lazarus*.

The tenth contains an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer: This Prayer is not written in St. Chrysostom's Style.

The eleventh is upon the Resurrection of *Lazarus*. That Discourse is none of St. Chrysostom's, the Style, Elocution, and the very Thoughts, are quite different from his.

The twelfth is upon the Title of the *Acts* of the Apostles: where after a Discourse, concerning the Establishment and Perpetuity of the Church, which could neither be shaken nor ruined by the severest Persecutions; he shews, that a Christian Life, and good Works, are more to be valued, than the Gift of working Miracles; he ends with a Commendation of the Bishop of *Antioch*, whom he calls the Successor of St. Peter: *For, saith he, it is one of the Privileges of our City to have had for our Master St. Peter, the first of the Apostles. It was just, that that City, which had the Advantage of bearing first the Name of a Christian City, should have for her Bishop the first of the Apostles. But having enjoyed that Happiness, we would not engross it to our selves; but consented he should go to Rome, the Imperial City: Yet in giving, we have not lost him, we have him still; we have not his Body, but his Faith; and having St. Peter's Faith, we may truly say, we have St. Peter himself.*

He justifies himself in the thirteenth for the length of his Prefaces; he shews there the Usefulness of Reproof, and treats of the Conversion of St. Paul, and of the changing of his Name, and reproves them that neglect to labour in their own Conversion, under pretence that God will convert them. *God, says he, forceth no man; he draweth only them that are willing to go to him; he is willing to save us; but that is, if we be willing to be saved.*

The fourteenth is upon these Words of St. Paul, c. 5. v. 3. *Rejoicing in Tribulations*. Here he shews what is the Fruit of Afflictions, and of Persecutions.

The same Subject is handled in the following Discourse, upon these Words of the same Apostle: *All things work together for good to them that love God.*

The Preface of the sixteenth is against such as frequent not the Assemblies of the Faithful in Churches; and then he expounds these Words of the Apostle, *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him*: exhorting Men to forgive Injuries.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth Sermons he makes many very useful Reflections upon these Words of St. Paul, *Salute Aquila and Priscilla*. In these Discourses we have an Example, how many moral Thoughts may be suggested by a Subject which of it self seems dry and barren. For what is there more simple in appearance, and of less Instruction, than this Salutation of St. Paul? Yet by a wonderful Art St. Chrysostom makes use of it for the Explanation of many important Instructions. As about the Respect we ought to have for the Poor, Charity towards our Brethren, the small regard that is to be had to Nobility, the Profit of working with our own hands, and the Reverence due to Church-men, &c.

The nineteenth and twentieth Sermons are about what St. Paul saith of Marriage in 1. Cor. c. 7. from which he takes occasion to speak against dancing, feasting, and other prophane Poms of Weddings. He teaches what ought to be the end of Marriage among Christians, and how it is to be used. *Marriage, says he, is a Remedy against Fornication, Let us not therefore dishonour it by filthy Poms.* Christians ought to banish from their Weddings devilish Poms, filthy Songs, lascivious Consorts, undecent Dancings, obscene Words, Riots, excessive Laughter; and they ought to introduce the Servants of Jesus Christ, and his Priests; to have Jesus Christ in Person in the midst of them, as of the Marriage in *Cana*. Let no man tell me it is the Custom; do not tell me of a Custom, if it is sinful. If the thing be evil in it self, how old soever the Use of it be, retrench it: If it be good, and not usual, bring it in. But know that this Custom is not ancient, but an Innovation. Remember the Marriage of *Isaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Rachel* with *Jacob*; the Scripture tells us how those Weddings were kept; it shews indeed, that there was a Feast more splendid than ordinary; that the Relations and Neighbours were invited, but there were no Fiddles, no Dancing, nor any other shameful Excesses of our Age. Now at Weddings such lascivious Songs are sung, as teach Adultery, and inspire foolish Love, the Guests full of Wine do attend the Bride with impure Discourses. With what reason can you pretend to require Chastity in a Woman, whom you have taught from the very first day to be impudent, and before whom you suffer that to be said and done, which your Footmen would blush to do or hear? To what purpose do ye bring in a Priest to crave a Blessing, and the next day your selves commit base Actions? In the same Homily there are a great many Exhortations of the same nature against such Disorders, which are not less frequent in our days, than they were in the time of this Bishop. Afterwards he adviseth both Men and Women to behave themselves holily in Marriage; and not only to avoid Adultery, but not so much as give an Occasion of suspicion: He proves that second Marriages are not forbidden, though it is better to forbear, and concludes with a sensible Declaration against Adultery, and Fornication.

The twenty-first is upon these Words, 1. Cor. c. 10. *Our Fathers were all under the Cloud*, &c. After a large Exposition of which Words, he speaks of Alms-deeds, and of the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily.

The twenty-second is upon these Words of St. Paul. *There must be Heresies*. He commends the Old *Agape*, or Feasts of Charity.

The twenty-third is of Alms-deeds, and the care which Men ought to have of such as are in want. This should be placed among the Sermons of Morality.

The twenty-fourth is upon these Words, 2. Cor. c. 4. *Having the same Spirit of Faith*, &c. He gives great Praises to Virginity, and to a Monastick Life; which he describes in these Words: 'Do you not take notice of those Monks who live privately, and dwell upon the Tops of Mountains? What Austerities and Mortifications do they not practise? They are covered with Ashes, clothed with Sackcloth, loaden with Chains and Irons, shut up in little Cells, struggling continually with Hunger, they spend their time in Watchings to blot out part of their Sins.' He observes also, that tho' Virginity is a supernatural Gift, yet it is unprofitable if it be not accompanied with Charity and Meekness.

St. John Chrysostom. The twenty-fifth is upon the same Text; he opposes the Manichees, and exhorts them to give Alms.

The twenty-sixth upon the same Words, presses the Duty of Alms-giving.

The twenty-seventh is upon these Words, 2 Cor. Bear a little with my Folly. He lays down Rules very judicious, both at what time, and upon what occasions a Man may commend himself.

The twenty-eighth reproves them who abuse what St. Paul saith, Phil. c. 1. v. 18. What matters it how Christ is preached? His Discourse is about Prayer and Humility.

In the twenty-ninth he treats of the Marriage of Christians, and of the Duties of those that are married.

The thirtieth is upon these Words, 1 Thess. c. 4. v. 13. But I would not have you to be ignorant, Brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. He discourses of the way how Christians should bear with the Death of Relations, and confirms what he says by the Examples of Job and of Isaac.

The thirty-first is concerning the Duty of Widows, on these Words, 1 Tim. c. 5. v. 9. Let not a Widow be chosen of less than sixty Years. He there discourses of Childrens Education.

The following Sermons have less relation to Texts of Scripture, being, for the most part, upon solemn Festival-days.

The thirty-second is about Judas's Treason, where he speaks of the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily.

The thirty-third concerns the Festival of Christmas, which was celebrated for Ten years before in the East upon the 25th. of December, as it had been before at Rome. St. Chrysostom proves by several Reasons, that this was exactly the Day of Jesus Christ's Nativity.

The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth are upon the Passion of Jesus Christ: In the latter he speaks of forgiving Enemies, upon occasion of the Good Thief.

The thirty-sixth is upon the Resurrection from the Dead.

The thirty-seventh is a Sermon upon the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, preached upon Easter-day.

The thirty-eighth upon the Ascension, was preached in a Church of Martyrs.

The thirty-ninth and fortieth Sermons are upon Whit-sunday. In the former he answers that curious Question, Why Miracles are not wrought now, as they were in the time of the Apostles?

The forty-first is of the Dignity of the Eucharist, and the Respect we ought to shew to the holy Mysteries. This Discourse seems to me to be neither of the Stile nor the Order of St. Chrysostom.

The seven following Sermons being Panegyricks upon St. Paul, were translated by Anianus, who lived in Athalaricus's time.

The forty-ninth is of Meekness.

The fiftieth upon the Conversion of St. Paul, was preached at Antioch after that upon the Title of the Acts.

The fifty-first is upon the Inscription in the Temple of Athens, To the unknown God, spoken of Acts, c. 17. v. 17.

The fifty-second is upon the beginning of the first Epistle to the Corinthians: Paul called an Apostle, &c.

The fifty-third shews the Profitableness of reading the holy Scripture. It is dedicated to Persons newly baptized; there he extolls the Quality of an Apostle. It is one of the four upon the beginning of the Acts, preached at Antioch before Flavians.

The fifty-fourth of Christ's Prayers and Qualities, is the first Sermon upon the Incarnation.

The fifty-fifth is against those that fast at Easter.

The fifty-sixth against such as observe the Jewish Fasts.

In the fifty-seventh he speaks of Alms-deeds, upon occasion of the Hospitality practised towards the Prophet Elijah, who was relieved by the Widow of Sarepta.

The fifty-eighth of the Pleasures of the Life to come, and of the Vanity of this World's Goods.

The fifty-ninth is against those that despair, when they receive not what they ask of God, or who petition for unjust things; he there occasionally speaks of the Duty of Husbands towards their Wives.

In the sixtieth he compares Riches with Poverty; treats of the manner how Sinners are to be reprov'd, and blames those who call upon God against their Enemies.

The sixty-first begins with an Exclamation against those that communicate unworthily: He shews that a Preacher is not to preach God's Word with Complaisance, but to reprove Vice with Fervency, because this is profitable for Sinners to make them know and confess their Sins.

The sixty-second concerns Martyrs; there he proves, That the best way of honouring Martyrs, is to imitate their Virtues.

The sixty-third is against those who teach, That Demons govern the Affairs of this World, and against such as do not endure with Patience the Chastening of God; and, lastly, against those who are scandalized at the Prosperity of the Wicked, and the Misfortune of the Righteous.

In the Sixty-fourth he treats of St. Paul's action in resist-

ing St. Peter; and endeavours to prove, that both did it by agreement for the instruction of the Faithful.

The Sixty-fifth is a Discourse, or rather a Treatise against Jews and Gentiles, to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

The Sixty-sixth is another Treatise against those who were offended, because of the mischiefs that happened to the City, and the persecution of the Priests, and of the faithful. It is an excellent Explanation of that hard Question, Why there is so much evil in the World, if the Providence of God governs it? Both these Pieces should be put among St. Chrysostom's Treatises.

The Sixty-seventh is an Homily concerning the two Paralyticks of the Gospel: There he proves the Divinity of the Son of God.

The Preface to the Sixty seventh is about the Use that Men are to make of Sermons preached in the Church. He gives a reason why the Acts of the Apostles are read in the Church at Whitsuntide. Lastly, he shews that the Miracles of the Apostles proved the Certainty of Christ's Resurrection, and rendred it more famous. This Sermon follows that which he made upon the Title of the Acts.

In the Sixty-eighth, having reprov'd those who complain'd that his Sermons were either too long or too short, he gives a reason of altering St. Paul's Name, and that of Abraham, and of the Signification of that of Adam.

The Sixty-ninth Sermon was preached at Antioch, in the absence of the Bishop. He commends the Martyrs, and treats of Contrition of Heart, and of Alms-deeds.

The Seventieth is upon the Feast of St. Bassus Bishop and Martyr, upon an Earthquake that happened at Antioch, and upon the Words of Jesus Christ, Matthew, c. 11. v. 29. Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.

The Seventy-first is a Panegyrick upon St. Drosis.

The Seventy-second is a Sermon of Penance, mentioned in the ninth Homily of Penance.

All these Sermons now mentioned were preached at Antioch by St. Chrysostom, when he was Priest of that Church. There are but two more in this Volume preached at Constantinople; the first was after the expulsion of Gainas from the City; and the other was after St. Chrysostom's return from his first Exile.

At the latter end of the fourth Volume there are three Sermons of the same. The first was preached at Antioch by St. Chrysostom immediately after his being made Priest. This Sermon is a Panegyrick upon Flavians, who Ordained him. It is the first that St. Chrysostom ever preached. The two others in the same place were preached towards the latter end of his Life: The first at the time when they contrived his Deposition and former Banishment; the second after he was recalled: In it there is an excellent Comparison of Sarah seized upon by the King of Egypt, and of the Church of Constantinople, deprived of his presence, by the Caballings of Theophilus an Egyptian Bishop; and a dextrous Commendation of the Empress Eudoxia.

The first Volume contains several other Sermons, preached for the most part at Antioch: The first Twenty-one are called Sermons of Statues; because they were preached at the time, and upon the occasion of a sedition in Antioch, in the beginning of the Year 388, wherein the People had thrown down and dragged about the Streets the Statues of Theodosius, and of the Empress Flaccilla.

The first Sermon is upon these words of St. Paul to Timothy; Use a little Wine for thy Stomach's sake, and often Infirmities, wherein he alledgeth several reasons, why God permits his Saints to be afflicted; he preached it sometime before that Tumult, which obliged him to discontinue his preaching. But the heat of that sedition was no sooner over, and the People of Antioch, astonished with the fearful Threatnings of the Emperor, had acknowledged their fault, and turned their fury into Mourning; but he resumed the Chair for the comfort of that desolate People: And Flavians their Bishop as a good Father, went to the Emperor to assuage his Anger.

The first Sermon of St. Chrysostom upon this Subject, is that which is called the second of Statues: There he bewails the Unhappiness of that City, exhorting the Inhabitants to implore the Mercy of God by fervent Prayers, and turn away his Wrath by good Works, to prevent the Danger that threatned them. This Discourse is very eloquent: Here are some Fragments whereby one may judge of the rest. 'What shall I say? What shall I speak of? Our present Condition calls for Tears rather than Words, Lamentations rather than Discourses, and Prayers rather than Sermons. The blackness of our Action is so great, the Wound we have given to our selves is so deep, and so hard to be cured, that we have need to apply our selves to an Almighty Physician. Then having compared the Misery of that City to that of Job, he adds, 'Even Days have I kept silence, as formerly did Job's Friends: Give me leave to open my Mouth, and bewail our Misery.—I groan, I weep, not for the severity of the Threatnings, but for the excess of our Folly: For though the Emperor were not angry with us, and should forbear to punish us, how should we suffer the shame of our Actions?' After this, he describes very elegantly the Happiness which that City enjoyed

enjoyed before that Mutiny, and the Mifery it was now reduced to; and concludes this Description with these Words. 'The great City of *Antioch* is in danger of being utterly destroyed; the that lately had an infinite Number of Inhabitants, will shortly prove a Wilderness; none in this World can help her: For the offended Emperor, hath no equal upon Earth, he is the Sovereign and the Master of all Men. All we can do is to make our Application to the King of Heaven; let us address our selves to him, and call upon him for help. If we obtain not Mercy from Heaven, we have no remission to hope for.' He observes, that God permitted that Mischief, to punish the People for their Blasphemies, and teaches rich men what use they are to make of their Riches.

The next Sermon was preached when *Flavianus* was gone to Court to solicit the Business of the City of *Antioch*. there he represents the Charity of *Flavianus*, who would undertake that Journey: He tells them the things that the Bishop was to represent to the Emperor, and bids them hope that these Remonstrances will be heard, affirming that he is confident of all through God's Mercy. 'God, says he, will stand betwixt the petitioning Bishop, and the Emperor addressed to; he will soften the King's Heart, and put in the Bishop's Mouth the Words which he should speak.' He intreats the People to pray earnestly, that God would mollify the Spirit of the Emperor. He speaks of fasting in *Lent*, affirming that right fasting is to abstain from Sin. At last he advises the People to avoid three Vices, *Evil-speaking*, *hatred of their Neighbour*, and *Blasphemy*.

He goes on to instruct and comfort the People of *Antioch*, in the following Sermons. In the 4th. he praises God, that the Christians Affliction in the City of *Antioch*, had put them upon thoughts of their Salvation, and exhorts them to Patience: And in the last place, inveigheth against Swearing, and promises to speak of it all the Week. This Sermon was preached upon *Monday* of the First week in *Lent*.

Next day he continued the same Subject, encouraging the People of *Antioch* to bear with Constancy and Generosity all the Threatnings against them, and not to fear either Death or Sufferings. He shews, that Sin is the only thing that Christians ought to fear, and he speaks again eagerly against Swearing.

The 6th. Sermon was preached the next Day after, for the Consolation of the People that were intimidated by the Magistrate. He giveth God thanks that *Flavianus* was arrived before those that carried the News of the Mutiny. He tells the reasons that the Bishop was to use to the Emperor, and explains a Law, that was to be urged: He tells them, that Sin only was to be feared, and that Swearing ought to be avoided.

The 7th. and 8th. were preached upon *Thursday* and *Friday* of the same Week: He comforts the People, and explains the beginning of *Genesis*, which was then begun to be read in the Churches in *Lent*. He discourses against Swearing, and reminds them, that it was the sixth Day, that he had preached against that Sin, and that it should be the last time: Which shews, that the 15th. Sermon followeth this, for there he tells them, that though he had resolved the Day before to speak no more of God's Command not to swear, because he had sufficiently discoursed on that Subject the Day before, yet he found himself obliged to insist upon it, till he saw them reformed.

The 16th. Homily was preached upon *Saturday*, in the second Week in *Lent*: Because he says, at the latter end, behold we have passed the second fasting Week. He speaks of the foregoing Sermon, as of his last; though it had been preached some Days before.

It is very likely, that the 9th. and 10th. Sermons follow this, and that they were Preached before the Judges sent by the Emperor had frightened the People; for St. *Chrysostom* says nothing there concerning the Desolation of the City, but handleth some Points of Morality, particularly against Swearing, and against those who refuse to hear Sermons after Dinner.

The Officers of the Emperor having erected a Chamber of Justice at *Antioch*, to punish the Town for their Sedition, and to condemn those that were most guilty; dreadful was the Consternation of the People, which made them think upon nothing else, but how they might appease the Judges, and mitigate the severity of the Judgment. St. *Chrysostom* describes the Day of that Judgment, as the most dreadful thing in the World: He says, that all the People expected nothing but Death, some fled, others hid themselves, the Streets were empty; that the rest of the Inhabitants assembled near the Palace-Gate, waiting there for their Condemnation: That within the Palace, all was full of Men put to the torture, or sentenced to Death: That Mothers wept for their Children, and Sisters for their Brethren: In one word, that the whole City was in a fearful Desolation, in expectation of all manner of Mischief. In this sad Conjunction of affairs, the Hermits left their Solitude to come to *Antioch*, to solicit the Judges in behalf of the People; The Clergy also attended to move them to Clemency: And every one did his endeavour to work upon them, by all the Tokens of regret and submission, that

can be given in such occasions. The Judges moved with these things, and touched especially by the Remonstrances of the Monks, inclined to Mercy, and contented themselves to take from *Antioch*, the Quality of *Metropolis* of the *East*, and to forbid the acting of publick Spectacles for the recreation of the People: Having in the mean time sent to Prison some of the Magistrates, and chief Men of the City, till they should know the Resolution of the Emperor. This Judgment was no sooner pronounced, but St. *Chrysostom* opened his Mouth to return God thanks for the Success, as he doth in the 17th, 11th, 12th, and 13th. Homilies, which were preached one after another, those successive Days after the Judgment. But some having again struck a new Terror into the People, St. *Chrysostom* endeavours to settle them in the 14th. Homily.

The 18th. Homily was preached by St. *Chrysostom*, after *Mid-Lent*, as he saith in the beginning, complaining of some who rejoiced that half the time of Fasting was over, and of the Impatience which the Inhabitants of *Antioch* shewed, because they were deprived of their Bathings and pleasures. He takes notice, that they had not been deprived of them above 20 Days.

St. *Chrysostom* being fallen sick, appeared not in ten Days, but was no sooner able to go abroad, but he began again and preached the 19th. and 21st. Sermons, that are particularly directed to the People come out of the Country to *Antioch*, about the Feast of *Easter*.

The 22^d. was preached towards the end of *Lent*. He discourses there of the necessary qualifications, to communicate worthily at *Easter*; affirming, that it is absolutely needful to forget injuries, and to be reconciled; from whence he takes occasion to speak against Enmities and resentments; he adds threatnings against such as had not left their Custom of swearing, notwithstanding his manifold Exhortations to this purpose in the time of *Lent*.

The last Sermon upon the same Subject is the 20th. about the return of *Flavianus*, who came back to *Antioch* before *Easter*, having obtained of the Emperor's Clemency, pardon for the City of *Antioch*. In this Discourse St. *Chrysostom* eloquently describes the wonderful conduct of *Flavianus*, the Discourse he had with the Emperor, the Answers of that Prince, and the rejoicing of the People at *Antioch*, when they received the welcome news of the Pardon granted them. This is the true Order of those 22 Sermons of St. *Chrysostom*, which is much perverted in the Editions.

The other Homilies in this Volume, are either Sermons upon some points of Doctrine, or of Morals, or panegyrics upon Saints. The Sermons of the former kind are these: six Homilies of the incomprehensible Nature of God against the *Anomæans*, the last whereof was preached at *Constantinople*; a Discourse of the *Consubstantiality* against the *Arians*, quoted by *Theodore* in the sixth Council. A Discourse of the Judgment, which follows immediately after the last. One against those who like the Pagans kept the first Days of the Months, preached upon New-years Day: A Sermon of Jesus Christ's Baptism; a Discourse about the Devil's Temptation; six Sermons against the Jews: The Homilies of Penance, which formerly were more in Number, and are now to be reduced into the following order. The first beareth that Title in the first Volume; the second and third are lost, the fourth and fifth are also right set down in the first Volume: We have neither the sixth nor the seventh, except that which is in the fourth Volume be one of these two, for it is falsely entituled, *The third Homily of Penitence*, seeing he says in the beginning, that he had been some Days without preaching; whereas it is evident by the beginning of the 4th. Homily of Penance, that he had preached the four first Homilies of Penance one after another without interruption. The 9th. is the 65 Sermon of the 5th. Volume of Penance, and of the sorrow of King *Abah*. The 10th. Homily is the 9th. in the first Volume, and the last is the eleventh.

The Discourse against the *Gentiles*, is not a Sermon, but a Treatise which is to be placed amongst St. *Chrysostom*'s Treatises: But the Discourse of Baptism, is a Homily directed to the *Catechumens*.

The Discourse of *Anathema*'s is St. *Chrysostom*'s, though some Criticks have doubted it. It is, his Style, and therein he speaks of the Homilies of the Incomprehensible Nature of God; and it was quoted near 400 Years ago by *Philothæus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; as written by St. *Chrysostom*. He proveth in that Homily, that an *Anathema* is not lightly to be pronounced against any, nor others rashly to be condemned.

The two Treatises of Prayer, are probably written by St. *Chrysostom*: but the six Discourses about Providence, which are in the same Volume are none of his, no more than the last of Penance, and Continence, which are supposed to belong to *John*, the *Faster*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who lived long after St. *Chrysostom*.

The first of St. *Chrysostom*'s Panegyrics, is upon St. *Philegonius* Arch-Bishop of *Antioch*; the second upon St. *Babylas*, likewise Arch-Bishop of *Antioch*; the third upon *Maximus* and *Juventinus* Martyrs, who suffered Martyrdom under *Julian* the Apostate. These two Sermons were preached

St. John
Chrysostom.

St. John Chrysostom. preached one after the other upon the 24th. and the 26th. of January, after the three first Homilies of Lazarus, as is noted in the fourth. The third is of St. Pelagia a Virgin of Antioch, who threw her self headlong rather than lose her Virginity. The fourth of St. Ignatius Bishop of Antioch. The fifth of St. Romanus, Martyr of Antioch. The sixth is a Discourse to the praise of the seven Macchabees. The seventh of a Panegyrick upon St. Meletius. The Eighth of St. Lucianus Martyr of Antioch, preached the next day after the Feast of Christ's Baptism. The ninth upon St. Julianus. The tenth is a second Discourse upon St. Romanus the Martyr. The eleventh is a second Discourse of the Macchabees. The twelfth is a third Discourse upon the same Subject. The thirteenth is of St. Domnina, and other two Daughters Berenice and Prosdice, who chose a Voluntary Death before the Violation of their Virginity. The fourteenth of St. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. The fifteenth is a Discourse of Helias and St. Peter. The sixteenth is of the Egyptian Martyrs. The seventeenth upon St. Barlaam Martyr in Casarea in Cappadocia. The Panegyrick upon the Martyr Phocas, and the Fragment of that of St. Thecla, which is in the same Volume, are not of St. Chrysostom's Style: But the Discourse upon all the holy Martyrs, is an excellent Sermon worthy of St. Chrysostom. Among the rest, this is one of the finest Passages there. 'The Devil, says he, has introduced Death into the World, and God makes use of Death to introduce us into Heaven by Martyrdom. Martyrdom is a Combat, the Martyrs are on the one side, and Tyrants on the other: The Tyrants are armed, and the Martyrs naked: Yet they that are naked get the Victory, and they that bear Arms are vanquished. What wonder is this? He that is beaten proves Victor over him that beats him: He that is bound overcomes him that is at liberty: He that is burnt tames him that burns him; and he that dies surmounts him that puts him to Death. It is Grace that Works these Miracles, they are above the strength of Nature.'

The sixth Volume of the Greek and Latin Edition of Paris contains several Sermons, which Fronto Ducens, and other Criticks, have judged not to be of St. Chrysostom's Style. Fronto Ducens Passes this Judgment upon it: 'We have collected in this sixth Volume some Sermons which are not upon whole Books of Scripture, but upon some places, written in a Style differing from that of St. Chrysostom's Works; for these Discourses are Dramatical and full of Prosopopæia's, the Style is sententious and concise, with frequent Allegories; and we find not there those Similitudes and other Beauties so frequent in St. Chrysostom's Works; and yet the Authors of these Sermons lived either in the time of St. Chrysostom, or not long after him. But we ought not to Wonder, that some of these are quoted under St. Chrysostom's Name in very antient Councils; because they were already published under his Name, and Councils do not usually examine narrowly into the Authors of those Books which they quote: Being contented to debate the questions offered, and to oppose to Heretical Errors the Writings received in the Church; as did the Apostles and other Fathers who quoted Apocryphal Books.' That is the Judgment which this learned Jesuit makes of the Sermons contained in this Volume; but if we would know whether it is just, we must examine them strictly one after another.

The First Homily, (the Author whereof shews, that there is the same Law-giver both of the Old and New Testament) is not St. Chrysostom's, though Photinus quotes it under his Name; for, 1. The Style is quite different from St. Chrysostom's: 2. The order and disposition of this Homily differs much from those of St. Chrysostom. 3. It is full of Allegories, which are very rare in St. Chrysostom. 4. Most of the Thoughts are unworthy of him. 5. There is great Confusion. 6. It both begins and ends in a different manner from the Homilies of St. Chrysostom. 7. It is observed at the end of that Discourse, that it was written in a Time when the Roman Empire was under Oppression. 8. The Blessed Virgin is there often called *Θεοτόκος*; so that it is plain, this was not done without Affectation.

The two following Homilies upon two places of the Beginning of Genesis, are unworthy of St. Chrysostom for the same Reasons.

The Homily upon these Words of Abraham to his Servant, Gen. 24. v. 2. *Put thine Hand under my Thigh*; &c. is more rational than the foregoing, as to its Notions, but the Style is too concise and close, and comes not near the easiness of St. Chrysostom. Yet this Discourse is antient and worth reading, and I am apt to believe that it may have been written by Severianus of Gabala, to whom the following Sermon of the Brazen Serpent lifted up by Moses in the Wilderness, is attributed in the Manuscripts, and under whose Name it is quoted by St. John Damascene, in the three first Discourses about Images, by Pope Adrian I. Ch. 26. and by the Assembly of Bishops at Paris, in the Year 824. The Author treats of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. It appears both by the Style, and by the Beginning, that it is written by the same Author as the foregoing.

The Four Homilies upon Job, are Sermons written by a Monk of the latter Times, who having studied Isocrates his Oration to Demonicus, coldly imitates him in his four Discourses, where there is neither Wit, nor Order, nor Eloquence, nor Thought, nor Reasoning; yet he foolishly fancies that he out-did St. Chrysostom, in Point of Eloquence, many Bars length.

The fifth Homily upon Job, is the 22d. of those Homilies, which Simeon Logotheta composed out of several passages taken out of St. Chrysostom.

The Homily upon this Verse of Psalm 38. *Man quieteth himself in Vain*, comes nearer to St. Chrysostom's Style, and yet is not quite the same.

The Oration of the Turtle-Dove, or of the Church, is an impertinent Discourse, like the Treatise, entituled, *the Supper*, falsely ascribed to St. Cyprian, from which the Author of this hath taken some of his Impertinencies.

The Homily upon the Prophet Elias, is more valuable, and yet seems not to me to be St. Chrysostom's. I should rather attribute it to Severianus of Gabala, as well as the three following, of Joseph, Susanna, and the three Children in the fiery Furnace.

The Homily of Seals written in the same Style with the foregoing, does certainly belong to Severianus of Gabala, being quoted under his Name by Theodoret in the third Dialogue, and by Adrian I. The same Character and Style may be found in the Sermons of Faith, and of the Law of Nature; in that of the Holy Trinity; in the Discourse of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, quoted by Photinus under St. Chrysostom's Name; in the Sermon upon Pentecost; in the Sermon preached before Arcadius, Theodosius's Son, upon the words of the beginning of St. John, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. in the Sermon of Circumcision, that of the Remembrance of Martyrs, and upon Jesus Christ being Shepherd and Sheep; in that upon these Words of St. Paul, *My grace is sufficient for thee*; in that of the Prodigal Son, of Herodias's Daughter's Dancing; in that upon the Words of St. Matth. 13. *The Jews being assembled, took Council*; in the Sermon of the Ten Virgins, the Homily of the Woman taken in Adultery, and of the Pharisees; in that upon Good-Friday, of the Man that was born Blind, and upon these Words of Jesus Christ, Matth. 6. *Take heed that you do not your Alms before Men to be seen of them*; in the Sermon against Hypocrisie; in that upon the beginning of the Tear; in the Homily about the barren Fig-tree; in the Sermon of the Pharisees Feast; that of Lazarus and Dives; and in that upon the beginning of Psalm 52, which is the 105th. in the 5th. Volume of St. Chrysostom, of the Eton Edition. The Author of these Homilies, writes in a short concise Style; enlarges much upon Dogmatical points, and very little upon Moral ones: What he says is intermixt with Allegories: In a word, if one compares these Homilies one with another, and with them that are certainly written by Severianus, he will find that they are very like.

The Homilies of the Theophany and the Marriage in Cana, are two inconsiderable Discourses unworthy of St. Chrysostom.

That of the Evil Woman, is yet worse. It was composed by some modern Greek, who having read in History that St. Chrysostom had made a Discourse against Women, made one to represent it: In which either he or some body else, hath put these words in the beginning, that Sozomen relateth: *Herodias is mad again, and asketh for St. John's Head*. The rest of this discourse is a continual Repetition of impertinent things.

The Homily of the Canaanitish Woman, is also in Latin among the Homilies upon several passages of the New Testament, ascribed to Origen, and in the Collection of Homilies upon St. Matthew, Hom. 14th. and 17th. But here it is in Greek, and larger. The Doctrine, and Thoughts of this Discourse are rational enough, but the Style is very different from St. Chrysostom's.

The Sermons upon St. John the Fore-runner of Jesus Christ; upon the Apostles, St. Peter, and St. Paul; upon the Twelve Apostles, St. Thomas the Apostle, and St. Stephen; are unworthy of St. Chrysostom, not only for the Substance, but also the Style. Yet the last of them is something more rational than the foregoing. The Discourse of St. Thomas is quoted under St. Chrysostom's Name, in the sixth Council, and in that of Lateran, under Pope Martin I.

The Homilies of the Annunciation, Theophany, and the Resurrection, have no Relation to St. Chrysostom's Style.

The Sermon concerning the Woman of Samaria, is a Discourse, whose beginning is quite of another Style than St. Chrysostom's: The latter end is taken Word for Word from the 31st. Homily of St. Chrysostom, upon the Gospel of St. John.

The four Sermons of the Ascension, published by Vossius, are not unworthy of St. Chrysostom, though the Style is not altogether the same with that of this Father's Works: In all probability, they are part of those Two and Twenty which Photinus read, which he mentions in the 25th. Volume, as well as the Sermon upon the same Subject, cited by Facundus, l. 11. c. 14.

The Homily which proves, that a Disciple of Jesus Christ

St. John Chrysostom. Christ ought never to be Angry, does not come near to the Stile, or the loquacity of St. Chrysostom.

The Sermon of the false Prophets, is a Declamation made by some Greek, rather than a Discourse really preached by St. Chrysostom, before his Death, as the Title proves.

The Homily of the publick Games in the Cirque, is a pitiful Discourse not worth reading.

The Sermon of Christ's Nativity, Page 493. is quoted by St. Cyril, as St. Chrysostom's, in his Treatise to the Empresses, mentioned in the Council of Ephesus; there is no considerable difference of Stile; which convinces me that it is St. Chrysostom's, or at least, that it was taken out of his Works.

The three following Sermons, the first whereof is upon the Words of St. Luke's Gospel, ch. 2. *Cæsar Augustus made a decree, that all the World should be taxed*, &c. the second upon the Answer given to Zachariah, Ch. 1. of St. Luke, and the third upon St. John's Conception, are all written in the same Stile, very different from St. Chrysostom's; they contain abundance of insipid Observations upon the Text of St. Luke, which one cannot read without tediousness and trouble.

The Homily upon the Parable of the Householder, that hired Work-men into his Vine-yard, doth much resemble St. Chrysostom's Stile; if it be not his, it belongs to some antient eloquent Author, and ought to be placed among those Discourses, which though perhaps not Genuine, yet are not to be despised. Some Fragments of it may be found amongst the Homilies, which were collected out of the Works of St. Chrysostom.

I think the same Judgment ought to be made concerning the Sermon, or rather the Fragment of the Homily upon the Publican, and the Pharisee, and of that about the Blind-Man, and Zaccæus, which are not unworthy of St. Chrysostom.

A Discourse made to prove, that Monks ought not to use raillery or freedom of speech, is of the kind and Stile of St. Chrysostom; there is a digression against those that kept Women with them. The Authors of St. Chrysostom's Life observe, that he wrote six Orations upon that Subject. This might perhaps be one of them.

The Panegyrick upon St. John the Evangelist, is not worth any thing, but is a pitiful Discourse made up of obsolete and senseless Words.

The second Homily of the Holy Cross, is written by the Monk *Pansoleon*, Deacon of Constantinople, who lived in the 13th. Century: The first Discourse upon the same Subject, does not belong to a better Author.

The beginning of the Homily of St. Peter's Abjuration, is likewise written by some modern Greek, who added at the latter End an Exhortation, taken out of St. Chrysostom's Discourse upon these Words of St. Paul, *Having the same Spirit*, &c.

The Homily of Bread and of Alms, is a Collection of several Notions of St. Chrysostom's upon that Subject.

The Discourse of Easter, is very like St. Chrysostom's Stile.

The Sermon about Jesus Christ's second Coming, is a Preface annexed to the moral Exhortations of the 25th, and 31st. Homilies, upon the Epistle to the Romans.

There are several other Sermons in the Greek Edition of St. Chrysostom, printed at Eton, which were not inserted into the Greek and Latin Edition of Paris, as not belonging to St. Chrysostom, or else but Collections out of this Father's Works.

In the 5th. Volume, page 680, there is one upon these words, *Psal. 92. Dominus regnavit*, &c. and upon those of St. Paul, *When Jesus Christ shall have given up the Kingdom to the Father*, wherein he speaks of Baptism.

Another in the same Volume, page 740. of those Women that brought Spices to embalm the Body of Jesus Christ: Wherein the Author proves, that the Evangelists do not contradict one another, upon the Subject of Christ's Resurrection: Both these Homilies are well enough written, but they are not St. John Chrysostom's.

There is a third in the same Volume, page, 789. upon these words of St. Paul, *The good that I would, I do not, but the Evil that I would not, I do*. The Author shews there, in

(i) There are several which are rejected as not being St. Chrysostom's. There are extracts, out of the Homily of the Holy Ghost, out of the Discourse upon these Words, *Jesus Christ is the last*, &c. Of the Sermon upon the Incarnation, and the Guardian Angels; of the Treatise which proves, that both the Old and New Testament have the same Law-giver; of the Discourse upon these Words of St. Paul, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*, &c. The Homily of the Holy Ghost is in the sixth Volume of the Paris Edition: See the 221st, and 222d. page. The Homily upon the Nativity, and of the Angels, are in the Eton Edition, Vol. 5. pag. 843. That of the Law-giver in the Old and New Testament, is the first of the sixth Volume of the Paris Edition. There is also in the same Volume the Discourse upon those Words of the Apostle, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*: the Sermon upon these Words, *2 Cor. c. 11. If any one be in Christ, let him be a new Creature*, &c.

(k) But one ought not to pass the same Judgment upon those which Theodoret quotes in his Dialogues, which are certainly St. Chrysostom's and which are now extant most of them. He quotes a

what Sense Jacob was a Type of Christ, and declaims against publick Shows. This Discourse is full of Allegories contrary to St. Chrysostom's Custom: It may be attributed to the Author of the following Discourse on these words of the same Apostle: *My Grace is sufficient for thee*.

The 123d. Homily in the same Volume, pag. 807. upon these words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *When we sin willfully, there remains no more Oblation*, is a Collection out of the 20th, 15th, and 14th. Homilies of St. Chrysostom, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Homily upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ in the same Volume, pag. 843. where the guardian Angels of Countries and Provinces are discoursed of, is cited by Photius under St. Chrysostom's Name: Yet the Stile shews it not to be St. Chrysostom's: It is more probable, that it belongs to Severianus of Gabala.

At the latter End of this Volume are several other Homilies, yet more unworthy of St. Chrysostom: *Viz.* the second Panegyrick upon St. Stephen, the Homily upon Palm-Sunday, upon the Thief, upon Judas his Treason, and many Sermons upon Easter, &c.

The sixth Volume is intermixt with several Homilies, which are only Fragments or Collections, taken out of the genuine Works of St. Chrysostom, such as these following Sermons; Of Charity, pag. 742. Of Meekness pag. 750. Sermons concerning Fasting, pag. 883. A Discourse against those that slept upon the Saturday before Whitsunday, pag. 857. That the Salvation of the Soul is to be preferred before the Welfare of the Body, pag. 893. That Priests ought not to be upbraided with Living at Ease, pag. 896. Three Discourses of Penance, pag. 903. That we ought not to weep for the Dead, pag. 943. Of Patience, pag. 949. Of the Soul's Salvation, pag. 961. Against those that abused Virgins consecrated to God, pag. 976. Sermon to Catechumens, pag. 971. A Discourse against Hereticks, pag. 979.

Lastly, The 7th. Volume from pag. 271, to 587. contains above a hundred Sermons upon all sorts of Subjects, whereof some are not printed in the Greek and Latin Edition of Paris; namely, those that are either unworthy of St. Chrysostom, impertinent and foolish, or discourses of modern Authors, or Collections and Fragments taken out of St. Chrysostom. The Catalogue and Titles are in the Table of that Volume.

I believe, that most of St. Chrysostom's Sermons, which Photius professes to have read, and which are not, now extant, ought to be placed in the same rank. In the 25th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*, he speaks of a Book bearing the Name of St. Chrysostom, intitled, *Remarks upon the Death of Jesus Christ*: Which, says he, contained two and twenty short Sermons, upon the Death of Jesus Christ: there were besides, as he adds, in the same Volume, two and twenty Discourses upon the Ascension, and seventeen upon Whitsunday. St. Chrysostom did not use to make short Sermons; his are generally long and full; he abounded in words and notions which he could not easily contract. Yet Photius hath taken no notice, that these Discourses were not St. Chrysostom's.

But he says, in the 274th. Volume, concerning three Discourses of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, that their Subject and Method were very different from the other Sermons of this Father, as well as their Stile, which was flat, and far from the Elegancy of St. Chrysostom. The extracts in the same place, which he made out of a Discourse, concerning the 40 Martyrs ascribed to St. Chrysostom, do prove his Assertion.

Among those Homilies, which he abridges in the 277th. Volume, there are several which are rejected, as not being St. Chrysostom's (i), but Severianus's of Gabala, or of some other antient Author.

But one ought not to pass the same Judgment upon those which Theodoret quotes in his Dialogues, which are certainly St. Chrysostom's, and which are now extant, most of them (k) at least.

Facundus l. 4. c. 2. quotes a Sermon of St. Chrysostom's, in Commendation of Diodorus, this Discourse was published both in Greek and Latin, by the Learned *Bigotius*, with

Discourse preached by St. Chrysostom, after the Speech of the Gothick Ambassador, which is not found among St. Chrysostom's Discourses. The second passage which he quotes in the first Dialogue, is taken out of the Homily of the Nativity, Vol. 1. pag. 426. The Homily which Theodoret cites, under this Title, *A dogmatical Homily, shewing that what is said of Jesus Christ, seems unworthy of the Power, and of the Divinity*, is that which is intitled, *Of Consubstantiality*, which is in the first Volume, pag. 360. The place which he quotes out of the Commentary upon *Psal. 41.* is not in that which is now extant: I have not found the Homily of the Confusion of Languages, nor the Passage taken out of the Homily, preached in the great Church. The Homilies against those that Affirm that Demons govern the things of this World, against those that Fast upon Easter-Day, and the Homily of Christ's Assumption are among those that we have; as well as the passages taken out of Theodoret's Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, upon the Gospel of St. John, and that of St. Matthew.

St. John Chrysostom. the Life of St. Chrysostom, written by Palladius: It is a Thanksgiving of that Saint to Diodorus of Tarsus, who had publickly commended him. He there confesseth, that the Commendations given him by Diodorus, did put him to some trouble: 'For, says he, with much humility, great praises do not less check the Conscience than Sins, when a Man finds not in himself those Virtues which are commended by others.' After that, he returns upon Diodorus the Praises which he had given him; and as he was compared with St. John Baptist, because of his Name; he shews that Diodorus deserved that Name better than he, having all the Virtues of that holy Fore-runner of Jesus Christ.

Lastly, Cotelerius in the third Volume of his *Monuments*, hath published an Homily under St. Chrysostom's Name, upon these Words of *Matth.* 20. *By what Authority dost thou those things*: This Discourse is Written by some ancient Author, but not St. Chrysostom; it has his Genius, the reflections are just, and the reasons solid: But one does not find that over-flowing Eloquence, nor that abundant fruitfulness which was so Peculiar to St. Chrysostom, though it is not unworthy of him. There the *Anomæans* are refuted; and he proves, that none ought to pretend to penetrate into Mysteries with human reason; but that we ought to depend upon what the Scripture says, without searching further.

These are almost all the Sermons that are attributed to St. Chrysostom, which were printed in Greek and Latin. There are several other Manuscripts in Libraries that falsely bear the Name of this great Saint, and which are not only unworthy of him, but also are not worth publishing. For in my opinion, it is equally prudent to suppress the ill pieces that are in Libraries, as to publish those that are worth it. It is a kind of Theft, to keep in obscurity from the publick those Monuments that may be useful: But it is also a great Imposition upon the World, to set forth such Books as serve for nothing else, but to weary the Readers, to encrease the number of bad Books, and to fill Libraries with unprofitable Volumes. I wish, that as Men prohibit selling of bad Wares, so they would forbid publishing of bad Books, though they are under the Name of great Men. Had this Law been observed in the Commonwealth of Learning, from the beginning of Printing, the World would not have been over-whelmed with infinite Loads of Bad Books, which cause so much confusion in all Arts and Sciences, and particularly in Divinity. This may be said by the bye, upon occasion of the vast Number of Sermons, which have been printed under St. Chrysostom's Name. But is it less to be wondered at, that the modern Greeks, to advance the worth of their own productions, which of themselves were of very little value, would raise them by the Glorious Name of our Saint. That which is most surprising, is, that Men should have the impudence to give Discourses written by Latin Authors, the Name of a Greek Father. It may so happen, that the Original Greek of some Book might be lost, and that nothing might remain but a Version, as upon the Sermon of St. Joseph, and Continency quoted by St. Austin, which is in Latin, among the Works of St. Chrysostom: But it is impossible, that Sermons taken out of the Works of Latin Fathers, or which were visibly composed at first in Latin, should be written by a Greek Father. As for example, it were ridiculous to say, that the Discourse of Adam and Eve, which is made up of several passages of St. Austin, and which contains the 31st, and 32^d. Chapters of Genadius his Book

St. John Chrysostom. of Ecclesiastical Dogmes: It were, I say, ridiculous to believe that this was ever written by St. Chrysostom: And that Man is little acquainted with the Style of Authors, that cannot perceive, that the imperfect Commentary upon St. Matthew, is written by a Latin Author; and that most of the Homilies upon the Old and New Testament, whereof we have no Greek Originals, and which are found in the Latin Editions of St. Chrysostom, mixt with his own proper Works, were composed Originally in Latin and not in Greek. These are, the second Homily upon Genesis, and those that follow, to the 16th. from pag. 206. of the last Edition, at Lyons, to pag. 222. Eight Sermons upon several Histories of the Books of Kings, from pag. 243, to pag. 250. Five Homilies upon Job, pag. 261; &c. Two other Homilies, pag. 267. Two Prefaces upon the Psalms, pag. 269, and 270. A Discourse upon the usefulness of the Psalms, pag. 272. Homilies upon Psalms, 9th, 14th, 22^d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 29th, 33^d, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 42^d, 68th, 71st, 84th, 90th, 93^d, 95th, 96th, 121st, 122^d. A Sermon upon these Words, *Wisdom*, Chap. 3. *They seem Dead in the Eyes of Fools, and of Men without Sense*. Four Homilies upon four places of Isaiah, pag. 598th, 613th, and 614th. An Homily upon Jeremiah, pag. 616th. A Sermon of the three Children, pag. 617th. One of Susanna, *ibid.* and one upon Zach. Chap. 6. pag. 619th. Almost all these Discourses have the Style of the Latin Preachers, they are full of Sentences, Antitheses, Figures, and playing upon Words (l) which are usual in Latin Authors. One neither meets with the Eloquence, nor the Copiousness, nor Fruitfulness, nor Sublimity of the expressions of St. Chrysostom, and the Method is quite different from his (m): In a Word, the matters there treated of are not such as St. Chrysostom uses to discourse of (n).

We cannot judge otherwise of the greatest part of those Homilies upon several Passages of the four Gospels which are not in the Greek, viz. the 27 Homilies upon St. Matthew, in the second Volume of the Lyons Edition, pag. 465, &c. to 502. Of the 14 Homilies upon St. Mark, from pag. 503, to pag. 519. Or six Homilies upon St. Luke, from pag. 519, to pag. 529. Of that upon Zaccheus, pag. 551. and of 13 Homilies upon St. John, from pag. 164, to pag. 172. All these Homilies are either Sermons of Latin Authors, whereof some are among those of St. Chrysologus (o), or extracts from the imperfect Commentary upon St. Matthew, or Versions of some passages of St. Chrysostom, collected and stitched up together.

The 59 last Homilies upon the *Staines*, which are in the fifth Volume of the Edition of Lyons, from pag. 75, to pag. 188. are of this last sort as well as several other Homilies upon different Subjects, from pag. 287, to pag. 298, and from pag. 312, to pag. 355. Three Sermons of Penance and Confession, and some Sermons of Fasting, and Alms-deeds, from pag. 361, to pag. 376. and lastly, common places upon Providence, Riches, Blasphemies, Debaucheries, and Pleasures, and upon some other matters of Morality which are in the same Volume, from pag. 582, to pag. 601.

The imperfect Commentary upon St. Matthew (p), divided into 54 Homilies, is undoubtedly written by a Latin Author, who quotes the old latin vulgar Version, and cites Apocryphal Books. There are also erroneous notions, contrary to St. Chrysostom's Doctrine.

The Latin Sermon supposed to have been preached by St. Chrysostom, after his Return from Asia, is written by

Chrysostom never meddled with. This Author seeks for the allegorical and mystical Sense, and takes little notice of the literal. In short, nothing can be imagined more unlike to St. Chrysostom's way of writing, than the Sermons here examined.

(o) All these Homilies are either Sermons of Latin Authors, whereof some are among those of St. Chrysologus. The 13th, and 16th, are amongst those attributed to St. Chrysologus: The 17th. is among those that are attributed to Origen; the 6th. is taken out of the 15th. Homily of St. Chrysostom, upon St. Matthew. The 21st. and 22^d. are part of the 32^d. and 33^d. Homilies of the imperfect Work upon St. Matthew: The 25th. is taken out of the 37th. Homily of the same. The 27th. and 28th. out of the 40th. Homily. The Commentary upon St. Mark, is written by some ignorant Monk.

(p) The imperfect Commentary upon St. Matthew, &c. The Author of this Treatise cites the Scripture according to the vulgar Version, he quotes Apocryphal Books, as that of *Seth*, *Ezechias*, and the Itinerary of St. Clement. He has heretical Notions concerning the Trinity, as in the 49th. Homily, where he calls the Catholics *Homousian* Hereticks. In the 7th. Homily he rejects the Baptism of Hereticks. In the first Homily he speaks ill of Marriage; and condemns second Marriages, Homily 32^d. *Sixtus Senensis* pretends that these Errors, and especially those that concern the Trinity, have been added since, because they are not in some ancient Manuscripts, and also because in some places, he teaches the Divinity of the Son. However he confesses with all the Criticks, that it is not St. Chrysostom's, but a Latin Author's: There are some short Commentaries upon St. Mark, St. Luke and St. Matthew ascribed to St. Chrysostom, and printed at Paris 1576. which bear St. Chrysostom's Name, but are none of his.

(l) Almost all these Discourses have the Style of the Latin Preachers, &c. They are full of allusions to words, of rhiming Sentences, as *Psal.* 33. *Eja fratres mei, hic modo respondere volo; quanti modo dicunt; nolo, qui jam dicebant, volo.* To this may be added this fine Notion. *Oracula sanctæ lectionis, qua sonant in auribus vestris, nidum faciant in cordibus vestris.* One may find also Explications of Latin and Greek Terms, as upon *Psal.* 90. *Meridies dicitur quia dividit diem; meros enim pars est divise diei.* And upon *Psal.* 118. *Veritas tres sunt syllaba & septem litera, quia in septima die Deus requievit ab operibus suis.* There are several such passages which justify their Author to be a Latin. The Style is sententious, concise, and full of Antitheses, and strokes of Wit, which are ordinary faults in the Latin Preachers, to which St. Chrysostom was never liable.

(m) The method is quite different from his. St. Chrysostom divides his Discourses into three parts. The first is a Preface: The second an Exposition of one or more places of Scripture: And the third a Moral Exhortation. This Division may always be observed, in St. Chrysostom's Sermons. These have nothing like, they have neither Preface, nor moral Exhortation, neither do they conclude with the Doxology. The Author Divides the Scripture into Verses, and cites Latin Authors as St. Cyprian and Hippolytus: which St. Chrysostom never did.

(n) In a Word, the matters treated of, are not such as St. Chrysostom uses to discourse of. St. Chrysostom always handleth Points of Morality, or common Doctrine; he never insists upon thorny and hard Questions, but avoiding them carefully, he expounds the Letter of the Scripture, and that in a plain way. The Author of these Sermons doth the quite contrary, he fills them with common places, upon Original Sin, Predestination, Grace, and hardning of the Heart, &c. Questions which St.

St. John Chrysostom. one that designed to exercise himself; as also the Discourses of St. Chrysostom, and Severianus upon their Reconciliation, which are at the latter end of the 7th. Volume of the *Eron* Edition, and of the second of that of *Paris*. They rather belong to some Rhetorician, who desired to be thought eloquent, than Sermons written in earnest.

And now we are come to the Books which St. Chrysostom writ in his Study, which are almost all collected in the 4th. Volume. The first and most excellent are the six Books of the *Priesthood*, which, according to *Suidas's* Observation, exceed all the other Books of St. Chrysostom, both for Elevation of Style, Beauty of Elocution, and Sweetness and Elegance in the Choice of his Words: 'St. *Isidore Pelusiota* observes, in the 156th. Letter of his first Book, that all those that read that Book, reap a considerable Advantage from it, seeing, that on the one side, this Book represents the Priesthood as an eminent Dignity, not to be approached unto but with much Respect: And on the other side, it teaches Men to enter into it with great purity and innocence. It is composed with so much Subtlety, Discretion, and Exactness, that as they who perform as they ought the Duties of the Priesthood, do find there a Picture of their Virtues; so they who negligently go about the Functions of their sacred Ministry, cannot but discover there the Representation of their Vices and Sins.' And indeed there is not any one Book in all Antiquity, that speaks more nobly concerning the Honour and Functions of the Priesthood. It is in form of a Dialogue between his Friend *Basil* and himself, and divided into six Books. The first is a kind of Preface, in which, having spoken first of the intimate Friendship that was betwixt St. *Basil* and him, and of the Design they had to embrace a retired Life; he relates, that when it was noised abroad, that they would make both *Basil* and him Bishops, he did not discover to *Basil* his Resolution to retire, and that having hid himself at the time of the Election, *Basil* was chosen and consecrated Bishop. On this occasion, *Basil* is introduced complaining of that Deceit, and accusing him of refusing the Bishoprick out of Vanity.

St. Chrysostom justifies himself from the Injury that *Basil* pretended to have received of him, by shewing that there are innocent Cheats, which are Causes of much good. He proves in the second Book, that he had deceived him to his own Advantage, by giving him an Opportunity of exercising his Love to Jesus Christ after a most excellent manner, in feeding his Sheep. Afterwards he discourses of the Virtue, and Wisdom, which that Office required, proving how great the Charge of Pastors is by the great difficulty of healing Souls fallen sick, either by the Contagion of Vice, or by Errors in Faith. *Basil* interrupting him there, and telling him, that therefore he was to blame, for avoiding the Cure of Souls, since it was the best way to justify his Love of Jesus Christ; he answers, That he did it, because he thought himself unworthy of it; but on the contrary, that *Basil* was very capable of it. And then to excuse himself towards those, who thought, that by his Refusal he had offended them that had chosen him; he answers in the first place, That none ought to be afraid of offending Men, when they cannot any other ways avoid it, but by offending God: 2. He shews, that he was so far from disgracing them by his Denial, that he pretended on the contrary, that he obliged them very much, by not exposing them to the Reproaches to which they might otherwise have been subjected, and the false Reports which might have been raised against them. 'Is it not certain, says he, that had I accepted the Bishoprick, then those that love to calumniate, might have suspected, and spoken many things, not only of me, but also of my Electors? They would have said, for example, that they had Respect to Riches, or were blinded with the Lustre of Birth, or won by my Flatteries. I know not whether they would not have dared to say, that I had bribed them with Money. But, thanks be to God, I took from them all these Occasions of Evil-speaking, and they can no more tax me with Flattery, than they can accuse these good Men of being corrupted. For why should he, that bestowed Money, or used Flattery to get an Office, suffer another to take it, when he might have it himself? Again, what might not have been said, by detracting Men, after my coming to the Office? Could I have made Apologies sufficient to answer their Accusations? Tho' all my Actions had been without Reproach, had they found no Pretence to blacken me? But now they have none, for I have delivered those that might have chosen me from all Imputations; No Compliments will be made of them; It will not be said publicly, They have entrusted young Fools with the highest, and most considerable Offices; they have exposed God's Flock to all sorts of Corruption; Christianity is now made a Jest of, and they delight to render it ridiculous; Now the Mouth of Iniquity must be stopped: For if Calumniators do thus complain of You (addressing himself to *Basil*) you will let them see, that a Man's Wisdom is not to be judged of by the number of his Years, nor old Age measured with gray-hairs; and that not young Men, but

Neophytes are to be excluded from Ecclesiastical Dignities.' Thus he concludes the second Book.

To defend himself against such as accused him of refusing the Bishoprick out of Pride, he says, that it is not to be presumed, that any Man could refuse to eminent a Dignity out of Vanity, and that such as are of that Opinion, must needs be Despisers of that high Office. To undeceive them, he speaks of the Priesthood in these Terms. 'Tho' the Priesthood is exercised upon Earth, yet it ought to be reckoned amongst Heavenly Goods, since neither Man, nor Angel, nor Archangel, nor any created Power, but the Holy Ghost himself, established that sacred Order, and made Men think, that they exercised a Ministry of Angels in a mortal Body. Wherefore, whosoever is raised up to the Priesthood, ought to be as pure as if he were already in Heaven, among those blessed Spirits. When you see our Lord placed, and offered upon the Altar, the Bishop celebrating the Sacrifice, and praying for the whole People, dyed, and made red with his precious Blood, do you think that you are amongst Men, and upon Earth? Do you not believe your selves to be taken up into Heaven for that Moment? And do you not put off the Thoughts of the Flesh? Do you not behold Heavenly Things with a pure Spirit, and a naked Soul? O Miracle! O Bounty of God! He that is above with his Father, suffers himself to be touched by the Hands of all in this Moment, and gives himself to be held and embraced by those that desire it.' Afterwards he compares the Divine Mysteries to *Elias's* Sacrifice, which caused Fire to come down from Heaven to consume the Victims. He saith, that the Bishop in like manner causeth by his Prayers, not Fire from Heaven, but the Holy Ghost to descend upon the Altar. Having thus exalted the Dignity of the Priesthood, because of the Power, which they have to consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, he discourses of their Power of binding and loosing Sinners, which is not less honourable, nor less useful to the Salvation of Men. 'For, saith he, living as yet upon the Earth, they dispose of the things of Heaven, and they have received a Power which God would give neither to Angels, nor to Archangels; having said unto Men, and not to them, *What you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* Temporal Princes have a Power to bind, but that is the Body only, whereas Episcopal Power bindeth the Soul, and reacheth unto Heaven, because God ratifieth above, what the Bishops do here below, and the Master confirmeth the Sentence of his Servants. This Power is as much above the Temporal, as Heaven is nobler than the Earth, and the Soul than the Body. It were Madness to despise a Power, without which we could hope for no Salvation, nor the Possession of the promised Goods: For if none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he be first regenerated with Water, and the Holy Ghost: And if he that eateth not the Flesh of the Lord, and drinketh not his Blood, is deprived of Eternal Life: And if it be these holy Hands, I mean by the Hands of Bishops, that all these things are done; How can either the Fire of Hell be avoided, or the Crowns prepared for us in Heaven, be obtained without their Help? They, and only they, are entrusted by God with these spiritual Births, and that Regeneration which is wrought by Baptism: By them we put on Christ, we are united to the Son of God, and become Members of his sacred Body. Bishops do not judge of the Leprosie of the Body, as the Priests did under the old Law; they judge of that of the Soul, and they do not only enquire whether Souls be purified, but they have Power also to purify them: Wherefore those that despise them, commit a much greater Crime, and are worthy of a much severer Chastisement than *Dathan*, and his Companions.'

Having thus exalted the Dignity of the Priesthood, he discovers the Dangers that attend this Office on all sides: He compares a Bishop that has the Care of a Diocese, with a Pilot that hath the Charge of a Ship. 'But a Bishop, saith he, is more agitated with Cares, than the Sea with Winds and Storms: The first Rock he meets with, is vain Glory, Anger, Peevishness, Envy, Quarrelling, Calumnies, Accusations, Lying, Hypocrisies, Treachery, and precipitate Violence against the Innocent; joy to see those that serve the Church, neglect their Duty; and sorrow to see them discharge it worthily; love of Praise, desire of Honour, which is one of the most pernicious Passions of the Soul; Discourses where Pleasure is more looked after, than the Profit of the Hearers, servile Flatteries, base Complacency, Contempt of the Poor, degenerate Civilities towards rich Men without Reason, Favours ill-bestowed, which prove hurtful both to the Giver and to the Receiver; guilty Fear, Baseness in speaking, false Modesty, Silence, Cowardice and Fear of reproving great Men. There is no Slavery equal to ours, which makes us do even shameful Things to please Women. They have got such Power, that they give and take away Bishopricks, even to whom, and from whom they please: Hence

St. John
Chryso-
stom.

it is, that all things are turned upside-down: Those that should obey, will be Directors of those that are to command. Yet I pretend not to tax all Bishops with the Crimes now mentioned, there being many; I say many, who have not been caught in these Snares, and who far exceed those in number, that are unhappily fallen into them. Neither will I say, that the Episcopal Dignity is the Cause of these Evils, I am not so extravagant as to have any such Thought. The Sword is not the Cause of Murder, nor Wine of Drunkenness, &c. All wise Men accuse and punish such as abuse God's Gifts, as the true Authors of those Abuses: And the Episcopal Dignity is so far from being guilty of these Evils, that it may rather complain, that Men do not exercise it well: We are those whom it may upbraid: Since we dishonour it as much as in us lies, when we admit the first that comes, who having not examined their own Strength, nor considered the Greatness and Importance of that Office, receive it readily, as soon as it is offered. And when they are obliged to act, being blinded with Darkness, they engage their People in a thousand Disorders. For, from whence think you, do so many Troubles arise in the Church? I see no other Spring of them besides the want of Circumspection, and Choice in the Election of Bishops.

He discourses afterwards of the necessary Qualities in a Bishop, and affirms, that the first is to have no Desire to that Dignity, which ought to be looked upon with Respect, and such a Moderation as may inspire Men with a Desire to avoid so important and difficult an Office: And also, that when a Man engages in it, he should not stay for the Judgment of others, to quit it, but having committed Faults unworthy of the same, he should depose himself. Perhaps, says he, it will be objected to me, that I contradict the Words of St. Paul, That he that desireth to be a Bishop, desireth a good Work, but I am so far from opposing, that I do only follow them, since it is the Desire of the Power and not of the Work which I condemn. The second Quality noted by St. Chrysostom as requisite in a Bishop, is to be clear-sighted and vigilant, because he lives not for himself, but for a great People. The third, according to his Opinion, is Meekness; he observes, That a Bishop ought not to be peevish, violent or angry; and that whatsoever his other Virtues be, if these be in him, he is not worthy to be a Bishop. He saith further, That the Vices of a Bishop are of worse Consequence than those of a private Man, because, when they are once discovered, they cause a general Scandal, and draw others by their example; and besides, the least Faults of a Bishop, being magnified by envious Men, will utterly ruin his Reputation. In the next place, he gives an account of the Disputes and Dissentions which commonly attend the Election of a Bishop, and that the Reason of it is, because they do not all agree in the only Design which they ought to have, which is to chuse the wisest and most virtuous. They, says he, have all different Pretences of promoting a Man to an Office; one will have this Man because he is of a noble Family; another votes for the other, because he is rich, and a third endeavours to advance his Friend, or his Kinsman: This last goes by Caballing and getting of Favour: No Man chuses the most worthy; no Man hath Respect either to Virtue or Merit. Then he concludes this Book by a Description of the three main Duties of a Bishop, viz. The Care of Widows, of Virgins consecrated to God, and their Obligation to do Justice to the People, and to help them in their Necessities.

St. Chrysostom having ended this Discourse, Basil told him, That had he sued for that Dignity, his Fear might have been rational, but having been chosen when he sought it not, he ought to think himself secure in accepting it. St. Chrysostom answers, That not only those that seek for Ecclesiastical Promotions thro' Ambition, but also those that do not discharge them well shall be severely punished, because they should have refused them, knowing that they were above their Capacity; and that even those shall be without excuse, who thro' Insufficiency do not perform their Functions in the Church as they ought, under pretence that they were forced to accept of them; neither shall they be acquitted before God, who chuse insufficient Men, by saying that they were deceived, and that they knew them not. This ought to oblige those that are to chuse, to consider well what Choice they make; and those that are chosen, to examine themselves, Whether they are capable of the Dignity to which they are to be promoted. He discourses afterwards of a Bishop's Learning, that being to preach God's Word with Strength and Knowledge, to refute Pagans, Jews and Hereticks, and to instruct the Faithful, he hath great need of Learning, of Prudence and Eloquence.

He goes on in the next Book to speak of the Conditions which are necessary to exercise the ministry of God's Word, as we ought: He observes, That commendation is not to be regarded, and that Envy and Malice is to be despised; but that a good Reputation is to be maintained by constant Labour: That a good Bishop ought not to be proud for being praised, nor dejected when he is blamed; and that his

only aim in his Discourses should be to please God. 'This, saith he, is the only Rule, and the only Object which they ought to propose to themselves in this excellent Ministry, and not to be applauded and praised. If Men do commend them, let them not reject their Commendations; if they do not, let them not desire it, nor be concerned at the omission: this is sufficient comfort for him in his Labour; yea, the greatest he can have, if he knows in his Conscience, that he hath studied his Discourses for no other end, than that they might be acceptable to God only; adding, that he cannot be envious against, nor jealous of those who have more talents than himself.'

In the last Book he proves, that Bishops have need of a higher degree of Virtue than Monks, because they are exposed to many more dangers; and that it is easier to live well in a Solitude than as a Bishop; yea, that whatsoever Virtues Monks may have, yet they are not fit to be Bishops, because the accidents of a Bishop's life may easily excite those Vices and Infirmities which were hid in Solitude. Lastly, he declares, that the trouble he was in, when they spake of making him Bishop, made him resolve to hide himself. He sets forth this trouble by two Comparisons; the one by describing the vexation which a Princess, incomparable both for Beauty and Virtue, might be in, who being passionately beloved by a Prince, should be forced to marry a mean and contemptible Man; the other, by describing the astonishment of a Clown, that was forced to take upon him the Conduct of both a great Land-Army, and of a Navy that was ready to give Battle to a dreadful Enemy. He concludes by comforting Basil, who was afflicted to see himself engaged in so hard an Employment, and loaded with so heavy a Burden.

Some say, that he writ these excellent Books when he was very young, which is not likely. Others think with Socrates, that he composed them while he was a Deacon; but it seems rather, that he made them in his Retirement, before he was ordained Deacon, about the Year 376.

The three Books in defence of a Monastical Life, against those that blamed that state, were the first fruits of St. Chrysostom's Retreat. In the first he argues for a Monastical way of life, because of the usefulness and necessity of separating from the World. In the second he answers the Gentiles, who complained that their Children forsook them to retire into desert places; and then he comforts the Christians who were troubled to see themselves bereaved of their Children that embraced a Solitary Life, to dwell in Wildernesses. He affirms in these Books, that a Monk is more Glorious, more powerful and richer than a Man of the World; representing the great difficulty of saving our selves in the World, and how hard it is to bring up Children to Christianity; and comparing the condition of a Monk with that of Saints and Angels.

The short Discourse upon the comparison of a Monk with a Prince, is upon the same Subject. He shews, that Men are mistaken, who prefer the condition of Kings before that of Monks and retired Men. First, Because the greatness of Kings ends with them, whereas the advantages of a retired Life continue after death. 2. Because the advantages of Retirement are much more considerable than the Fortune of Great Men. 3. Because it is more glorious for a Man to command his Passions, than to rule whole Nations. 4. Because the War of a Monk is nobler than that of a great Captain, and his Victory more certain; the one fights against invisible Powers, and the other against mortal Men; the one engages for the defence of Piety, and the honour of God, the other for his own Interest or Glory. 5. Because a Prince is a charge to himself and to others by reason of those many things which he needs; whereas a Monk wants nothing, does good to all, and by his Prayers obtains those Graces, which the most powerful Princes cannot give. 6. Because the loss of Piety may sooner be repaired than the loss of a Kingdom. Lastly, Because, after death, a Monk goeth in splendor to meet Jesus Christ, and entreats immediately into Heaven; whereas, tho' a King seems to have ruled his Kingdom with Justice and Equity (a thing very rare) yet they shall be less glorious and not so happy, there being a great difference in point of Holiness, between a good King, and a holy Monk, who hath bestowed all his time and care upon praising God: But if this King hath lived ill, who can express the greatness of those punishments that attend him? He concludeth in these words; 'Let us not admire their Riches, nor prefer their happiness before that of these poor Monks. Let us never say, that this rich Man is happy, because he is clothed with sumptuous Apparel, carried in a fine Coach, and followed by many Footmen: These Riches and great Poms last but for a time, and all the Felicity that attends them ends with their Life, whereas the Happiness of Monks endures for ever.'

It was likewise in his Solitude that he writ the two Books of *Compendium of Heart*, whereof the first is dedicated to *Demetrius*, and the second to *Stelebins*. In these Books he discourses of the necessity and conditions of a true and sincere Repentance; affirming, that Christians ought to have their Sins always in view, to abhor them with all their Heart, to lament, and continually beg of God the forgiveness of them; that this sorrow ought to be a motion of that Charity

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St. John Chrysostom. which the Holy Ghost inspireth into our Hearts, and to be animated with the fire of a Divine Love, which consumeth Sin, and is accompanied with a Spirit of Mortification and Disinterestedness from the Goods of this World, with an esteem of the Treasures of Heaven, and of Spiritual Virtues. He saith in the first Book, *That it is not Grace only which makes us do good, since we ought our selves to contribute on our part, all that depends upon our Wills and Strength; wherefore, saith he, God's Grace is given to every one of us, but it abideth only in the Hearts of them that keep the Commandments, and departeth from them that correspond not with it; neither doth it enter into their Souls, who begin not to turn to the Lord. When God converted St. Paul, he foresaw his good Will before he gave him his Grace.*

The three Books of Providence were composed by St. Chrysostom, when he came out of his Solitude, and returned to Antioch. There he comforted a Friend of his, one Stagirus, who having quitted the World, was so tormented with an Evil Spirit, that he was ready to fall into Despair; exhorting him to look upon that affliction as a Grace of God rather than a Punishment; for as much as it appears by the most notable Examples both of the old and of the new Law; that from Adam to St. Paul, Troubles and Afflictions have commonly been the lot of the Saints and Righteous Men: For this reason these Books are intitled, *Of Providence*, because they clear that great Question which so much perplexed the learned Gentiles, *Why the Righteous are afflicted and persecuted if there be a Providence over-ruling the things of the World?* He sheweth there, that this Question hath no difficulty, if Men believe, that there is another Life, a Heaven and a Hell: For, saith he, *since every one is punished or rewarded in another World, to what end are we concerned at what happens in this?* If wicked Men only were persecuted here, we should easily believe, that out of this World there are neither Punishments nor Rewards; and were there none but good Men in affliction, Virtue might be looked upon as the cause of Adversity, and Crimes the reason of Prosperity. Of necessity therefore there must be in this World righteous and wicked Men, some happy and others unhappy. He adds, that by God's permission the Righteous are afflicted, to expiate their Sins, and to correct them for their faults. He saith further, that God makes use of the Righteous Man's Fear, to oblige others to look to themselves, and to mind their own Salvation. But why doth it happen, that such as lived well before they were tempted by Afflictions, should fall into Sin, when Temptation cometh? St. Chrysostom answereth, *First*, That many seem to be Righteous before men, who are great Criminals before God, that searcheth the Hearts. *Secondly*, That God permits the most righteous to fall into sin, to humble them, to keep them from Pride, and from an Opinion of their own Merit; and to put them in mind, that if they have any thing that is good, it is not of themselves, but of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

The Book of *Virginity* is written with much prudence and Wisdom: For, whereas most of the Authors that have written of Virginity, could not forbear, whilst they commended this Virtue to condemn Marriage, or at least, to speak slightly of it: On the contrary St. Chrysostom answereth, at first, those Hereticks that condemn Matrimony; and proveth that their Virginity will not only be unprofitable, but also pernicious; adding withal, that as many as condemn Marriage are Despisers of Virginity: It being a greater advantage to be what it is, a good thing, a nobler and more excellent than another good thing, than simply a Virtue in opposition to Vice. 'I commend Matrimony, saith he, it is the Haven of Continency for those that will use it well; but there are excellent Persons, who have no need of that help, and are able to quench the Fire of Lust by praying, watching, and lying upon the Ground. These I exhort to Virginity, but forbid them not to Marry: if they follow not my advice, I condemn them not; I excommunicate those that commit Adultery and Fornication, but commend those who make an holy use of Matrimony. Marriage is Good that is my Opinion, but Virginity is better. This I own, and if you will have my Sense, it is as much above Matrimony as Heaven is above the Earth, and makes Men like to Angels.'

Afterwards he makes an Objection to himself against Virginity, which seems natural enough: If it be better to live unmarried, why did God institute Marriage? Why did he make Women? And should all Men embrace Virginity, how should Mankind be propagated? To answer these Questions, St. Chrysostom goeth back as far as the Creation of the first Man; and takes Notice, that while he was in the earthly Paradise with Eve he was taken up with a Conversation with God, that he was then freed from lust and the desires of the Flesh, and lived in perfect Virginity, and the whole world was at that time a vast Solitude. But Man having disobeyed God's Commands, and becoming mortal and corruptible, with that happy Life which he enjoyed, he lost also the Glory of Virginity; so that Sin being the cause of Death, became at the same time the cause of Marriage. It is probable, that tho' there had been no Marriage, yet the World might have been peopled, and

St. John Chrysostom. that God had created other Men as he had done the first: adding, that it is not the frequent use of Marriage that multiplieth Mankind, But God's Blessing; and he believes that Marriage is more necessary to the World at present, for a remedy against Incontinency, than for the preservation of Mankind; he grants, That it is necessary for the weak, but that Virginity is far more honourable and profitable too. He pretendeth, that whatsoever St. Paul said of Marriage ought to induce Men to embrace Virginity; and at last he describes the troubles and inconveniencies of a married life, and opposes to them the quiet, liberty, sweetness, pleasure, and other advantages of a single one, and then concludes with this noble Sentence; 'Here below we are seriously to Work out our Salvation; let him that has a Wife live as if he had none; and he that hath not, should endeavour with Virginity to get all other Virtues, and that so in the next World he may not lament the Disorders that he committed whilst he was in this.' This Treatise of Virginity is quoted in the 19th. Homily upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, preached at Antioch. It was by consequence composed in that Town, St. Chrysostom being a Deacon, or newly ordained Priest.

The two Treatises against the cohabitation of Clerks and Women, were composed, if Palladius may be believed, at Constantinople, against the abuse of those Churchmen who lodged devout Women with them, or themselves lodged in the Women's Houses.

Against these Disorders St. Chrysostom wrote two Books, whereof the first reproveth the Virgins that dwelt with Churchmen; and the second admonisheth Churchmen who admitted Women into their Lodgings, and shews, that such mixt-habitation is an occasion of Scandal, and cannot be wholly free from sin.

In the Discourse to a young Widow, he both comforts and exhorts her, To continue in her Widow-hood. He made another little Book on purpose to shew, That she ought not to marry again; where he proves, That tho' second marriages be not absolutely forbidden, yet it is much better to continue in Widow-hood.

The small Treatise upon this Paradox, *That no Man is offended, but by himself*, was written by St. Chrysostom in his Exile. It is upon a Subject very proper to administer Comfort to a Man in Persecution, for he proveth there by several Examples out of Holy Scripture, that Persecutions and Vexations are so far from doing any harm to those that are tormented wrongfully, that they make them more happy and glorious and that nothing but Sin can make Men truly Miserable.

In the first Exhortation to *Theodorus*, who is thought to be the Person who afterwards was made Bishop of Mopsuestia; he adviseth him to do Penance for quitting a retired life to return into the World; shewing him that how great soever his fault might be, yet he might hope for pardon from God's Mercy, because he always granted it to those that truly and earnestly repent; which Penance is not to be judged of according to the length of Time, but by the disposition of the Heart, and which consists in a change of life. Afterwards he represents Heaven, Hell, and Judgment, whereof he maketh an excellent Description, to oblige him to do Penance, and then he comforts him, by the hope that his Repentance will recover, not only his former Innocency, but also an higher degree of Holiness and Perfection.

Among the Examples which he mentions, to confirm this Truth, he citeth the History of that famous Thief who was converted by St. John, which Eusebius takes out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

The second Discourse to *Theodorus* containeth some milder Motives to oblige him to forsake a Secular life; where he represents the Labours and cares of the World, to make him out of love with it. This last Exhortation ought to be placed first: These Treatises were written at Antioch.

All St. Chrysostom's Letters were written during his Banishment.

The first is a Circular Letter to *Innocent* Bishop of Rome, *Venerius* Bishop of Milan, and *Chromatius* Bishop of Aquileia, in which, having described the attempts of *Theophilus*; the injuries which he received from him; the Injustice and Violence exercised towards him; and the Disturbance in the Churches of the East, upon his account, very eloquently, he entreats them to write to the East to tell them, that what was done against him, was to be looked upon as of no force, as being done against the Laws, in his absence by his Enemies, and to the prejudice of those professors which he had made to appear before lawful Judges; and consequently, that such as acted so Un canonically were to be punished according to the severity of Ecclesiastical Laws; declaring that he was ready to justify his Innocence, and to convince his Accusers of Imposture and Violence before uncorrupt Judges.

There is another Letter to Pope *Innocent*, wherein he thanks him for the good Offices which he had endeavoured to do him; but it was written long after the former, in the third Year of St. Chrysostom's Banishment.

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The Letter to the Bishops and Priests that were put in Prison for defending his Innocence, and refusing to Communicate with *Arsacius*, was written in the first Year of his Exile. There he commends the Constancy and Courage of these generous defenders of Justice, whom he scruples not to call Martyrs.

The seventeen following Epistles are directed to the Widow *Olympias*, who was united to him by the bonds of an intimate Friendship; he comforteth her for the Persecutions she had endured, the Affliction she was in, and for the Sickness she lay under.

These are some of the maxims which he lays down to comfort her and himself. 'Nothing is to be feared but sin, all other accidents of this Life are but a Fable and a Comedy; Afflictions, Persecutions, Sicknesses, and Death itself should not move us; these are to be born with Patience for God's sake, no other Blessing is to be compared with patience. We are neither to desire Death, nor to neglect Sickness; not the Persecuted but Persecutors are Objects of pity; and the latter are so much the more to be lamented, because like Men in a Phrenzie, they feel not their Distemper. This present life is but a passage, all the Goods of this World are but Dust and Smoke.' Such Christian Thoughts as these employed the Spirit of St. *Chrysostom* in his Exile, and furnished him with Matter for the Letters he writ to his Friends: He thanked them likewise in his Epistles, for the care they had of him, and for the generous Methods which they followed to justify him; with other Letters to oblige his Friends to continue steadfast to him, to let them hear of him, to let them know what they might do for him, and to pray them, that they would Write to him. These are the subjects of the greatest part of 225 Letters written to his Friends. Some are concerning the Affairs of the Church in *Phoenicia*, the conversion of the *Goths*, and the helping of the Poor; which shew, that tho' he was banished and deprived of his Bishoprick, yet he preserved an Episcopal Spirit, and Pastoral Watchfulness.

The Judgment which the learned *Photius* makes of these Letters is this: (*Vol. 36. of his Bibliotheca*) 'I have read, saith he, the Letters which St. *Chrysostom* writ to several Persons in the time of his Banishment; the most useful are those seventeen to *Olympias*, and that to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he gives an account of the Persecutions which he suffered, as much as the extent of a Letter could permit. The Style of these Letters is not very different from that of his other Works, for it is clear and lofty, florid, pleasant, and persuading. The Letters to *Olympias*, are not so artless as the others, because he could not suit an Epistolary Style, with the matter he was to Write, which, if we may so say, has done Violence to the Laws of the Art of Writing.'

This Reflection of *Photius* is particularly to be applied to the Letter Directed to Pope *Innocent*, and the other Western Bishops, wherein he describeth the Persecutions which he endured with great force of Eloquence. There is not among these Letters That directed to *Casarius* the Monk: *Peter Martyr* was the first that quoted it in these latter times; and since he did not tell whence he took it, and that the Words seemed contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, and of St. *Chrysostom*, upon the *Eucharist*, those of the Church of *Rome*, did long suspect *Peter Martyr* as guilty of imposture, and looked upon the Fragment of that Letter as a piece of his own Invention. But since that time, *Bigotius* having found an antient Manuscript of the Version of that Letter in the *Dominican's* Library at *Florence*, it was no longer doubted, but that *Peter Martyr* took from thence the Fragment which he quoted, and I think we ought not to reject it as unworthy of St. *Chrysostom*: for tho' the Greek Original is not extant entire, yet, something of St. *Chrysostom's* Eloquence appears in that Version; and this Letter is mentioned by several Greek Authors (*q*), who have taken several Quotations that are Printed with the Antient Version.

By this Letter it appears, that *Casarius* to whom it was written, admired a certain Book, wherein it was averred, that in Jesus Christ, there was such an Union, or mixture of Humanity with Divinity, that they made but one Nature: St. *Chrysostom* tells him, that this was the Error of *Apollinarius*, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, and *Manichæus*, about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. And to inform him better, he bids him take notice, that there were two Natures in Christ; and each of them doth preserve its Properties, without mixture, and without confusion, tho' united together in the same person: to explain this truth, he alledges the Example of the *Eucharist*, and saith. †

[† The words in the Original are these, *Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur PANIS, PANEM nominat*

That as Bread is called Bread before the Sanctification, but that after the Divine Grace hath hallowed it by means of the Priest, it

*ought no longer to be called Bread, but to bear the name of Christ's Body, tho' it remains in the same nature of Bread, and that Men do not say, that they are two Bodies, but One only Body of Jesus Christ; so we ought to say, that the Divine Nature being united with the Human, makes but one Christ, and one Person. And yet it must be acknowledged, that each of these Natures continueth perfect and intire, without mixture, and without confusion; for if there remained but one Nature, how could it be said that there is Union? These words of St. Chrysostom, instead of destroying the real Presence of Jesus Christ in the *Eucharist*, do suppose and prove it invincibly: for otherwise how could he affirm, that the Body of Jesus Christ is as truly in the *Eucharist*, as the Divine Nature is in the Person of Jesus Christ? He saith indeed, that the Bread remains in its own Nature. Which seemeth to be against Transubstantiation: but we may understand by Nature, the consistency and appearance of Bread. In a word, this passage is not harder to be understood, than those of *Theodoret* and of *Gelasius*, who use the same Comparison: Nay it is much easier, because St. *Chrysostom* in several places explaineth his Opinion very clearly upon the real change of the bread, and Wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ.*

'yet they must be Confessed to remain without confusion, after an indivisible manner, not in one Nature, but in two perfect Natures.'

Now if we suppose that St. *Chrysostom* designed his Comparison to be just, or believed that it was so, it will not be easy to find other words more expressive of the sense of the Church of *England* in this matter, than those here made use of: and there is no Dispute, but those who took so much Pains to conceal this Testimony, believed that the greatest force that could be put upon this Passage, could never persuade unconcerned Readers, that the Person who wrote it believ'd that Doctrine of the *Eucharist*, which is at present taught in the Church of *Rome*.]

This Letter ends with an Exposition of his Doctrine, about the Mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, in these words. 'It must be Confessed, that the same Jesus Christ, who is Mortal, hath two complete Natures, the Divine, and the Human, and yet he is one and the same only Son, not divisible into two, who comprehends in himself the properties of both Natures, without any Alteration. They are not two Persons, but the same God, Lord, and Saviour, Word of God, who hath put on our Flesh, but animated Flesh, not Flesh without Soul, as the impious *Apollinarius* maintains. To this we are to hold; let us avoid those that separate the two Natures, for tho' there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, yet their Union is indissoluble and inseparable. We ought to acknowledge that this Union is made in one and the same Person, and Hypostasis of the Son. Neither let us hear those who affirm, That after this Union there is but one Nature in Christ; since they are obliged by their own Hypothesis, to ascribe sufferings to the Divine Nature, which is impassible.' The Version of this Letter which *Bigotius* could not get Printed at *Paris*, for some particular Considerations*, was Printed after the Latin Copy, by Mr. *le Moine*, at the end of the first Volume of his *Varia Sacra*, at *Amsterdam*, 1685. and with the Greek fragments in the margin at *Rotterdam* by *Achers*, 1687. This Edition was publicly sold at *Paris*, which shews, that tho' it was not suffered to be Printed in *France*, before it was more exactly examined, yet they never design'd to suppress it. And indeed the most skilful Criticks having well considered it, do con-

* The matter of Fact was in short this; *Bigotius* having brought a Copy of this Letter from *Florence*, annexed it to his Edition of *Palladius's* Life of St. *Chrysostom*, which was Printed at *Paris*, 1680. In his Preface, he vindicated its authority against those Exceptions, which had before been made to it: and being afraid that the Li-

*mus, Divinâ autem illum sanctificante Gratia, medi- ante Sacerdote, Liberatus est quidem Appellatione panis; dignus autem habitus est DOMINICI CORPORIS appellatione, etiam si natura Panis in eo permanfit, et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus filii predicatur: Sic & hic Divinâ indurâone, id est, insidente corporis Naturâ unum filium, unam Personam, utraque hæc fecerunt: Agnoscendum, tamen inconfusam et Indivisibilem rationem, non in unâ solum Naturâ sed in duabus perfectis: Thus translated into English by the Learned Defender of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, against the Bishop of *Meaux*. 'For as (in the *Eucharist*) before the Bread is Consecrated, we call it Bread, but when the Grace of God by the Priest has consecrated it, it is no longer called Bread, but is esteem'd worthy to be called the Lord's Body, altho' the Nature of Bread still remains in it; and we do not say there be two Bodies, but one Body of the Son; so here the Divine Nature, being joyn'd with the (human) Body, they both together make up but one Son, one Person. But*

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(q) By several Greek Authors.] These Authors are *Anastasius* in the MS. Collections of the Library of *Clermont*, *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in two MSS. In Mr. *Colbert's* Library, an Author that wrote against the *Severians*, published by

Turrianus; St. *John Damascene*, Tom. 4. Var. Lect. *Canisii*. p. 211. (*Theorianus* in *Legatione ad Armenios*, p. 74.) these Fragments are in the *Rotterdam* (and *London* Editions.)

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stom.

censers might suppress it, he reserved some few entire. Printed Copies of the Book, before it came into their hands. His fears proved very Reasonable, for some of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, whereof Mr. Grandin, and Mr. Favre were charged as Principal, suppressed the Letter it self, and cut out so much of the Preface of Mr. Bigotius, as related to it, without taking care to fill up the Blank. The Learned Vindicator of the exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, against Mr. de Meaux, tells the Story, and Prints that part of Bigotius's Preface which was erased, with St. Chrysostom's Letter to Casarius, at the end of his Vindication, in London, 1688. And this explains Mr. Du Pin's particular Considerations, leaving every Body to guess at the true reason.]

The Liturgy attributed to St. Chrysostom now extant, in all probability is not written by him: It is a Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, made or altered at least since St. Chrysostom, to which his Name was given, because it was for the use of the Church of Constantinople [and to give it more Authority.] We do not find there the Prayers and Ceremonies, which St. Chrysostom mentions in his Homilies, as in use in his time, in the Celebration of the Eucharist; and there were some things which do not suit with the Customs of that Age. The Manuscripts of this Book are very different; in some there are the Names of St. Chrysostom, of Pope Nicholas II. and of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, who lived long after St. Chrysostom. These passages indeed are not found in that which was translated by Erasmus, but for all that, there is enough to prove that that Liturgy is not of the time of St. Chrysostom.

This Father is one of the most Eloquent Christian Orators, and his Eloquence is the more to be esteemed, because it is without Affectation and Constraint: Fruitfulness of thought, and abundance of Words and Notions is natural to him; tho' he did not tie up himself as St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil did, to an Attick purity; yet there is a lofty Greatness in his Style; His Style is pure and pleasant; His Discourse is beautified with a wonderful Variety of Conceptions and Figures; He extendeth his Matters, by an infinite Variety of Expressions; he is very ingenious in finding out Similitudes between things, abundant in Examples and Comparisons; His Eloquence is popular, and very proper for Preaching; His Style is natural, easy and grave; He equally avoideth negligence, and affectation; He is neither too plain, nor too florid; He is smooth yet not effeminate; He useth all the Figures that are usual to good Orators very properly, without employing false strokes of Wit, and he never introduces into his Discourses, any Notions of Poets or prophane Authors, neither does he divert his Auditory with Jests; His Composition is Noble, his Expressions Elegant, his Method Just, and his Thoughts Sublime; He speaks like a good Father, and a good Pastor; He often directs his words to the People, and expresses them with a Tenderness and Charity becoming an holy Bishop; He teacheth the principal Truths of Christianity, with wonderful Clearness, and diverts with a marvellous art, and an agreeable way of ranging his Notions, and persuades by the strength and solidity of his Reasons; His Instructions are easy; His Descriptions and Relations pleasant; His Inducements so meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded; His Discourses how long soever are not tedious, there are still some new things which keep the Reader awake, and yet he hath no false Beauties, nor useless Figures; His only Aim is to convert his Auditors, or to instruct them in necessary Truths; He neglects all Reflections, that have more subtilty than profit; He never busies himself to resolve hard questions, nor to give mystical Sentences, to make a show of his Wit, or Eloquence; He searcheth not into Mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; He is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible Truths, which none can be ignorant of, without danger of failing of Salvation; He particularly applies himself to moral Heads, and very seldom handleth speculative Truths; He affects not to appear Learned, and never boasts of his Erudition; and yet whatever the Subject be, he speaks with Terms so strong, so proper, and so well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound Knowledge of all sorts of Matters, and particularly of true Divinity.

In lib. 2. Quod Christus sit Deus: In Orat. de S. Babyla: contra Genes: In expositis. Pl. etc. Hom.

He proveth the truth of the Christian Religion, by the strongest, the most probable, and sensible Reasons; He urgeth Miracles, Prophecies, and other Proofs of the truth of Religion; but particularly insists upon the miraculous Establishment of the Church, and in this Argument he triumphs; He shews that it is impossible, that the Doctrine of Jesus Christ could have been received, and believed all the world over, notwithstanding the opposition of Secular Power, the Contradictions of the Wise men in the World, and the endeavours of Devils, had it not been supported

by the power of God himself: 'For, he says, there is need of more than human Ability, to produce such wonderful Effects, both in the Earth, and upon the Sea, and to oblige Men already prejudiced by extravagant Opinions, and prepossessed with prodigious Malice to such Actions; yet Jesus Christ delivered all mankind, not only Romans, but Persians also, and all other barbarous Nations from their Calamities: And to bring about these Wonders, he made use of no Arms, and was at no expence; raised no Armies, and fought no Battles; but by eleven Men, who at first were unknown, despicable, ignorant, Ideots, poor, naked, and without Arms; He persuaded different Nations, and made them embrace an high Philosophy, not only relating to the Government of this present Life, but also to things to come, and Eternity it self; His power over all mankind was such, as that it made them abolish the Laws of their Fathers, renounce their antient Customs, and follow new ones; He spoiled them even of the love of those things they were most fond of to fasten their Affections upon such things as are most difficult and painful.' But the Promulgation of the Gospel, and the settling of the Church, are not the only Proofs of the truth of our Religion, the steadfastness and perpetuity of the Church, is also in St. Chrysostom's Opinion an invincible Argument of it. For he addeth, that it is not only a thing worthy of Admiration, that Jesus Christ should settle his Church over all the Earth, but also that he should render it invincible against so great numbers of Enemies as assaulted it on every side. The Gates of Hell that cannot prevail against it, are the Dangers which seem to hurry it to the very Gates of Hell. Do you not perceive the truth of that prediction of Jesus Christ.... Tho' Tyrants took up Arms against it, tho' Soldiers conspired her Destruction, tho' the People raged furiously, tho' a contrary Custom opposed it self, tho' Preachers, Philosophers, Magistrates, and rich Men stood up to destroy it; The Divine word breaking with greater force than fire it self, consumed these Thorns, cleansed these Fields, and disseminated the Seed of preaching over the whole Earth. And though such as believe the Gospel were shut up in Prisons, sent into Banishment, spoiled of their Goods, thrown into the Fire, cast into the Sea, and exposed to all manner of Torments, Reproaches, and Persecutions, and tho' they were treated every where, as public Enemies; yet they multiplied daily; their being persecuted increased their zeal.... Those Rivers of Blood caused by the Massacres of the Faithful, before their eyes excited their piety, and the Pains they endured inflamed their zeal.'

The same Saint observes in another place, that Christians are never so disorderly in their Behaviour, and so cold in their Devotion, as when he that sits on the Throne of his Religion. Which, saith he, justifies that this Religion is not established by the Powers of the World, and is not upheld and preserved by Earthly force.'

St. Chrysostom's way of dealing with Hereticks is not less rational, than that which he useth towards Heathens and Jews. He expoundeth the Mysteries very plainly, and proveth them by Testimonies of Holy Scripture, and the Authority of the Church, not pretending to penetrate, or give the Reasons of them. and to answer those Difficulties, which have no other Foundation but human Reasonings. He confesses, that he does not understand the Reasons of what he believes. 'I know, saith he, that God is every where, and endure in every part of the World, but I know not how this can be. I doubt not, but that God is without beginning, but I conceive not how that is, for human Reason cannot comprehend a thing that hath no beginning. I know that the Son is begotten of God the Father, but I cannot imagine how that was done.' He believes that the Divine Nature is so high and unsearchable, that it is not possible to comprehend it; and pursues this Reasoning so far, that he sticketh not to say, that Seraphims and Angels themselves do not see the Substance of God; but only an Emanation of his Divine Light. This passage hath made some modern Greeks suppose, that the Saints do not see the Substance of God, but only a Corporeal Light, such as (they say) appeared upon Mount Tabor. This also hath exercised the Subtilty of our Divines, who constitute Happiness in the Vision of the Substance of God: And yet St. Chrysostom hath respect in this passage, neither to that Light of the Modern Greeks, nor to the Disputes of the Schoolmen; his only design is to shew against Arians, that the Divine Nature is not to be comprehended, and that evident Reasons of the Mysteries are not to be given.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the Opinions of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Mystery of the Trinity; it is certain, that he maintained the Faith of the Council of Nice, and that he proved the Divinity both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; yet it ought to be observed, that he was of Meletius's opinion, concerning the Signification of the word *Hypostasis*, and that he owned three *Hypostases*, and one Nature in God.

As to the Mystery of the Incarnation, tho' he was equally contrary to the Error of those who distinguished two Persons in Christ, and that of those who confounded the two

St. John
Chryso-
stom.
contra
Judeos:
Hom. 4. in
illud, Vid.
Dominum
lib. 2. Quod
unus Chri-
stus sit De-
us.

* In Pl.
xlii.

Orat. con-
tra. Gent.
de S.
Babyla.

Orat. 1. de
incompreh.
Homil. 24.
in Joan-
nem.

lb. Orat. 1.

Ep. ad
Casarium,
Homil. de
Consul. in
lib. 2. Quod
Christus
sit Deus:
V. Theodor.
in Dialog.

Homil. de
B. philog.
Hom. de
S. S. Hom.
39. in ep.
1. ad Cor.
c. Hom.

28. in ep.
ad Hebr.
Hom. 29.
two Matth.

two Natures, and their Properties; yet he in several passages of his Writings, declared against the latter Opinion very eagerly.

In his *Panegyrics* of the Saints, he ascribeth to them all manner of Felicity; he places them in Heaven, in the same Rank with Angels, and Archangels, of Prophets, and Martyrs; and yet in other places, he seems to affirm, that their Happiness is referred to the Day of Judgment; but these may agree well enough, if we say, that he spake in the latter of a perfect and consummated Happiness.

Angels, if we believe St. Chrysostom, are so called; because they declare the Will of God unto Men; for which cause the Scripture representeth them with Wings: They take care of Men, are present at Divine Services, and every Christian hath his Guardian Angel.

The Devil is not wicked of his own Nature, but is become such by Sin. God permits him to tempt Men for their good. It is a Childish thing to believe, that those are Angels which the Scripture calleth the Children of God in *Genesis*, and of whom it is said, that they conversed with the Daughters of Men; since they are of a spiritual and incorporeal Nature.

He Confesses in several places, that the fall of the first Man was prejudicial to the whole Race, which ever since is become subject to Pains, Sickneses, and Death, from which it was free before Sin: He acknowledgeth, that an inclination to Evil, and Lusts, are Consequences of the first Man's sin: but he seemeth not to have owned Original Sin, after the same manner that St. Austin doth; at least it cannot be denied, that he hath given another Sense to those places of St. Paul which seem to prove it most. As for Example, when he expoundeth that famous passage, *Rom. 5. 12.* By One man Sin entered into the World, &c. He understandeth of Death what St. Paul saith of Sin, because it is the Wages of Sin; and upon those other words of the same Chapter, *As by the disobedience of one, many are become Guilty, &c.* This Sentence, saith he, seems to have much of Difficulty: for how can it be, that one only Man having Sinned, many should be made guilty by his Sin? We may easily conceive, that the first Man being become mortal, it was necessary that his Off-spring should be mortal likewise; but what Likelihood, and what Reason is there, that a Man should be a Sinner, because of another's disobedience? ... What then signifieth the word Sinner? In my Opinion it signifieth nothing else, but a condemned Man, subject to Pain and Death: This is a way of speaking which does not agree with St. Augustin's Doctrine: tho' it is not hard to defend St. Chrysostom, by saying, that tho' he spake thus, yet he admitted all that Divines own concerning Original Sin: For what is Original Sin, according to them? It is either a Privation of Original righteousness, or Lust with the guilt of Sin, or pain and Guilt together. But St. Chrysostom acknowledges all these: for in the first place he Confesseth, that by the first Man's Sin, all Men were deprived and spoiled of the State of Innocence, that they are become not only mortal, and subject to Pain and Grief, but also inclined to Evil. Thus, in his Opinion, Lust is an effect of the first Man's Sin: and that Concupiscence in Men, makes them unworthy of eternal Life, if the Grace of Jesus Christ saveth them not by Baptism.

He ascribes much to the strength of Free-will; He always speaks as if he believed that it depends upon our selves to do good or evil, and affirms that God always gives his Grace to those who on their side do all they can; that we must begin, and God makes an end; that he followeth the motions of our Wills, and giveth them their Perfection; yet he owns the necessity of Grace to do good, but submits it still to our Will: so that according to him, We are to will and chuse the good, and God gives us the necessary Grace to fulfil the same; he prevents not our Will, that our Liberty may not be prejudiced; he worketh good in us, but that is when we are willing: when our Will is determined, he draweth to himself, but only those who do all their endeavours to come near to him. These Principles about foreknowledge, and Predestination, agree very well with these Conclusions. God did not predestinate men, but as he foresaw their merits: foreknowledge is not the cause of the event of things, but God foresaw them because they shall happen. He calls all Men; Jesus Christ died for all Men; he prepared his Grace for all, he predestinated those whom he foresaw would use his Grace well: He Confesses, that no man is free from Sin in this Life, nay he excepteth not the holy Virgin Mary.

St. Chrysostom attributes much vertue and efficacy to Sacraments, but he requires very holy dispositions, that Men may be the better for them. He saith, that Circumcision and the other Sacraments of the Jews, did not blot out Sins, but cleansed only Bodily filthinesses; whereas our Baptism hath far greater Vertue, purifying the Soul, delivering it from sin, and filling it with the Grace of the Holy Spirit: that John's Baptism was indeed more excellent, than that of the Jews, but much inferior to ours, because it conferred neither the Holy Ghost, nor the remission of

Sins, but only exhorted Men to Repentance. The Baptism of Jesus Christ, not only frees the Soul from Sin, but also sanctifieth it, wherefore it is called the Laver of Regeneration, because it reneweth the Soul through Grace. Yet he does not believe, that Baptism produces these Effects in those of riper Years, unless they are well disposed to receive it. He exacts from those that come to this Sacrament, that they be watchful in the things of their Salvation, dis-engaged from worldly Cares, and that they renounce all disorderly Conversation: that they be zealous in their Devotion, and banish from their Hearts all thoughts unbecoming so holy an Action, and keep their Souls prepared for the coming of this great King.

And because the *Celnicks*, (that is such as receive Baptism at the point of Death) have not time thus to prepare themselves, he doubts of their Salvation. He speaketh of their Condition in such terms, as describe the Case of a dying man very naturally, who deferred to repent of his Sins till the hour of Death, and then would receive the Sacraments. Altho', saith he, Sacraments contain the same Graces, when the Preparation is different, yet all may not receive them. They receive Baptism laying upon their Beds, you receive it in the bosom of the Church, which is the Mother of all the Faithful; they receive it weeping, and you with joy; they with groans, and you with thanksgiving; they in the heat of a Fever, and you under the Sense of the heavenly Grace: every thing here hath a Relation to the Grace received, there every thing disagrees with it; there are sighings and tears, while the Sacrament is administred, Children cry, the Wife tears her Hair, Friends are dejected, Servants weep, the whole House is in Mourning; and if you mind the Spirit of the sick Person, you shall find it more full of Sorrow, than that of the Standers by; for as a stormy Sea divides into several Waves, so his Soul being agitated with troubles is torn with a thousand Difficulties, racked with infinite Troubles. ... In this torture comes in a Priest, whose Presence is more dreadful both to the Company, and to the sick Man, than the Sickness it self: his Visit ordinarily causeth greater Despair, than the Physicians Sentence, that there is no hope of Recovery. They imagine that Sacraments, tho' instruments of the Spiritual life, are infallible tokens of Corporal death. But this is not yet the end of his Misery, nor the height of his Affliction; sometimes while Necessaries for the Sacrament are preparing, the Soul departs out of the Body; and often, tho' remaining in the Body, yet it receives not the fruit of the Sacrament; for when the Sick person knows nobody, hears not the Prayers, and cannot utter the Words whereby he is to engage with God, when he is half dead; what benefit can he reap from the Sacrament?

St. Chrysostom doth not discourse oftner, nor in higher terms of any one Mystery, than of the Eucharist. He says in many places, that the Body and Blood of Christ are upon the Altars: that Jesus Christ hath left us his Body and Blood: that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ: that we ought not to doubt of it, seeing Christ himself affirmeth it: that it is a surprizing Miracle, comparable to the greatest Wonders: that by vertue of Christ's Words, in the Celebration of this Mystery, Christ is offered in Sacrifice: that Jesus Christ offereth himself to God the Father: that this Sacrifice is made without shedding of blood: that Angels and Arch-angels are present at it: that fire from Heaven consumeth the things offered, and changeth them into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: that this Table is to be approached unto with reverence and trembling: that there is need of Holiness, to receive holy things: that Penitents ought not to come near; and that these Mysteries must be hid from Catechumens: that Men ought not only to be freed from Sin, but also from Earthly affections, and penetrated with divine Love, transported with an holy Zeal, and possessed with fervent Charity. Three sorts of Prayers were made at the Celebration: the first for those that were possessed; the second for Penitents; and the third for the Faithful. There was mention made of the Dead; and Invocation of Saints; the *Sanctus* was recited; the Catechumens and Penitents were put out; the Eucharist was brought in at the Consecration, and Prayers were made for them.

St. Chrysostom wisht that all those who were present might communicate; and sticks not to say, that all those that are unworthy to communicate, are not worthy to partake of the Prayers: and that as he who finds not himself guilty of any Sin, ought to communicate every day: so he, on the contrary, that hath committed Sin, and repented not, should not do it, even upon Festival days.

The Sacrament was administred to dying persons, and it was preserved in a Box.

Lastly, that none but the Priests alone have the power to administer the Eucharist, which is the great thing that exalteth their Dignity.

But there is another Power invested in them, which is not inferior to the other, which is that of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting of Sins. It were to be wished that Men needed no repentance, but that they might keep their Baptifmal Purity without spot: But it being impossible not to Sin, God hath prepared the remedy of Repentance. Those that are Guilty of High Crimes, as Murder, Adultery, or Fornication, and the like, are put out of the Church and enjoined publick Penance; but if they mend their faults, they may come in again, having purified themselves by Repentance. As many as continue in Sin, and yet will come into the Church, notwithstanding the Admonitions of Christ's Ministers, aggravate their Crime. Men may hope for pardon, whatsoever their Sin be; but let them have a care of being too confident: Few days are enough to get Pardon for Sin. * God, saith he, in the ninth Homily of Repentance, doth not consider the length, but the zeal of Penance. If you have sinned several times, repent; come into the Church, and put away your Sins. As you use to rise up as often as you fall, so as often as you have sinned repent of your Sin, and never despair. If you sin a second time repent again; and beware lest ye fall into that Consternation, which may make you lose the hope of future benefits. Tho' ye should Sin in the last day of your Life, yet enter into the Church by repentance; this is the Time of Remedy, and not of Judgment: God requireth not the penalty of Sin, but grants pardon for it. He wisely addeth in the following Homily, that none ought to despair, but every one ought to be ware of presumption; for these two extremes are equally dangerous, because Despair hinders Men from rising again, and Presumption makes those fall that stood upright before: Sloth causes us to come short of Heaven, and Despair precipitates into an Abyss of Malice.

And thus St. Chrysostom observes a just medium between the exceeding Severity of some, who thrust Men into despair, and the soft Compliance of others, who promise remission without a true and sincere Repentance. Whofoever hath committed Sin, must own and confess it before God, if he would obtain pardon: he must be truly affected with a sensible grief for his wickedness; he must truly return to the Lord and be converted: abhor his iniquity, forsake his vicious habits, alter his course of life, and love God with all his heart, and above all things, and do every thing for his sake, &c.

The only thing that may seem difficult in St. Chrysostom's Discourses concerning Penance, is what he saith of confession of Sins: For in several places he seems to affirm, That it is not necessary to confess to Men, but that it is sufficient to confess to God, who knoweth the secrets of the Heart. Those passages are remarkable, and have often been alleged by the Enemies of Confession. It hath been answered by some, that St. Chrysostom spoke only in opposition to a publick Confession, supposed to have been abolished by Nestorius, but these Men do not observe, that most of these passages, even the most express, are taken out of the Homilies preached at Antioch by St. Chrysostom. The best, and the most Natural Answer is, that St. Chrysostom does not speak in those Places of those enormous Crimes that are subject to Canonical Penance; but in general of such light offences as Christians daily commit; for the remission whereof, they need neither Confession nor Absolution, but only true Motions of inward repentance. He likewise discourseth of that sort of Sins, when he saith, That they are forgiven by Tears, by Alms, by Humility, by Prayer, and other Remedies of that Nature. However, St. Chrysostom was very severe in the punishment of Sinners; and he not only wist that notorious Sinners might be put out of the Church, and enjoined Penance, as Adulterers and Blasphemers; but he threatened also to excommunicate those who came to the Holy Mysteries negligently, and such as lived in hatred and quarrels, that mind Stage-plays, that were envious, proud, &c. Neither would he have great Lords to be spared; * For, saith he, as to Ecclesiastical Correction, Princes are but as other Faithfuls, there ought to be no distinction. He adds, that the Ministers of Jesus Christ should do their Duty, tho' there were no hope that their reproof could prevail: Yet he would not have the Sword of the Church used lightly, or that Anathema's should be indiscreetly pronounced. This is the subject of the Discourse concerning Anathema's; wherein he

endeavours to refute those, who without lawful Authority, undertook boldly to condemn, their brethren, and to pronounce Anathema's upon such matters as they were ignorant of. And he observes, that Men ought to be extremely reserved in this case, and not to publish Anathema's inconsiderately against any: but when there is necessity, it ought to be done with an intention to cure, and not to destroy those that are under that penalty. † He saith further, in another place, That Zeal must be tempered with Mercy, for otherwise it degenerates into Fury, and other Men's faults are not hardly to be judged of.

Hom. de Anathemate. † Hom. 9. in Genesim.

In St. Chrysostom's time Martyrs were had in Honour; they were commemorated in the Publick Services; their SS. Festivals were kept, and their Relicks revered; nor that they believed there was any Virtue in those Bones, but because the Sight of their Graves, Urns, or Bones, affected the Mind, after the same Manner, as if the Dead were Present, and prayed with us; because the sight of their precious Relicks made an Impression upon the Mind, they visited the Holy Places with Devotion; but St. Chrysostom observes, that the chief intention of those Pilgrimages ought to be the assisting of the Poor. The Dead were prayed for: and St. Chrysostom exhorts their Relations to give Alms in their behalf.

re. Hom. 21. in Acta. Hom. 41, 42. in 1 ad Cor.

Sundays and great Festivals were kept with great solemnity. St. Chrysostom exhorteth Christians to spend that Day in exercises of Devotion: He zealously reproveth all those who employ that Day about Business or Recreation; affirming, That God's Curse will light upon their Labours, and dissipate what they get by neglecting his Service. In several places he encourageth the Faithful to frequent Divine Service and the Publick Prayers of the Church, and shews that they are more powerful and of greater efficacy, than private ones: He reproves those that gave attention to Sermons, but would go out as soon as the Sermon was ended. 'When I Preach, (says he, in the Third Discourse of the Incomprehensible Nature of God) I that am Christ's Servant as you are, you come in Throngs to hear me; you hearken to my Words, and exhort one another, and attend with Patience unto the end; but when Jesus Christ appeareth in the Mysteries, the Church is empty; you go out as soon as you have heard the Sermon, which is a sign that you have profited nothing; for had the Truths preached unto you made any impression upon your Minds, you would have stayed in the Church, and have partaken of those stupendious Mysteries with Reverence and Devotion; but, alas! you depart immediately after the Sermon, as if you came only to hear a Comfort of Mulick. Some, to excuse themselves, use this weak reason; we can pray at Home, but can hear no Sermons but at Church: You deceive your selves; for tho' ye may pray at Home, yet your prayer cannot have the Efficacy of that in the Church, where so many Priests joyn their Prayers with yours, and where a common Voice cryeth to Heaven to implore God's Mercy. Common-Prayer is a wonderful Comfort, proceeding from a Concord of Charity: To which we are to add the Prayers of the Priests, who are set over the Assemblies; That the Prayers of the People, tho' Weaker of themselves, may gather strength by being joyned to those of God's Ministers.'

The Fast of Lent was exactly observed, with Abstinence from Meats; but for any Bodily Infirmary it might be dispensed with. Two days of the week were exempt from Fasting, that the Body might have some respite.

St. Chrysostom looks upon the Holy Scripture, as the ground and rule of all the truths of Religion; He exhorts all the Faithful to read it exactly: and this advice he presses an infinite number of times; He expounds it literally, and draws from it edifying moral Instructions, but he never proposes any forced Allegories, nor resolveth those Questions that have more of Curiosity than Profit, as most Writers of Commentaries, whether antient or Modern very frequently do: I should never make an end, if I should Collect all the common places of St. Chrysostom upon moral Subjects: I shall only mention two or three of the most considerable upon every Subject, and point at some others.

Hom. 9. in ep. ad Col. Hom. 19. in Acta.

Opinions of St. Chrysostom upon several moral Principles.

Of the Love of God.

MOST Men have taken up a false Notion of the Love of God, looking upon it as an Act of the mind, which thinks it has a Love for God, and expresses it with words. St. Chrysostom to unde-

ceive them of this Error, proves by a comparison with the love men have for the Creature, that the love which they ought to have for God, is a strong cleaving of the Heart to God, which is the rule, Principle, and Motive of all their

St. John Chrysostom. their Actions, and which begets in them a contempt of all that is not God. 'If those (saith he in his Comment upon Psalm 91.) that are in love with Corporal Beauties, have no Sense for all other things in the World, and follow no business, but that of beholding continually an Object which is so dear and so acceptable to them; Can a man that loveth God, as God ought to be loved, have any Sense afterwards of the good and evil, of the Pleasures and Afflictions of this Life; No truly, for he is above all these things, and his delight is only in good things that are Immortal, and of the same Nature with him whom he loveth; those that love the Creatures do quickly change, 'tho unwillingly, their affection, for oblivion; because the things which they love decay and corrupt; but this spiritual love hath neither end nor bounds, but contains in it self more Pleasure and Profit than any thing else, and nothing is able to extinguish it.

He compareth the love that we ought to have for God, with that which covetous Men have for riches? in the Sixth Homily upon the Second Epistle to Timothy. 'It is a shameful thing' saith he, 'that men possessed with a violent Passion for riches, should shew nothing of that love which they ought to have for God; and that, we have less consideration for God, than covetous men have for wealth. For to get Money they watch much, undertake long Journeys, expose themselves to Dangers, Hatred and Ambushes, and undergo all Extremities, but we refuse to bear with the least word for God, or to expose our selves to the least hatred for his service. &c.

In the Third Homily upon 1 Cor. he tells Christians, That they love Jesus Christ less than their Friends. 'Many,' saith he, 'have endured the loss of their goods for the

'Service of their Friends; but none are willing, I will not say, to be deprived of their goods for Jesus Christ, but even to be reduced to mere Necessaries for his sake, or to content themselves with what they have at present. We often bear with Affronts, and make our selves Enemies for our Friends; but none will incur the hatred of any for the service of Jesus Christ, and both this hatred and Love are looked upon as unprofitable things; we never despise a Friend when we see him hungry, but would nor give a Morsel of bread to Jesus Christ who cometh to us daily. . . . if our Friend be sick we visit him immediately; but tho' Christ is often detained in Prison in the Persons of his Members, we come not at him. When a Friend is going a Journey we melt into tears, but tho' Christ daily departeth from us, or rather we daily put him away by our sins, yet we are not affected with Grief upon that account.

Last of all, St. Chrysostom observeth Hom. 52. upon the Acts, That, 'Whosoever loveth God truly, will despise all the things of this World; even those that are the most precious and illustrious, Glory and Shame are indifferent things to him; he is no more Sollicitous than if he were left alone in the World: He despiseth Temptations, Scourgings, Dungeons, with as much Courage, as if all these were endured by another, or as if his Body were a Diamond; he laughs at the Pleasures of this Life, and is not in the least susceptible of Passions.

See the Twentieth Homily upon St. Matthew, where he shews that God is to be loved not in words but in Deeds. Hom. 30. upon 2 Cor. Hom. 3. upon 1 Tim. Hom. 52. upon the Acts.

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

Charity (saith St. Chrysostom in the Sixth Homily upon the Epistle to Titus) is the greatest of all Vertues, it brings the Lovers thereof to the very Throne of God. Virginity, Fastings, and Austerities profit only those that practise them, but alms-deeds reach to all, and embrace all the Members of Jesus Christ: Now there is no Vertue greater than that which reunites scattered and separated parts. Charity is the Badge of Christian Religion, whereby the Disciples of Jesus Christ are known: That is it which cures our Crimes, cleanses

the Spots of our Souls, it is a Ladder to ascend into Heaven, and it joyns all the parts of Christ's Body together.

See the sixtieth Homily upon St. Matthew, the 15th. and 78th. upon St. John, the 40th. upon the Acts, the 8th. upon the Rom. the 32d. upon 2 Cor. the 9th. upon Ephes. the Second upon the last to Tim. the 33d. upon 1 Cor. the 4th. upon Thes. the 10th. upon the Epistle to the Ephes. the Second upon the Epistle to the Philippians.

Of Alms-deeds.

The first effect of Charity is to give Alms, and the Obligation to Alms-deeds, is included in the commandment of Loving our Neighbours as our selves. St. Chrysostom, recommends this vertue in so many places, that he sayeth himself in the 89th. Homily upon St. Matthew, that they upbraided him with speaking of nothing else. 'Giving of Alms (saith he in several places) renders Men like unto God cleanseth from sin, and appeaseth the Anger of God. To give to the Poor, is to give unto God, it is to lend to him upon use. We are not only advised, but commanded to give alms. Men are not Masters but only Stewards of their Goods. God who is the Sovereign Lord hath entrusted them with the rich, that they might relieve the poor. All other good works are unprofitable without Alms-deeds. Alms should be given with Joy, and in abundance. Men ought not to

stay till Death to dispose of their Charity; but if they have done nothing in their Life-time, it is good to leave to the poor after Death, and give them as much as to a Child, or at least as to a Servant. These Principles and Maxims St. Chrysostom repeateth often in his Homilies, as the Thirtieth Homily upon Genesis, that upon Psalm 101. the Second Sermon concerning Lazarus; the Seventeenth Homily upon 2 Cor. the Sixth upon Titus, The 5th. 35th. 45th. 47th. 48th. 52d. 66th. 78th. 80th. 86th. upon St. Matth. The 23d. 25th. 27th. 40th. 76th. upon St. John, the Seventh upon Colos. the 11th. 15th. 18th. upon Rom. the 20th. 21st. and 43d. upon 1 Cor. the 5th. Homily of Penance, the Sermon upon the Petition of the Sons of Zebedee, the first Homily of Fasting, and in an infinite number of places besides.

Of Riches and Poverty.

As the the Luxury of Riches hinders Men from giving of Alms, so we ought not to wonder that St. Chrysostom preaching upon Charity, declaims vehemently against Riches, and speaks in Commendation of Poverty. 'Riches (saith he in the Second Homily of statues) are not forbidden, if a good use be made of them. But what Probability is there that Men should not neglect Jesus Christ who is naked, while they build marble Palaces for themselves? O wretched Man! to what purpose is the Magnificency of thy House? This Palace will not, but thy good works will follow thee. . . . To day rich, and to morrow poor. I must confess, that I cannot forbear smiling when I read in Wills and Testaments, I give and bequeath to such a one, the Revenue of my Estate for Life and to such a one the Fee-simple. To speak Properly, we have but the use of things, the Propriety belongs not to us, and tho' we should possess them all our Life-time, yet will they leave us when we die. . . . Poverty is a singular advantage to those that know how to use it well. It is a Treasure that cannot be taken away, a support that cannot fail, and a Sanctuary that

cannot be violated. If you ask the Admirers of that foolish Magnificence, what is the Object of their Admiration? They will answer you, that it is either the brave Horse that carrieth this new Cressus, or his rich Livery, his gilded Clothes, or the delicate Meats that are set before him, or the Pleasures he enjoyeth. This is what is admired, and what cannot be too much deplored; and yet none of these Commendations are directed to this rich Man, they all belong to his Horse, his Clothes or his Equipage, they admire how well he is mounted, they praise his Men, his Clothes, but they say nothing of his Person. Can there be a greater Folly? But on the other side, if you see a poor Man in want, and under contempt, despised by those that see him, make much of him, and by your esteem of him, the beholders will be excited to Vertue. They will tell you, that he is an indigent Fellow, a Wretch; but do you say on the contrary that he is a happy Man, because he hath God for his Friend, because he hath not fastened his Heart to perishing Riches, nor defiled his Conscience. With such Christian Discourses as these instruct your Brethren; let both your Praises

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and your Contempts have no other Aim than the Glory of the Almighty.... One may commend, reprove, and be angry for God's sake. If you find a Servant, a Friend, a Neighbour, robbing, or committing Lewdness; If you hear one telling a lye, or Blaspheming; If you perceive that your Neighbour is going to prostitute his Soul at a Play, call him back, check, and correct that Sinner: These good works will be done to the Honour of God. If this Servant, or this Friend hath offended you, and is departed from his Duty, forgive him, that will be Forgiveness for God's sake; make also Friends and Enemies to your selves for God's cause. Do you ask how? thus it is: Never contract that sort of Friendship which is gotten by Luxury, Interest or Ambition, but seek to make you such Friends, as may advise you to Moderation under a great fortune, and Comfort you in Adversity, who may prompt you only to Honesty, and who by their Counsels and prayers may unite you to Jesus Christ. If you see a lewd Person, one full of dangerous Opinions, break off all commerce with him.... If you speak in any Company, let your words be Godward. He did so often discourse against Riches, and the abuse of them, that he saith himself, in the Sermon against *Eutropius*, upon *Psalms* 44. that they accused him of hating rich Men. But, *saith he*, why should I not speak continually against them, since they cease not to torment the Poor? I complain not of them because they are rich, but because they use their Riches ill: for I make this Profession, Never to blame any body for being wealthy, but for withholding what is not his own.... The present Life (addeth he) is a Pilgrimage; let no man say, I have a Town, a House, and Estate, &c. No Man hath any thing here below: all the good things of this Life, are the Instruments of our Journey; we are travelling as long as this Life lasteth.

Some gather wealth in this Journey, and bury Gold in the way, and pray tell me, when you are come into an Inn, do you furnish it with superfluous Household-stuff? No certainly, you are contented to eat and drink there, and to be gone as soon as you can. This Life is an Inn, we are scarce come into it, but we are obliged to quit it, therefore let us do it readily; let us keep nothing here, that we may lose nothing in the next Life. You are Travellers in this Life, and less then Travellers; for a Traveller knoweth, when he cometh into his Inn, and when he goeth out, &c. In this dreadful Ignorance I lose a great deal of time; and while I am laying up of Provisions, God calls me, and upbraids me thus, Thou Fool! whose shall these things be which thou hast prepared? for this very Night thy Soul shall be demanded of thee.... But what, will some Persons say, must be done in this Case? even this, Hate temporal Goods, love eternal Life, part with your Estate, I do not say with all, but with what is superfluous; do not covet what is another's; spoil not the Widow, nor rob the Orphan; ravish not the Goods of this World, but take Heaven by violence; Jesus Christ approves of this violence, &c. Do not vex the Poor, but do him Right, &c.

See *Hom.* 4. upon *St. Matthew*, where he proves by the Example of three Children, that were cast into the Fiery Furnace, that Riches are not to be worshipped: the 9th, Homily upon *St. Matthew*, where he shews, that we ought not to be lifted up, because of Riches: the 20th, and 64th, against the desire of wealth: the 42d. against Luxury and Pleasures: the 48th. against excess in Clothes: the 80th, and 81st. Homilies against Covetousness: The 88th against the Luxury of Women: and, the 19th Homily upon *St. John*, concerning the use that ought to be made of Riches.

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stom.

Of Forgiving, and against Revenge.

THE second effect of Charity towards our Neighbour, is forgiving of our Enemies, in opposition to a Spirit of Revenge, of Enmity and Repentment. *St. Chrysostom* declaims severely against this Vice, in an Homily purposely composed on that Subject, which is the Twenty-second, concerning Statues. These are some of his Notions. 'The revengerful Man, *saith he*, is not less unworthy of the Communion, than the Blaphemer and Adulterer. The lewd Person puts an end to his Crime when he has satisfied his impure Desire; but he that keeps up an obstinate Hatred, Sins continually, and never makes an end. The fire of Lust is spent by enjoyment; but that of Hatred feeds it self, and is renewed every moment. With what face then can we implore the Mercy of God, whilst we are full of bitter hatred against our Brethren? Your Brother hath done you an injury; but do you not often commit injuries against God? Do you compare the Servant with his Master? In the mean time, he that wrongeth you, was perhaps wronged by

you before: But what wrong hath God ever done you? or rather what benefits hath he not taken pleasure to bestow upon you, and you in requital return only injuries to him again? In a word; pretending to be revenged of others, you punish your selves: The hatred you harbour, is your own tormenter, to tear your own bowels. Is there any thing more unhappy than he who meditates revenge? He is a Mad-man that never enjoyeth any rest, his Heart being filled with Storms and Troubles: He abhorreth all the Actions, the Words, and the very Name of his Enemy. And to what end is this Fury, and these Torments? We ought to forgive our Enemies to prevent the pains we feel by hating them. What folly is it to seek revenge at our own cost; to do our selves a great mischief, that another may receive a lesser, &c.

See the 61st. Homily upon *St. Matthew*; the 39th. upon *St. John*; the 38th. upon the *Acts*; an Homily upon the Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and several other places.

Of Fasting.

NEXT to giving of Alms, Fasting is one of the most powerful means to obtain pardon for Sin; but that Fasting may be profitable, it must be accompanied with a regular life. This *St. Chrysostom* takes notice of almost every-where, when he discourses of Fasting. See how he expresseth himself, in the second Homily of Statues. 'I do not call Fasting a meer abstinence from Meats, but forbearance from Sin: For fasting is not able of its own nature to blot out the pollution of our offences, except necessary dispositions do attend it.... Let us therefore have a care, that in Fasting, we fall not short of the price and reward that belongs to it: But let us learn perfectly to practise it holily. Afterwards he sets forth the qualities of a Fast by the example of that of the *Ninevites*.... He (saith our Author) offers an injury to Fasting, who defines it to be an abstinence from Meats. You Fast, Brother; but shew me your Fasting by your Works: but you will ask me, what Works? I require therefore, that when you see a poor Man, you be sure to help him in his misery; that you reconcile your self to your Enemy; that another Man's Glory may not excite your Envy; and that you shut your Eyes when you meet an handsome Woman: For Fasting respects not the Mouth barely, but the Ear, the Hands, the Feet, and all the other Parts of the Body. Covetous Hands should fast, and touch no more other Men's goods; the Feet should fast, and run no more to profane Shews; and the Eyes should fast, by

turning aside from that beauty, whose sight is so dangerous.

In the fourth Homily of Statues, he lays down the same Maxims again. 'We see, *saith he*, nothing but People making merry, and saying one to another; Victory, all is our own, Midlent is over. My advice to these is, that they should consider, whether the inward Man is in a better condition than it was when the Fast begun: For then indeed we have reason to rejoyce, when our Fasting does not end with those Vices that it begun with, and when we are come to the Festival of *Easter* with a Conscience purified by Fasting. I know some who, in the middle of Lent, do dread already that of the next year.... Can there be a greater weakness? But whence cometh it? Even from this, that we make Fasting to consist only in forbearing of Meats, and not in the reforming of our Manners.

'There may be (saith he in the 22d. Homily) several reasons not to Fast; but there is none not to correct a vicious habit. You have broken your Fast, because of a bodily infirmity. Well: But why do you not forgive your Enemy? Is there any corporal indisposition that hinders? Lastly, He observeth in the 7th. and 11th. Homilies upon *Genesis*, that the true Fast is abstinence from Sin; for forbearance of Meat was introduced to restrain the motions of the Flesh, and to suppress the Passions. See the Homilies of *Fasting* and of *Alms-deeds*, and the 57th. upon *St. Matthew*.

Upon

Upon this; That Man is obliged to do all for God, and to direct all his Actions to him alone.

Concerning a Christian's Duty, St. Chrysostom discourseth thus in the 23d. Homily, against those that kept the Feasts of the New Moons. 'St. Paul (saith he) commands us to do all things to the Glory of God: For whether you eat, or whether you drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God. You will ask what relation have these things to the Glory of God? Invite a poor Man to your Table; this is called to eat and drink to the Glory of God. You may also work for God by shutting up your selves in your own Houses: How, and by what means, will you say? When you hear the Disorders and Insolencies committed in the Streets, by lewd Men, then shut your doors, have nothing to do with that hellish Crew, and you shall keep your Houses for the Glory of God. You may also glorifie the Lord both by your Praises and by your Contempt: As for example; When you see a wicked Man gorgeously apparelled, and sumptuously adorned with the spoil of the Countries, which

he hath brought to Desolation and attended with a great number of Servants; and some weak Soul is blinded with that vain lustre, discover to him his error, and make him see the vanity of that insignificant Pomp, and pity the happiness of that unhappy Man. Thus may Men despise things for the Glory of God. This contempt is an instruction for those that are witnesses thereof. We prove God to be present at all the actions of our lives, even in our purchases and sales, when we are contented with an honest gain, and when we take no advantage of other Men's necessities to advance the rates of our Commodities.

In your Fasts and Prayers, in your Contempt and Praise, in your Silence and Discourses, in selling and buying, think always on the Glory of God.

See upon the same subject the 6th. Homily upon St. Matthew, the 79th. upon the same, the 9th. and 14th. upon the Acts, and the 18th. upon the Romans.

Of the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily.

One of the Fathers have spoken more powerfully and largely than St. Chrysostom, concerning the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily, nor more dreadfully against unworthy Communicants.

He requireth in the first place, that those who draw near to the Lord's Table, should put away their Sins. 'It is written (saith he in the First Sermon of Penance) that without Holiness no man shall see God; but whosoever is unworthy to see God, is not worthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ; wherefore St. Paul will have a man to examine himself. &c. Reform the Disorders of your life past, and then come to that holy Table, and participate of that Sacrifice with a pure and unspotted Conscience.

He saith the same things in the 22d. Homily of Statues; seeing we are advancing into Lent, let us advance in Virtue; it is in vain to run, except we get the prize of the Race: Our Austerities and Fasting will profit us nothing, if we come not to the holy Table with an exact purity of Heart: For Lent, Prayers and Sermons are appointed in the Church, for no other purpose, but to make us participate safely of the unbloody Sacrifice, and to wash away with the Waters of Repentance, the filthinesses of our Sins; without this our labour is vain: But if by Abstinence you have corrected one Vice, and gained one Virtue, and put off one evil habit, then you may boldly take place at the Table of the Lord.

He recommends the same thing in the Homily of Seraphims. I tell you plainly, saith he, I pray, I beseech you not to come to the Lord's Table with a Conscience defiled with Crimes: For to communicate in this condition, is not Communion, but Condemnation; and tho' you should a thousand times come to the Body of Jesus Christ in that condition, yet instead of receiving benefit by it, you would become the more guilty. Let Sinners therefore keep away; that is, those who persevere in their Sin. This I warn you of betimes, even now, that when the day of that heavenly Feast shall come, you may not say, I am unprepared, you should have given me warning. I know that we are all guilty, that no man can boast of having a

pure heart in this World: that's not the worst; but that not having a pure heart, they will not draw nigh unto him that can purifie them.

But to be pure is not sufficient, according to St. Chrysostom, to partake of that holy Table; Men must have a care besides, that they come not thither negligently. 'Let no Man (saith he in the 83d. Homily upon St. Matthew) approach this sacred Table with disgust, negligence or coldness; but let all come with a longing desire, with zeal and love. . . . You ought therefore to watch over your own actions carefully, knowing that those who receive unworthily the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, are threatened with a dreadful punishment. If you cannot endure, without horror, Judas's crime, who sold his Master; and the Jew's ingratitude, who crucified their King; beware also of becoming guilty of profaning the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: Let no Judas, no covetous Man come hither; let none but true Disciples of Jesus Christ be present at that Feast, &c. For this Reason this holy Father observes in the Homily of Judas's Treachery, that this holy Altar is not to be approached unto without reverence. . . . That no Hypocrite, no Man full of iniquity ought to come near to this sacred Table. According to these Principles, (he saith in the 17th. Homily upon Hebrews) that, generally speaking, no reckoning is to be made either of those who communicate but once in the Year, or of those that do it often, or such as receive seldom; but of those that communicate with a pure Conscience, a clean Heart, and a blameless Life. Let as many as are thus disposed come always; and as many as are not, let them not come once, because they cannot but draw God's Judgments upon themselves, and become worthy of Condemnation. Do you think that Forty days Penance is sufficient to cleanse you from all your Sins?

See upon the same Subject the 52d. Homily against those that Fast at Easter; the Homily upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ; the 7th. Homily upon St. Matthew; the 24th. 27th. and 41st. upon 1 Cor. the 3d. upon the Epist. to the Ephesians; the 17th. upon the Epist. to the Hebrews; the 5th. upon Titus and several other places.

Of Prayer.

GOD requireth of us fervent and constant Prayer; he often with-holds those things that we ask of him to excite our Zeal. This Observation is found in the first Homily concerning Statues, in those upon Genesis, in the Commentary upon Psal. 7. and in the Homily upon these Words, Phil. 1. What then? Christ is preached. He describeth both the Conditions and

the Effects of Prayer in the 2d. Homily upon Hannah. In the 5th. Homily upon the same Subject, he sheweth the Strength and Virtue of Prayer; He lays down the Necessity of Prayer in several places of his Works. See the 22d. Homily upon St. Matthew, the 36th. upon St. John; he speaks of Thanksgiving in the 25th. upon St. Matthew, in the 35th. upon St. John's Gospel, and in the 14th. upon 2 Cor.

Of Attention in Prayer.

WE pay less respect to God, than a Servant doth to his Master, a Soldier to his General, or even a Friend to his Friend; for we speak to our Friends with attention: But whilst our Knees are on the ground, and we are treating with God about the business of our Salvation; whilst we beg pardon for our Crimes, we faint, our Mind is at Court, or at the

Bar, and there is no correspondence betwixt our Thoughts and our Words. We daily commit this fault, &c. Many go into the Church, and there utter a great number of Prayers; and then come out, not knowing what they have said: They move their Lips, but they do not apply their Minds to their Discourses. What? you hearken not to what you say, and would you have God hear it?

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I kneeled, say you, but your Heart was some-where else: Your Mouth uttered Petitions, but your Mind was about Bargains, Trading, Exchange or Vilits. It is in the time of Prayer that the Devil assaults us, knowing that then

we profit spiritually; he suggests to our Spirits a multitude of Thoughts. See the 36th. Homily upon the Acts, wherein he exhorts Christians to pray in the Night.

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stom.

Of Humility, against Pride.

Humility according to St. Chrysostom, is the principle of all Vertues, and the ground of all good Works. This he proveth in the 47th. Homily upon St. Matth: 'We should not be lifted up for our good Works, but acknowledge our unworthiness before God. Vertues are like Riches; if we expose them publicly, we are in danger of losing them; to preserve them, they must be hid. The more good we do, the less we should boast of it; if we be proud of it, we lose its reward. The greatest Action, and the most acceptable to

God, is to entertain low Thoughts of our selves.... Nothing conduces more to make us beloved of God, than to reckon our selves most imperfect; that is the height and perfection of Wisdom.

See the 3d. Homily upon St. Matthew; the 4th. upon the same Gospel; the latter end of the 25th. and 65th. upon the same; the 28th. 38th. 41st. and 48th. upon St. John; the 21st. upon the Romans; the 11th. upon 2 Thessal. and the 2d. Homily upon the Epistle to Titus; where he speaks against the love of Glory.

Of Christian Watchfulness.

St. Chrysostom describeth in several places the various Devices which Satan useth to tempt us, very eloquently. Upon this Subject one may consult the Homily of the Tempter, where he proves that Temptations are profitable for us, provided we stand always upon our guard, and watch continually over our selves. This he

recommends in that place, and in the 13th. Homily upon St. Matthew; where he proves, that in this World the Devil's temptations are to be resisted: In the 14th. where he shews that the diseases of the Soul are not to be neglected; and in many other places, where he gives both Precepts and Means to avoid Temptations and Sins.

Against Covetousness.

St. Chrysostom declares his Indignation against Covetous Men in many places, and the Picture which he makes of them is enough to beget in us an abhorrence to them. Thus he speaks of them, Hom. 9. upon 1 Cor. 'What can be more impudent, shameless, and bold, than a Miserably covetous Man? A Dog is more modest than the covetous Man, who seizeth upon that which is another Man's. Nothing is more filthy, than those Hands which take all; nothing more cruel than that Mouth which devoureth all, and is never satisfied: Look not upon his Face and Eyes, as if they were the Eyes and Face of a Man. The covetous Person is never con-

tented, till he hath got all that the World hath; all is brutish in his Face; he is Inhumanity it self, &c. In the 39th. Homily upon 1 Cor. he sheweth how abominable a thing a covetous Man is, who having gathered great quantities of Corn, to sell it dear, laments, because it is growing cheap. In another Place, Hom. 18. upon the Epistle to the Ephesians; He says that Covetousness is a kind of Idolatry. He carries the same Notion in the 64th. Homily upon St. John. In a Word, all his Homilies are full of Invectives against covetous Men; he writes against Usury in the 56th. Homily upon St. Matthew, in the 12th. upon the Romans, and in the 15th. upon 1 Cor.

Of Meekness, and against Anger.

Tho' St. Chrysostom's Zeal gave his Enemies occasion to accuse him of being passionate; yet one may easily judge by his Writings, that he was a great lover of Meekness, and that he disapproved of Passion; See his

Moral exhortations, in the 29th. Homily upon St. Matthew, the 33d. and 48th. upon St. John, the 6th. upon the Acts, and the 17th. upon the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Against Envy.

Envoy is the most abominable of Sins: Hell never produced one more to be abhorred. Other Sinners have some pleasure; but the Envious Man torments himself, whilst he torments others. Envy hath been the cause of all Mischief. This crime is so much the more dangerous, because no Penance is enjoyed for it. Men fancy they may blot it out by some

small Alms, or a short Fast; they do not weep bitterly for it, as for Adultery or Fornication, &c.

These are some of St. Chrysostom's Notions about Envy, taken out of the 40th. Homily upon St. Matthew. One may read upon the same Subject the Homily upon Psal. 49. Hom. 37. upon St. John, the 3d. upon 1 Cor. the 24th. and 27th. upon 2 Cor. and the 3d. upon the Epistle to the Philippians.

Against Drunkenness.

There is not a more dangerous or hateful Sin than Drunkenness, saith St. Chrysostom, in the first Discourse upon these Words of St. Paul to Timothy, use a little Wine for thy Stomach's sake, and thine often Infirmities. A Drunkard is a Dead Man livings voluntarily sick, a Person useless either for the

Common-wealth, or for his Family; one whose presence is intolerable, whose Breath, Voice and Steps are equally odious.

See the 27th. Homily upon the Acts, the 25th. upon the Epistle to the Romans. See also the 56th. Homily upon St. Matthew, and the 27th. upon the Acts.

Against Swearing and Blasphemies.

St. Chrysostom Discourseth against Swearing and Blasphemies almost in all the Homilies of Statues, wherein

he declaimeth Vehemently against that Vice. See also the 8th. 10th. 11th. Homilies upon the Acts.

Concerning

Concerning Publick Shows and Stage-plays.

ST. Chrysostom living in two great Imperial Cities, where Plays, Shows, Comedies, &c. were very frequent, to which the People were much addicted; one needs not wonder that he should so often and so earnestly inveigh against those disorders. He calls their Stages, Schools of Lewdness, Academies of Incontinence, and Pestilential Pulpits. 'There, saith he, you see lewd Women representing Adulteries, and uttering Blasphemies. With what Eyes will you look upon your Wives, your Children, Servants or Friends at your going out of such places? He refuteth in another Sermon the Specious pretences they had to plead for Plays: These are his Words. What harm, say you, is there in going to see a Play? Is that sufficient to keep one from the Communion? But I will ask you, whether there can be a more shameless Sin, than to come to the Holy Table, being defiled with Adultery? Yes, it is a kind of Adultery to go to a Play; and if you will not believe me, hear the Words of him who is to judge of our Life. Jesus Christ tells us, That whosoever looketh upon a Woman to lust after her, committeth Adultery. What can be said of those, who passionately spend whole days in those Places, in looking upon Women of ill fame and reputation: With what face will they dare to affirm, that they beheld them not to lust after them, and so much the rather, because they hear lascivious Speeches, they see wanton Actions, they are entertained with amorous Songs, and with Voices

capable of stirring up shameful Passions; they see Women dressed, painted, and adorned on purpose to inspire Love. The Assistants are in such confusion and idleness; as promote Riotings; and these are natural effects both of the preparations and consequences of Plays. The Musical Instruments, Consorts and Songs, are equally dangerous; they flatter strangely; they effeminate the Heart and prepare it to yield to the snares laid for them by profligate Women. For if in the Church it self, where Psalms are sung, the Scripture is read, where the dread of the Almighty appears, and Men are in a posture of reverence? If, I say, in that so venerable a place, Lust will creep in as a Thief, how shall they be able to overcome the motions of Concupiscence, that constantly frequent the Stage, who neither see nor hear any thing but what is prophane and dangerous; whose Hearts are full of evil Thoughts, and whose Eyes and Ears are assaulted continually? But if this be impossible, how shall they justify themselves from the guilt of Adultery? And if they are Adulterers, how can they pretend to come into the Church, and to participate of the Holy Table before they have done Penance.'

See the 4th. Homily concerning *Hannah*, the 1st. 7th. 17th. 37th. and 38th. upon St. *Matthew*, the 32d. and 58th. upon St. *John*, and the 17th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, against Mountebanks, and Jesters; and Stage-players.

Of Balls and Gaming.

ST. Chrysostom exclaimeth as much against Balls and publick Meetings, as he does against Stage-plays. 'There are (saith he in the 23d. Homily to the People of *Antioch*) no Enemies so dangerous as those nocturnal Recreations, those pernicious Meetings and Dances. Our former Miscarriages call for Tears, for Shame and Sorrow, and yet Mirth breaks out every-where....

'I shall say nothing of idle expences; but I am very much troubled at Gamings and Taverns; how much is there of Impiety and Intemperance?' He speaks against Games of chance in the 15th. Homily to the People of *Antioch*; where he shews, that they are occasions of Blasphemies, Losses, Anger, Quarrels, and all manner of Crimes.

Of the Dignity and Qualifications of the Ministers of Jesus Christ.

WE have already set down St. Chrysostom's Opinion concerning the Dignity and excellency of the Priest-hood, when we mentioned his Books upon that Subject and the Homilies concerning the History of *Uzziah*. We also joyned to that some places of the same Treatise, concerning the Qualifications of a Bishop, and the weight of his Office. But to those one may add, what he says to the same purpose, in the 1st. Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*, and in the 3d. upon the *Acts*; where he openly declares his Opinion, that few Bishops were saved. Upon the same Subject one may consult the 1st. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Corinthi-*

ans, the 4th. upon that to the *Philippians*, and the 3d. upon the *Acts*. He enjoyns Christians in several places to be very respectful towards the Priests; as in the Homilies upon the Song of *Hannah*, in the 22d. upon St. *Matthew*, in the 86th. upon St. *John*, and in the 2d. upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*. His observation in his last is, That we should not hear those Pastours that are fallen into Heresy; but, on the contrary, we ought to avoid them, and separate from them: But not from wicked Priests, whose Character is to be honoured; because notwithstanding their Wickedness, they truly offer the Holy Sacrifice, and validly administer the Sacraments.

Upon the Usefulness and Excellency of a Monastick Life.

WE have sufficiently declared St. Chrysostom's Opinion of a Monastick Life, in the extracts of the Treatises which he composed in his retirement. To those one may add the Homily of

Statues, where he speaks of the *Egyptian Monks*, the 1st. 8th. 55th. 69th. 70th. 71st. 72d. upon St. *Matthew*, and the 14th. upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*.

Of the State of Marriage, and of the Duties of Married Persons.

IN the first place St. Chrysostom requireth that in chusing a Wife, Men should have greater regard to Vertue than riches. He lays down this Maxim in the 74th. Homily upon St. *Matthew*; there he pleasantly shews how much rich Wives prove troublesome to their Husbands. He says the same thing in the 48th. and 56th. Homilies upon *Genesis*, in the 49th. upon the *Acts*, in the 12th. upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, and in the 17th. 19th. and 28th. Sermons of the 5th. Volume. He exhorts Husbands

to live well with their Wives, and shew them good Examples. In the 38th. Homily upon *Genesis*, in the exposition of the 43d. Psalm; in the 30th. Homily upon St. *Matthew*, and the 20th. upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; in the 10th. upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, he treateth at large of the Love which Husbands ought to have for their Wives, and of the respect that Wives ought to shew towards their Husbands: He discourses upon the same Subject in the 26th. Homily upon 1 *Cor.* and the 60th. upon St. *John*.

Of the Education of Children, and the Duties of the Master of a Family.

ST. Chrysostom being yet in his Retirement and sensible of the little care that Fathers took to bring up their Children well, employs part of the Third Book against those that found fault with a Monastick Life, to complain of that Miscarriage; and goes so far as to affirm, That a Father who breeds up his Child ill, is more cruel than he that puts him to Death; because he makes

him liable to eternal Damnation; which is infinitely worse than loss of Life. This matter is handled likewise in the Homilies concerning *Hannah*; where he shews, That not only Fathers, but Mothers also are obliged to give their Children good Education. In the 60th. Homily upon St. *Matthew*, he blameth the carelessness of Parents in the choice of a Tutor. Lastly, in the 21st. and 22d. Homilies upon

the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he admonishes Fathers to be let's solicitous about their Children's getting School-learning; and to take more care that they be taught Piety and the Christian Religion. Read the 59th. Homily upon St. *Matthew*; the 9th. upon 1 *Tim.* and the 1st. upon *Rom.* where

he discourseth of the Duties of a Master in a Family, in relation to his Wife, Children and Servants. He observes in the 15th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that a Mistress is not to abuse her Maid-servants. See also the 16th. Homily upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*.

St. John
Chryso-
stom.

Of Afflictions.

ST. *Chryso-stom* not only teaches us that we ought to bear the losses, sicknesses, and other afflictions that may happen in this World patiently: But he shews, besides, that they are the Portion of all good Men: He gives eight Reasons for it, worth Reading, in the Homily upon these words of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, Use a little

Wine; in the 4th. and 5th. Discourses concerning Statues; in the 28th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; in the 33d. upon St. *Matthew*; in the 8th. upon 2 *Tim.* and in the 28th. and 29th. Homilies upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Of Death.

ST. *Chryso-stom*'s Homilies are full of excellent Instructions concerning Death; wherein he shews, that instead of fearing Death, a Christian ought to desire it. 'To what purpose, saith he in the 5th. Homily of Statues, should a Man fear sudden Death? Is it because it brings us the sooner to our Haven, and hastens our passage to a happy life? What folly is this? We expect eternal felicity, and those good things which no Eye hath seen, nor Ear heard, and which never entered into the Heart of Man; and yet we do not only put off the fruition of them, but we fear it, yea we abhor it.' He tells us in other places, That this life, being but a journey, a train of Miseries, a banishment from our own Country, &c. we should be very miserable if it never were to end.

See the 21st. and 32d. Homilies upon *Genesis*; the Dis-

course upon these Words of St. *Paul*, Be not sorry for the Death of your Brethren; where he carries this Notion further, and saith, that we should be as glad to go out of this World as Criminals are to get out of Prison. See the 1st. Homily upon *Genesis*, the 14th. upon the Epistle to *Timothy*, and the 7th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Last of all he hath one Sermon to prove that Death is not to be feared.

From these Principles, he concludes in several places, that we ought not to weep for the Dead, but on the contrary rejoyce; for that they have quitted this miserable life, to enter into one which is both eternal and happy. See the 34th. Homily upon St. *Matth.* the 62. upon St. *John*, the 21st. upon the *Acts*, the 6th. upon the Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and the 4th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Christian Maxims which St. Chryso-stom lays down and maintains in his Sermons.

WE ought not to be addicted to the Goods of this World. *Hom.* 2. upon *Matthew*.

Persons who are not Vertuous, will receive no advantage from the Vertues of others. *Homs.* 5. on *Matthew*.

The Vertue of our Relations will do us no good, if we our selves want Piety. *Hom.* 10. on *Matthew*.

Men ought to exercise themselves in the practice of all Vertues. *Hom.* 11. on *Matthew*.

No Mercy is to be looked for after Death but only severe Justice; there is no middle place between Hell or Heaven. *Hom.* 14. upon *Matthew*.

He that reflects upon the joys of Heaven, will find it easy to practise Vertue. *Hom.* 16. upon *Matthew*.

The commandments of God are not impossible to those that are willing to keep them. *Hom.* 21. on *Matthew*. Nay, they are easy with God's grace. *Hom.* 56. and 76. on *Matthew*, and 57. upon St. *John*.

Let him that is in the state of Grace, not trust too much to his own Strength, lest he fall; neither let him that is fallen, despair. *Hom.* 26. and 67. on *Matthew*.

Spiritual advantages are to be prefer'd before those things that otherwise seem to be most necessary. *Hom.* 26. upon *Matthew*.

A Man of an ill life, is worse than a dead Man. *Hom.* 26. upon *Matthew*.

Passionate, intemperate, debauched, and covetous Men are worse than those that are possessed with the Devil. *Hom.* 23. upon *Matthew*.

The Yoke of Vertue is light and easy, that of Sin is heavy and troublesome. *Hom.* 38. upon *Matthew*. and 88. upon *John*.

We ought to examine, and be sorry for our faults, and not be concerned for those of other Men. *Hom.* 24 upon *Matthew*, and 60. upon St. *John*.

Vertue is more to be esteemed than Miracles. *Hom.* 46. upon *Matthew*.

To feed the Poor is better than to give Ornaments of Gold or Silver to the Church. *Hom.* 50. upon *Matthew*.

He that offends another, wrongs himself more than the other. *Hom.* 51. upon *Matthew*.

A Man that is addicted to worldly things, is in the most unhappy slavery that can be. *Hom.* 58. upon *Matthew*.

It is better to adorn our Souls with Vertue, than the Body with rich Cloths. *Hom.* 69. upon *Matthew*.

A Soul polluted with Crimes, stinks worse than a putrefied Body. *Hom.* 57. upon *Matthew*.

It is to no purpose to have been Baptized, and to be in the true Church, unless we lead our Lives conformably to

the Doctrine of the Gospel, and our Baptifinal profession. *Hom.* 6. and 10. upon *John*.

Whatever appears great in this World is nothing before God. *Hom.* 44. in *John*.

Nothing ought to be better husbanded than time. *Hom.* 58. upon *John*.

We should not ask of God temporal, but spiritual Goods. *Hom.* 43. and 54. upon *John*.

A Christian ought to work not only for himself, but also for others. *Hom.* 20. upon the *Acts*.

It often happens that those who design to Afflict the Righteous, and hinder the purposes of God concerning them, do further them when they do not intend it. *Hom.* 49. upon the *Acts*.

The loss of Worldly Goods ought not to be lamented, but that only of the Joys of Heaven. *Hom.* 10. upon the *Romans*.

We ought to do that which is good in this world, and not depend upon the Prayers of our Kindred and Friends after Death. *Hom.* 42. upon 1 *Cor.*

The Salvation of others ought to be preferred before our own satisfaction. *Hom.* 29. upon 2 *Cor.*

Vertues are like Treasures, they must be hid to be kept: If they be exposed publickly, there is danger of losing them. *Hom.* 3. upon *Matthew*.

To be Master of one's own Passions, is true liberty. *Hom.* 17. upon 1 *Tim.*

Nothing is to be lamented but Sin. *Hom.* 3. upon the *Hebrews*.

No Man is offended but by himself. See his Discourse upon this Paradox and his Letters *Passim*.

It is easie to get Vertue, and preserve it too. *Passim*.

It is more easie to live well, than ill. *Passim*.

Small Sins are to be avoided as well as great ones. *Passim*.

One only Sin, one evil Action is sufficient to condemn us eternally. *Passim*.

The accusation of Conscience is the greatest torment. *Passim*.

It is better to suffer our selves, than to make others suffer. *Epist. to Olympias*.

The ignominy of this World, is glory in the eyes of God. *Passim*.

This present life is death, and death is life. *Passim*.

Afflictions, Persecutions, and Sicknesses, are desirable: but delights, pleasures and joy are to be feared. *Passim*.

God's chastisements are great benefits: The good things which he bestows in this world are great temptations. *Passim*.

Giving

St. John
Chryso-
stom.

St. John
Chryso-
stom.

Giving of alms is the trade that brings the greatest profit. *Passim.*

Solitariness and a Monastick life, are more to be desired than the greatest Kingdoms. *Passim.*

True Sovereignty consists in commanding our own Passions. *Passim.*

It is an effect of God's bounty, that the execution of Precepts, which are necessary to our Salvation, does not depend upon the weakness of our Bodies. *Hom. in illud, Modico vino utere.*

Sorrow is the product of Sin, and sorrow takes away Sin: That which was the penalty of Sin is become the salvation of Man. Sin brought weakness into the World. and sorrow hath destroy'd Sin. *Hom. 1. de jejuniis.*

Our Worship is not like that of the Jews, which was loaded with many Ceremonies, and needed much preparation. He that went into the Temple to pray, was to buy Pigeons, to carry Wood, Fire, a Knife, and a Victim. Christians want no such things: In every place they have an Altar, a Knife, and a Victim; or rather they themselves are the Altar, the Priest, and the Victim. In what place, or what condition soever they are, they may offer their Souls to God. *Hom. 4. de Anna.*

Man shall be punished for his Sins, either in this world, or in the next: He ought to be punished here, to prevent punishment hereafter. *Serm. 5. de Lazaro.*

Ignorance of the Scripture makes Heresies. *Serm. 3. de Lazaro.*

These are some of those Maxims wherewith St. Chrysostom filleth his Discourses; but he enlargeth upon them with such abundance, expoundeth them with so great Eloquence, and pursues them with so great strength, that it is impossible to discover their beauty without reading them in their Original. In reading of these Sermons, all Preachers ought to spend their time, and not in the Sermons of Modern Authors; which, for the most part, are full of nothing but empty Allegories, false notions, forced Declamations, unprofitable Questions, affectations of Wit, Jingles, Antitheses, and other things of this nature, that have no correspondence with those Evangelical truths, which ought to be preached with masculine and natural Eloquence.

But that St. Chrysostom's Works may be more easily read, and that the Editions which should be used, may be known, I shall draw up a Catalogue of the most considerable.

The first Collections of St. Chrysostom's Works were made of the Versions of his Principal Books.

The first was Printed at Basle by Pfortzen anno 1504.

There was another made in Germany by Gratander anno 1522. and one at Paris 1524. These were followed by the Edition of Frobenius in five Volumes, anno 1533, and 1547. which last is larger and more correct. That of Venice in 1574, in five Volumes, by Hervetus, is better than the foregoing; but the most perfect of these ancient Latin Editions is that of Nivelle, in four Volumes in Folio, of 1581. which was made by the advice and care of the most learned Men of that Age; as Billius, Hervetus, Nobilius, Zinus, &c.

The first Greek Edition of all St. Chrysostom's Works, is the famous Edition of Eaton, procured by the care and vast labour of the learned Sir Henry Savil, who having made enquiry in all the Libraries of the World for the Books that went under St. Chrysostom's Name caused them to be Printed in a very fair Character, and very exactly, with very just, very learned and useful Notes. He distinguished the Books that are St. Chrysostom's, from those that are dubious or supposititious, and hath put them in an excellent order for a first Edition. It is divided into eight Volumes.

The first contains the 67 Homilies upon Genesis, the Commentaries upon the Psalms, and Isaiah, the two Homilies upon the 50th. Psalm, and Isaiah, which he places among the doubtful Books, and the Exposition of the 51st. 95th. and 100th. Psalms, and so on to the 107th. and upon the 119th. which he placeth among the supposititious Writings.

The second Volume contains the 90 Homilies upon St. Matthew, and the 88 upon St. John.

The third and the fourth comprehend all the Homilies upon St. Paul.

The fifth hath sixty two Sermons upon several particular passages of the Holy Scripture, and thirty four other Sermons upon the Saints or Festival days, with seventy three Sermons upon several subjects which he ranks among the supposititious Books.

The sixth Volume is made up of the Treatises of St. Chrysostom, the Homilies against the Jews, that of God's incomprehensibility, the Sermon of Anathema, his Sermon after he was ordained Priest, the twenty two Discourses about Statues, and several other Sermons upon divers subjects, and particularly of Penance, Fasting, Alms-deeds, and other Christian Vertues. At the latter end there are some Homilies which he puts among the Collections, that were anciently made out of St. Chrysostom, and some supposititious Sermons, with the Liturgy, and two Prayers to God.

The seventh Volume begins with a Discourse upon the scandal of certain Persons, caused by the Persecution and Malice of some Priests. After this is the Treatise wherein he proves that none is offended but by himself, seventeen Letters to the Widow Olympias, and two hundred forty three Letters to his Friends, with five Letters of Constantinus the Priest, and a hundred and five Sermons, which fully bear St. Chrysostom's Name, the Authors whereof are not certainly known. These Sermons are followed by other Discourses of known Authors, viz. Six Homilies of Severianus of Gabala upon Genesis, the Homily of John the Faster about Penance, the Homily upon the Epiphany ascribed to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Homily of the Cross, by Pantaleon a Monk of Constantinople, and forty eight Homilies upon several Points of Morality, collected out of St. Chrysostom's works by Theodorus. That Volume endeth with seven Prayers of St. Chrysostom, which are in Latin, the three last of them are supposititious.

The last Volume containeth some supplements of Books Printed in the other Volumes, the seven Orations, in praise of St. Paul, the Sermons upon Eutropius, upon the design which Men ought to have in Preaching, and upon some other Subjects. The Appendix to this Volume, hath several Books which are something like St. Chrysostom's. The first is an Answer in Theodorus's Name, to an Exhortation made by St. Chrysostom: Which is certainly spurious. The second and third are two Discourses of Libanius to Theodosius, upon the Sedition at Antioch. After these Discourses follow the Extracts which Photius hath taken out of St. Chrysostom and Isidore Pelusiota's Letters in Commendation of this Father. The Life of St. Chrysostom takes up a good part of this Volume: There are those that were written by George of Alexandria, the Panegyrick by Leo the Emperour, the Life of St. Chrysostom by an Anonymous Author, that of Simeon Metaphrastes.

The various Readings, Conjectures, Restitutions, and Notes of Savil, Bois, and Downs conclude the Volume, with a very useful Table of St. Chrysostom's Books, by their beginnings disposed in an Alphabetical Order. Another Table upon the Notes, and an Errata upon all the Volumes.

Almost at the same time that Sir H. Savil was at work in England, to publish an Edition of the Original Text of St. Chrysostom's works, Fronton Ducæus labour'd in France, to Print them in Greek and Latin. He Printed at Paris, Anno 1609. the first Volume which contains the twenty one Sermons of Statues, and fifty six others, with Notes at the end. In the same Year came out a second Volume containing the Homilies and Sermons upon Genesis, the five Sermons concerning Hannah and Samuel, three Homilies upon David and Saul, a Sermon against Idleness, a Translation of St. Chrysostom's Life written by Palladius, a Latin Sermon of Continency, and some other Sermons in Latin with Notes. The third Volume Printed in 1614. contains the Homilies and Sermons upon the Psalms, and the Commentary upon Isaiah. The fourth Volume Printed the same Year, contains the Works and Letters of St. Chrysostom, his first Sermon, and two others upon his Exile; it ends with the Notes of Fronton Ducæus. The fifth Volume is a Collection of seventy Sermons upon several passages, both of the Old and New Testament, and upon some other subjects; it was Printed in 1616. The sixth contains seventy three Sermons, which Fronton Ducæus does not attribute to St. Chrysostom; the Homilies made up of Collections taken out of St. Chrysostom by Theodorus, and the Notes by Fronton Ducæus. The works of St. Chrysostom upon the New Testament were not Printed then, because they had been lately Printed by Commelinus in four Volumes. The first contains the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, and the imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, the second, the Homilies upon St. John, the third the Homilies upon the Acts; and the last, the Homilies upon St. Paul, and the Commentary of Andreas Casariensis upon the Revelations of St. John. These Books are in the Greek and Latin Edition of St. Chrysostom, Printed at Paris in 1633, and divided into six Volumes, which is not so exact as the Edition of Commelinus, and the six first Volumes that were Printed in 1636, are not so exact as those that were Printed before.

The Latin Edition of Ducæus printed at Paris in 1613. containeth, besides the Books that are named already, a great many other Homilies which are not in the Greek, and which in all Likelihood were Composed by Latin Authors as we observ'd before. The Translation was all Revised by Fronton Ducæus; it was Printed at Antwerp, and lately Printed at Lyons with some Additions. It is very strange, that those who took Care of this Edition, did not only leave the same confusion that is in the others, but have even confounded it more, and loaded it with many useless things.

[These are all the General Editions of St. Chrysostom's Works. I say nothing here of particular ones, whether Greek or Latin, of several of his Works, which are the

St. John Chrysostom. Springs and Brooks that make up the great Rivers, because it would be too tedious in this Place. But the Catalogue

* Homiliæ in Sacram Scripturam.

IN Genesim Græc. Lat. Morel. 1594.
 Lat. Occolampad. interpret. Paris, 1524.
 In Psalmos, Nivelles, 1606.
 In Isaiam. Lat. à Tilmanno, Paris, 1555.
 Argumentum in Jeremiam, Gr. Aug. 1602.
 In Matth. Gr. Oxonii, Lat. 1537.
 Opus Imperfectum, in Matth. ex Off. Cavaleriana, 1602.
 De Publicano & Phariseo, Paris, 1595.
 Serm. 4. in Lazarum, in illud Apostoli, Nolite de Dormientibus contristari, &c. Oxon. 1580.
 In Joannem. Aret. interprete, Roma, 1470.
 In omnes Pauli Epistolas Græc. à Donato Veronensi, An. 1529.
 in fol. 3. Vol. Lat. apud Hervag. 1530.
 In Ep. ad Galatas, interpret. Erasmo, Basilia, 1526.
 In Ep. ad Philip. Flaminio interprete, Rom. 1578.

TRACTATUS.

De Sacerdotio Libri Sex. Græc. Oxon. 1586. Aug. 1599. Lov. 1529, 1568. Basl. 1544. Lat. Paris. 1561.
 De Virginitate Græc. Lat. Livineio interp. Ant. 1565. & 1575.
 ex versione Poggiana Roma, 1562.
 De providentia apud Oporinum, Basl. 1552.
 De orando Deum, interprete Erasmo, Basl. Froben. 1500, 1551.
 Col. 1573. Ant. 1579. Paris, 1538.
 Aliquot opuscula Ex V. Erasmi, Basl. 1529.
 Liber de vita Babylæ contra Gentiles, Gr. Basl. 1527. Paris, 1528. Lat. per Brinium, Paris, 1528.
 Sermones ad Theodorum Lat. 1524. Basilia, 1547.
 Comparatio Regis & Monachi, Basl. 1533. Gr. Lat. Paris, 1598. Basl. 1526.
 Quod nemo leditur nisi à seipso. Græc. in Octavo, Paris, 1541.
 Liturgia sive Missa, Lat. Erasmo interprete, Paris. 1537. Græc. Paris, 1560. Venet. 1601, 1620. ex versione Hervet. 1548. Paris.
 Græc. quod Christus sit Deus, Ingolstadt. 1579. apud Chevallon. Lat. 1536. Roma, 1526.
 In Euch. Græc. 1571. Morel. 1561. Lat. Wormmatia, 1541. Praga, 1544. Ant. 1560. Gr. & Lat. Venetiis, 1528. in Bibl. P. P. Epistola ad Innocent. Basl. 1529.
 Ad Casarem Moynii Varia Sacra, Roterd. An. 1687. [Londini 4to. 1688.]

of such as are come to my knowledge is in the following * Note.

HOMILIÆ VARIÆ.

Hom. ad Pop. Ant. de Statuis, Londini Græc. Lat. 1590.
 Orat. in illud, Modico vino utere. Hanov. 1550. in Octavo, Col. 1582.
 In illud, Oportet Hæreses esse. Ocol. interp. Mog. 1522.
 Hom. 6. contra Jud. Hoëschelio interpret. Aug. 1602.
 Orat. Sex de fato & providentia, Gr. Off. Basl. 1526. Paris, 1554. Hagena, 1533.
 Orat. 6. Gr. Oxon. Gr. Lat. 1586. Orat. in Eutropium, in Ps. 100. & in laudem crucis, Paris, 1554. Tilmanno interprete.
 De non contemnenda Ecclesia Dei, Morell. 1560.
 In terra Motum, &c. alia Orat. interprete Ducao, Burdigala, 1604.
 Hom. de Anathemate, Gr. Lat. Paris, in Off. 1547.
 Libri tres de providentia Dei, ad Stagirium Lat. Alojli, 1487.
 ibid Orat. de dignitate humana Originis.
 Chrysostomi Orat. 10. a Beurerio, Roma, 1581. Gr. Lat. Friburg. 1585. in Off.
 Varii tractatus, ibid. De animi Humilitate, Jejunio & Temperantia, Mog. 1604.
 De Mansuetudine, Paris, 1570. De benignitate, Paris, 1594.
 De politia Morali, Paris, 1545. Orat. 6. Paris, 1554.
 Orat. aliquot. Lat. Gr. Lat. Romero in Off. Basl. Oporin. 1551.
 Hom. Gr. Hoëschelio interprete, 1587.
 Hom. 2. Tiguri, 1558. Alia, Lipsia, Ann. 1538.
 Alia, Paris, 1606. Orat. Gr. Roma, 1594.
 Florilegia, Mog. 1603. Lat. Hagena, 1528.

SERMONES PANEGYRICI.

Hom. 4. in Job, Perionio interprete, Paris, 1565, Col. 1568.
 Homilie de laudibus Pauli, Aniano interp. Paris, 1499. cum op. Bedæ scorsim, 1509.
 De Petro & Paulo Orat. 2. Gr. Lat. 1582.
 Idem cum Orat. in duodecem Apostolos, Roma, 1580.
 Sermones Panegyrici in S. S. Martyres, Burd. 1601.
 Due homil. de S. S. Lugd. 1624. Gr. Lat. Paris, 1594.

INFESTA.

In Nat. Christi, & in Præcursores, Ant. apud Tornes, 1609.
 Sermo in Pascha, Ant. 1598. Sermones in Ascensionem, & alii ... ex Ed. Vossii, Mog. 1604.
 Orat. de occurſu Domini, Col. 1568.]

Antiochus and Severianus of Gabala.

IN the days of St. Chrysostom there were two famous Preachers, who preached in his Church, in his Absence; the first, Antiochus, was Bishop of Ptolemais in Phœnicia; and the second, Severianus, was Bishop of Gabala in Cæleſyria. Antiochus came first to Constantinople, where having preached a long time, and got some Money, he returned to his Church. Severianus having heard that Antiochus was become rich by preaching at Court, resolved to imitate him, and therefore went thither with several Sermons which he had prepared. He was well received by St. John Chrysostom, into whose favour he endeavoured at first to insinuate himself, afterwards he grew acquainted with several Persons of Quality, and got into the favour both of the Emperor and the Empress: and tho' he wanted Antiochus his parts, yet he got into great Esteem and Reputation. St. Chrysostom being obliged (as hath been observed) to go into Asia, to compose the Affairs of the Church of Ephesus, found not a Bishop fitter to preach in his Absence than Severianus of Gabala, whom he thought to be his Friend. But whether this Bishop, taking occasion of St. Chrysostom's Absence, had a design to get into the Esteem and Affection of the People of Constantinople to usurp that See, or whether Serapion, St. Chrysostom's Archdeacon, had by his Letters begot in St. Chrysostom an Aversion to Severianus of Gabala as a Person that disturbed the Peace of his Church, aiming at getting into his place; or lastly, whether there was any secret Jealousie betwixt them; these two Bishops were never Friends ever afterwards. St. Chrysostom being come back, drove away Severianus, accusing him of saying, that the Son of God was not made Man, because that Bishop finding that Serapion would not stand up before him had uttered these Words, *If Serapion dies a Christian, the Son of God is not made Man.* This Serapion told St. Chrysostom, leaving out the first part, *If Serapion dies a Christian.* But Severianus being well at Court, the Empress recalled him, and did all she could to reconcile them, which St. Chrysostom refused to do, till the Empress intreated him for the sake of Theodosius her Grand-Child, whom she laid at his Feet in the Church of the Apostles. St. Chrysostom (if Socrates may be credited) could not then resist the intreaties of the Empress: but this Reconciliation was not sincere, and both these Bishops harboured still an Aversion one to the other. And therefore, in the time of

St. Chrysostom's Disgrace, Severianus sided with Theophilus, and the rest of his Enemies to destroy him. This is the Account which Socrates gives of the Diffention of Severianus of Gabala; Hist. Eccl. B. VI. cap. 11.

The Author of St. Chrysostom's Life accuses this Historian of want of sincerity upon this occasion; But till we meet with another Historian of greater credit, setting forth the matter of Fact after another manner, we cannot reject this Relation, nor feign other Motives of Diffention betwixt these two Bishops, than those related by Socrates, who lived near St. Chrysostom's time.

The ancient Translator of some of St. Chrysostom's Homilies, Amianus observes, that Antiochus had, *plausibilem dicendi pompam*, a pompous and lofty Stile, which got him the applause of the People. There is no doubt, but formerly they had several of his Sermons. Gennadius mentions but two of his Books: The former is a long Treatise against Covetousness, and the latter a Discourse upon the Miracle of the blind Man, to whom Jesus Christ restored sight, spoken of in the ninth Chapter of St. John's Gospel: A work of Undæction and Humility. Trithemius mentions several Sermons, and other unknown works of this Author. Theodoret quoteth a passage of his, but does not Name the Book where he found it, the words are these. *That if we do not confound the two Natures in Christ, there will be no difficulty in understanding the Mystery of the Incarnation.* Gelasius in his Book of the two Natures, citeth also some places of Antiochus upon the Incarnation, taken out of his Sermons upon the Nativity, Easter, against Hereticks, and from another Sermon. Lastly, Possevinus tells us, that there were some Homilies of this Author in the Medicean Library at Florence. I don't know whether they were ever published.

Severianus of Gabala was less eloquent, dryer, and more barren, than Antiochus. Socrates observes, that he pronounced the Greek Language ill, because he still kept some thing of the Syriack Accent. Gennadius says, that he had read a Commentary of this Author, upon the Epistle to the Galatians, and a Treatise upon the Festival of Christ's Baptism, and the Epiphany.

We have observed already, that among St. Chrysostom's works there are several Sermons, which in all appearance belong to Severianus of Gabala, and among the rest a Discourse of the Seals, and upon the brazen Serpent, which

Antiochus and Severianus of Gabala.

are quoted by *Theodoret*, under the Name of *Severianus* of *Antiochus*, *Gabala*, and several others in the same *Stile*, whereof we have given a Catalogue amongst *St. Chrysostom's* Works: To these we may joyn the Homily upon *Christ's* Nativity, which is in the fifth Volume of the *Eaton* Edition of *St. Chrysostom's* Works, Pag. 843. and the Sermon of the Cross in Greek in the same Volume, Page. 891. which afterwards was printed in Greek and Latin by *Father Combesis*, cited by *St. Damascen*, in the third Discourse of Images, under the Name of *Severianus* of *Gabala*. We have also six Sermons of the same Man upon the Creation of the World, Printed in Greek in the *Eaton* Edition of *St. Chrysostom*, and in Greek and Latin in the last Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, by *Father Combesis*. *Severianus* observes in the Preface, that all the Books of the Holy Scripture have the Salvation and Benefit of Men for their ultimate end: but that the Book of *Genesis* is the Ground and Fountain of all the Truths, both in the Law and in the Prophets, because it containeth the History of the World's Creation, without which God's Works cannot be known. He adds, that he very well knew that several Fathers had written of that Matter, but that did not discourage him from Writing upon the same Subject, since the latter Writers were not discouraged by the Discourses of the Former: That he pretended not to destroy what others had done, but to add such things as might serve for the Edification of the Church: At last, he desireth his Auditors, not to enquire whether his Notions be new, but only whether they are right: In prosecution of the same Subject he saith, that *Genesis* is an History written by the Law-giver *Moses*, and dictated by the Holy Ghost who Inspired him: That tho' it be a Narration, yet it may be called a Prophecy, because that, as there are three sorts of Prophecies, the first of Writings, the second of Actions, and the third of both: So likewise there are three parts of each Prophecy: That the first respects the present, the second what is to come, and the third what is past. Men Prophesie upon the present, when they discover what is designed to be kept from them: as *Elisha* did, who knew *Gebazi's* wickedness: Men prophesie upon the future, when what is to come is foretold. And there are also Prophecies of what is past, when by Divine Inspiration things already past are written, whereof no knowledge was had otherwise. In this Sence *Severianus* saith, that *Moses* was a Prophet in the History of the World's Creation. He observes further, that *Moses* proposed to himself two things in his Wri-

tings, to teach, and to give Laws: That he began by Instruction in relating the Creation of the World, to teach Men that God having created them, had a Right to give and Seve- them Laws and Precepts, For, saith he, had he not shew'd rianus of at first, that God is the Creator of the World, he could not Gabala. have justified, that he was the Sovereign Law-giver of Men: because it is Tyranny to pretend to impose Laws upon those, that do not belong to us, whereas it is very natural to instruct such as depend upon us. He endeth this Preface by shewing the Reason, why *Moses* spake not of the Creation of Angels and Archangels: First, because it was not pertinent to his Subject: Secondly, because had he done it, there was danger that Men would have worshipped them.

After this he explains the Text of *Genesis* about the World's Creation, in a plain and literal way: He doth not enlarge upon the spiritual Sence, but rather finds fault with some Explications, as being too much Allegorical. But he maketh several trifling Reflections, as when he observes in the 5th. Homily, that the first Man was called *Adam*, a Word signifying Fire in the Hebrew, because that as this Element easily spreads and communicates it self, so the World was to be peopled with this first Man. Several other Notions of this Nature may be found in that Work, which have neither Beauty, nor Exactness, nor Truth. He answers the *Arians* and *Anomeans*. He observes in the fourth Homily, that all Heresies bear the Names of their Authors, whereas the true Church has none other Name, than that of Catholick Church. He enlargeth but little upon Morals; yet at the latter end of this fourth Homily he recommends Fasting, provided it be accompanied with Abstinence from Vices. In a Word, One may say that this whole Work, tho' full of Erudition, yet is of no great Use, and deserveth not the Esteem of Men of true Judgment.

Father Combesis hath added to these Homilies some Fragments taken out of some *Catena's* upon the Scripture, attributed to this Author, and extracted out of his Commentaries upon *Genesis*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, and upon *Josua*. But if these passages did not shew themselves to be written in *Severianus* his *Stile*, one could not affirm it upon the credit of these *Catena's*. One might with greater Confidence produce two passages of *Severianus* of *Gabala* upon the Incarnation, quoted by *Gelasius* in the Book of the two Natures, where he observes, that the first is taken out of a Discourse of this Bishop against *Novatus*.

ASTERIUS AMASENIUS.

Asterius (*a*) Bishop of *Amasea*, a City of *Pontus*, flourished at the latter end of the Fourth Century (*b*), and in the beginning of the Fifth. The Sermons of this Bishop have been quoted with Commendations by the Ancients (*c*). There is but a small number of them extant, collected by *F. Combesis* at the beginning of his first Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; the Five first were Printed formerly by *Rubenius*, who published them at *Antwerp*, Anno. 1698. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: The six following were lately published by *F. Combesis*, who joyned to them the Extracts made by *Photius* out of the Homilies of *Asterius Amasenus*, and a Discourse upon *St. Stephen* the Proto-Martyr, formerly published under the Name of *Proclus*.

The first Sermon is upon the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. He begins it with this Reflection; 'That our Saviour not only made use of Precepts to teach us Vertue, and to forbid Vice, but that he further proposed illustrious examples to instruct us in that way of Life, which we ought to follow.' Afterwards he sets down the Text of *St. Luke's* Gospel, making Moral Reflections upon each Verse.

Upon these Words, Verse 26. *There was a rich Man which was clothed with Purple and fine Linnen*. He observes, that the Holy Scripture by these two Words, understands all Extravagancies of Riches, that the only use of Garments is to cover our Bodies, and defend them from the injuries of the Air: That God hath provided for this, by creating Beasts with Hair and Wool, whereof Stuffs are made to secure us both against cold weather, and the Beams of the Sun. That besides he hath given the Use of Flax for a greater Conveniency; That these things ought to be applied to our Use, in giving God thanks, not only because he made us, but also because he has provided all ne-

cessaries, to cover and defend us from the injuries of the Season. 'But saith he, if you leave the Use of Wool and Linnen, if you despise what God hath prepared, and to satisfie your Pride, you will have Silk Garments, thin like Cobwebs; if after this you hire a Man at a dear rate to take out of the Sea a small Fish, that you may dye them in its Blood; Do you not act the parts of effeminate Men.'

He reproves those afterwards whose Garments were painted with several Figures, of Men, Beasts, and Flowers, and spares not those, who by a ridiculous Devotion, printed upon their Cloths some Godly Histories: As the Marriage of *Cana* in *Galilee*, the Sick of the Palsie in his Bed, the blind Man cured, the Woman that had an Issue of Blood, the Sinner at the feet of *Jesus Christ*, *Lazarus* raised again, *Asterius* speaks against this Practice after this Manner: 'If these Persons will believe me, let them sell those Cloths, and honour the true Images of God. Do not paint *Jesus Christ*, it is enough that he humbled himself by taking voluntarily a Body for us.... Paint not the Paralytick upon your Garments, but seek for the poor to succour them. It is to no purpose to look upon the Woman having the Issue of Blood, but it is very necessary to help this poor Widow. It signifies nothing to behold the sinful Woman at the feet of *Jesus Christ*, but it will signifie much to bewail your own Sins. What Good will the Picture of *Lazarus* his Resurrection do you? Endeavour rather to rise spiritually. To what purpose do you wear upon your Backs the Image of him that was Born blind? Ease this blind Man rather. Why do you draw the Shrines of Relicks? rather feed the poor. And wherefore do you carry about you the Representation of those Water-Pots at the Marriage where our Saviour made Wine; while you suffer the poor to die for thirst? This passage hath been alledged by the Iconoclasts as favouring their Opinions. The Catholicks on the contrary have quoted another, taken out of an Homily of the

(a) *Asterius*] There were several of that Name. The oldest is an Heretick of *Arius* his Party, mentioned in the first Volume. There is another *Asterius* commended by *Theodoret*, in *Philosopheo*, c. 2. but different from this, as well as the Catholick Bishop of the same Name, who lived in the time of *St. Athanasius*.

(b) Towards the latter end of the Fourth Century.] We have observed, That in the Sermon upon New-Years-Day, he speaks

of *Ruffinus* his Death, and of *Eutropius* his Disgrace which he tells us happened the Year before, which justifieth that he lived at the same time with *St. Chrysostom*.

(c) The Sermons of this Bishop have been quoted with Commendation by the Ancients.] He is cited in the Second Council of *Nice*, Act. 4. and 6. *Photius* made some Extracts out of his Works, Cod. 271. *Hadrian* in lib. de un. quotes his Homilies, and *Nicophorus* defends them against the Iconoclasts.

Asterius Amasenus. same Authors concerning the Woman afflicted with the Issue of Blood, where he speaks of the Statue of Jesus Christ erected by the same Woman in *Paneas*, a Town of *Palestine*. But neither of these passages, belong to the question betwixt the Catholics, and the *Iconoclasts*; for this which we have transcribed, is not against Images placed in Churches, but against the Fancy of particular Men, who trimmed their Habits with Figures, representing some Histories of the Bible; and that of the Statue of Jesus Christ, set up by the Woman that was afflicted with the Issue of Blood, hath no Relation to the publick Service of Images.

But to return to our Sermon, *Asterius Amasenus* pursuant to his Subject, saith that Christians should beware of Luxury and Pleasures, because none can live in Pleasure without Riches. But, saith he, *It is impossible to heap up Riches without Sin*. He excellently describes all the things that are necessary to those that seek their pleasure, and having numbered them, he adds, 'To have these things, how many poor Men must suffer? how many Orphans must be ruined? how many Widows must have weeping Eyes? and how many Persons must be brought to the utmost Misery? A Soul taken up with these, forgets her self, remembers not what she is, thinks not upon Death, nor a Resurrection, nor Eternity. And when the fatal and unavoidable moment comes, that the Soul is ready to separate from the Body, then a Remembrance of the life past will be of little use: She then will think of Repentance, but it will be to no purpose. For then only will Repentance be available, when there is a Resolution of correcting our former Life. And regret and sorrow for Sin seem to be of no use, when a Man is not in a condition either to do good or to practise Vertue.' The rest of this Homily is a literal and moral Explication of that Parable, full of solid Notions, and Natural Reflections.

There is not less Eloquence in the second Sermon of this Author, upon another Parable of St. *Luke's* Gospel, concerning that Steward whom his Master called to an account for his Administration and for his Goods. It beginneth with this Maxim; That most Men's Sins proceed from an opinion that the Goods which they possess are their own, and that they are absolute Masters of them; That this false persuasion is that which makes us go to Law, quarrel, and make War for the Wealth of this World, looking upon it as proper and convenient for us, and deserving our Love and Esteem. 'Yet, saith he, it is nothing so; on the contrary we are to look upon all which we have received, as none of ours; we are not Masters of the things which we have at Home; we are like Pilgrims, Strangers, Banished and Captives, carried whither we would not, at a time when we expect it least, and at once we are stripped of all, when the Sovereign Dispenser of our fortune pleaseth.' This Notion he enlargeth upon in his Exposition of the Parable of the unjust Steward. There one may find excellent Sentences, upon the contempt that Men should cast upon Riches, and upon the uncertainty of this present Life. He insists particularly upon proving that Men are not owners, but Stewards of their Wealth; and from this Principle he concludes, that as many as have received of God such good things ought to distribute them faithfully, and be always ready, yea even desirous, to give God an Account. And at last he observes, that after Death there will be no time for Repentance. That this Life is the proper time to keep God's Commandments in, as the other is of enjoying the Reward of good Works.

The third Sermon against Covetousness was preached by St. *Asterius* in one of those Assemblies which were made in Churches to celebrate the Festival of some of the Martyrs. This Homily is full of very natural Descriptions of the Hard-heartedness of covetous Men. Covetousness in his Opinion, doth not consist only in the unjust desire of having that which is another's, but in a desire of having more than we ought to have. According to this Notion, it is easie to find in the Scriptures several Examples of covetous Men; and having produced them, he sheweth, that all other Vices waste with time; but that the older a man grows the more covetous he is. This Remark is followed by a Description of a covetous Man, where he omits none of those Characters that can make him appear miserable, and render him odious to all the World. He proveth that Covetousness is the Spring and Cause of all the Crimes and Sins committed in the World. And in short, he shews that it is to no purpose to be concerned for this World's Goods: but far better to put all our trust and confidence in God's providence and mercy.

The fourth Sermon is against the profane Festival of the first day in the Year, and against the custom of New-years-gifts. *Asterius Amasenus* declaimeth against that Practice. 'He saith, That the Liberalities of that day have no rational Ground; that they cannot be called Tokens of Friendship, because true Friendship is not grounded upon Interest; that neither can they be called Alms, since the Poor partake not of them; that they are not of the Nature of Contracts, seeing there is neither loan nor exchange in that Traffick. In a word, that they are not pure Gifts, since there is a necessity of giving them. What Name then, saith he, can

be given to the Expense of that day? The Church gives a Reason for all the Feasts which it celebrates. It keeps the Feast of *Christmas*, because upon that day God made himself known unto Men. At *Candlemas* it rejoiceth, because we are drawn out of the obscurity of Darkness wherein we lay. Lastly, we celebrate with Joy, Pomp, and Alacrity the day of the Resurrection, for as much as this day represents unto us the Immortality which we are to enjoy. These are the Reasons which the Church hath to keep Feasts, and there are the like for the celebrating of all the rest: But what Reason can be given for the Festival of *New-Years-Day*, and for the profusion then practised? O Folly! O Impertinence! At that day every one runs with a design to get another Man's goods. Those that give, do it with grief, and they that receive Presents do not keep them, but bestow them upon others. One sends to his Patron, what he received of his Client: Another makes his Compliment to receive Money. The poor give to the rich, and inferior people send Presents to the great ones. As Brooks make small Rivers, which at last fall into great ones; in like manner the Presents which the common People make to those above them, do all turn to the profit of great Lords, upon whom they bestow them: And thus this Feast is the beginning of Miseries, and the overwhelming of the poor. Farmers and Labourers are constrained to give to their Landlords; if they fail, they are abused. Miserable People run like Fools through the Streets, asking from Door to Door, deafening every Body with their Noise and Cries. It is a day of Riot for Soldiers. The Consuls and Governours having made themselves rich with the Pay due to Soldiers, the Spoils of Widows, and the publick Treasury, having got Money by selling Justice, by shameful Contracts, by distributing this Money to Fiddlers, Stage-Players, Dancers, and Comedians, lewd Women, and base Fellows, are at this Expense to feed their Vanity. O Folly! O Blindness! God promises an eternal reward to those who distribute to the poor, but these rather chuse to spend foolishly, that they may get a vain and transitory Glory. But after all, what is the end of all that Vanity? what figure soever any can make in this World, the end is always a Grave that buryeth Men in eternal oblivion.'

He describes here the fatal end of *Ruffinus*, and *Eutropius*, who just before were deprived both of their Dignities and of their Estates, and concludes with these words of the wise Man: *Vanity of Vanities*. 'Dignities, saith he, are Dreams and Visions, which vanish after having given some kind of delight for a very short time: They are Flowers, that dry on a sudden, having flourished for a while.'

The fifth Sermon is about Divorce. *Asterius* shews there by several Reasons that Men are not to put away their Wives, yet he excepteth Adultery, and saith, 'that if a Man puts away his Wife for Adultery, instead of taking her again, he commends him for avoiding a Person who by violating Chastity hath broken the indissoluble bond of Marriage. He observes, that the Law of the Gospel is the same for Men as for Women; but that the Roman Laws, have not observed the same Equity; not permitting Wives to leave their Husbands, but only Husbands to put away their Wives. The Reason commonly alledged of this difference, is that Husbands do not prejudice their Wives, in committing Adultery, whereas by this Crime, Wives do introduce into Families other Men's Children, and make them Heirs, who have no manner of right. *Asterius* sticks not to say, that this Reason is impertinent, because Men abusing either Virgins or Wives, overthrow and dishonour their respective Families, and wrong their Parents and their Husbands very considerably.'

The sixth Sermon upon the History of *Susanna*, is full of curious moral Notions. This is one. 'A Man overtaken with a Sin is often drawn by that first Crime into all sorts of Iniquity, as on the contrary one Vertue is the cause of another.'

The seventh Sermon is upon the miraculous Cure of the Man that was born blind, he exalts the greatness of the Miracle, and draws an Argument for Christ's Divinity from it.

The eighth is a *Panegyrick* in Commendation of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*; he shews there how wonderful their Miracles were, and in several places establisheth St. *Peter's* Primacy amongst the Apostles. 'All the Apostles, saith he, must give place to St. *Peter*, and confess, that he alone deserveth the first rank, if a comparison of the Graces God gave to the Apostles, is a Token of Priority of Honour.'

The following Sermon is a Discourse in commendation of *Phocas* the Martyr. He affirms in the Preface, that a remembrance of the Actions of Saints, and of the Martyrs engagements, is one of the most powerful Arguments that can be, to encourage Christians to Piety and Vertue. He addeth that for this Reason they kept their Relicks, that they are exposed to sight in Shrines, that their Feasts are kept, and Churches built to their Honour, to refresh the memory of their generous Actions. Afterwards he relates the Life of *Phocas*

Phocas the Martyr, in a very plain and natural manner, without any mixture of such Histories as are rather miraculous than rational. He ends, with the Honours that were paid to that Saint. He says, that the memory of him was famous in the Country, where his Body lay; That at *Rome* he was respected almost as much *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and that his head was had in great Veneration. *Asterius* tells us that the Martyr *Phocas*, he speaketh of, was born as *Sinope*, and a Gardiner by Profession, without mentioning that he was a Bishop. This is it perhaps, which hath occasioned the distinction of two *Phocas's* Martyrs. The one martyr'd under *Trajan*, whose Feast is kept *July 14.* and the other simply a Martyr; whose remembrance is celebrated on the 5th. of *March*. The *Greeks* mention them both upon the 22d. of *September*. Perhaps it is but one and the same Man, whose History hath been variously reported. For both are supposed to have been of *Sinope*, and the same Miracles are ascribed to both. Be it as it will, Seamen chose this Saint for their Patron, as *Asterius* observes at the latter end of this Homily.

The tenth Sermon in Commendation of Martyrs, was preached in an Assembly, met together for the Honour of the Martyrs. He begins with this reflection. 'Very often we receive much Good from our greatest Enemies unawares. Had not Satan persecuted the Church, we should have had no Martyrs. He afterwards observes, that Martyrs are not only Patterns of Vertue, but also Accusers of Vice. And this, saith he, is thus to be understood. A Martyr hath constantly endured fire and flame, why will you not tame the heat of lust with chastity? A Martyr hath not regarded all the Wealth of the World, wherefore do you not despise a small Sum for the love of God? A Martyr hath put off his own Body for God's sake, why then will ye not part with the meanest Garment to cover a poor Man? We ought either to Honour and imitate the Saints as our Masters or fear them as our Accusers. Out of Honour to Martyrs, we preserve their Relicks with veneration, looking upon them as Vessels of Benediction, Organs of blessed Souls, and assured Pledges of their Good-will. The Churches are guarded by the Martyrs, as by so many Soldiers. The afflicted make Address to them, and with confidence implore their Intercession. It cureth Diseases, comforteth in Poverty, and appeaseth the anger of Princes. Finally the Churches of Martyrs are an Harbour in a storm, and a refuge in all Miseries. The Father whose Child is sick, prayeth unto God for his Cure by the Intercession of a Martyr, saying, *You Holy Martyr that suffered for Jesus Christ intercede for us. You who can address to God with greater Boldness, carry this Word for your fellow Servants. Tho' you are no longer in the World, yet you know the Pains and Afflictions of this Life. Your selves have formerly pray'd to the Martyrs, before you were Martyrs, they heard you when you intreated them, now that you can hear us grant us our requests.* But least ignorant Persons should yield to Martyrs the Honour which belongs only to God, he adds, 'We do not adore the Martyrs, but we honour them as Gods's Servants. We honour not Men, but admire them: We lay up their Relicks in beautified Shrines, and we build magnificent Churches to their Memory, to render them the same Honour in the Church, that is given in the World to those that have done famous Actions.' He goeth on to establish this Principle in the rest of this Discourse, where he speaks so strongly of the worship of Saints and Martyrs against such as despise them, that it gives occasion of suspicion whether this be not of a younger Age, than that of *Asterius Amasenus*.

The eleventh Sermon is a *Panegyrick* upon *St. Euphemia* cited in the seventh General Council, *Act. 4.* and by *Photinus*. It seemeth not to me to be of *Asterius Amasenus* his stile. The Author relateth the History of that Saint, and observes, that she was represented upon a winding-sheet that was near her Grave.

After these Sermons come those Extracts produced by *Photinus*, Vol. 271. The first is taken out of a Sermon of Penance upon the sinful Woman, among the Works, of *Gregory Nyssen*, to whom he ascribed it in the second Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; but after serious reflection, I have found that it is more likely to be written by *Asterius Amasenus*.

The second Extract is taken out of the Sermon upon *St. Stephen*, among *Proclus's* Sermons. It differs from that which *St. Gregory Nyssen*, made upon that Subject, tho' I confounded them in the second Volume.

The third is taken out of the Homily upon the Parable of the Traveller, who going to *Jericho*, was taken and wounded by Thieves, *Luk. 10.* He supposeth that this Accident was real, and that Jesus Christ makes use of it to inform the Jews of the greatness of his Charity and Mercy. This wounded Man going down to *Jericho*, is the Figure of *Adam*, who by his Sin fell from the happy State wherein he was created and at the same time caused the Fall of all Mankind. The *Levite* and the Priest are *Moses* and *St. John*, who finding this Man, that is all Mankind destitute of Grace, Vertue and Piety, and wounded

by his Enemies, did indeed look upon him with Compassion, but could not cure him. That the Samaritan is Jesus Christ, who carries a Treasure of Grace, hidden, till the time of the New-Law. This Exposition of the Parable is pretty exact so far, but the Comparison he makes afterwards, betwixt the Body of Jesus Christ and the Horse that carried the Samaritan is hardly tolerable, Because, saith he the Body of Jesus Christ is as it were the Vehicle of the Divinity.

The fourth Extract of *Photinus* is taken out of an Homily upon the Prayers of the Pharisee and of the Publican, spoken of *Luk. ch. 18.* Here is an excellent Definition of Prayer. 'Prayer is a conference with God, a forgetting of earthly things, and an Ascension into Heaven. He that prayeth standing with his hands lifted up to Heaven, doth by this posture of his Body represent the Cross; and if he prayeth with the Heart, and Prayer is acceptable to God, he hath the Cross in his Heart. For Prayer extinguishes in him the Desires of the Flesh, the love of Riches, and puts off from his Spirit the thoughts of Pride and Vanity. He addeth, That Vain Glory corrupts the best Actions, as Prayer, Fasting, and Alms, &c. and renders them unprofitable.

The fifth Extract is out of the Homily upon the History of *Zaccheus*, it containeth nothing considerable.

The sixth is upon the Parable of the Prodigal Son. He saith that the Father spoken of in that Parable represents the Father of Eternity; that the two Sons are two sorts of Men; that the Prodigal Child is a Figure of those that have lost the Grace of Baptism; that the Portion of Goods which he desires of his Father, is the Grace of Baptism, and the Participation of the Body of Jesus Christ; that this Child doth indeed ask it well, but does not keep it, but goes into a foreign Country, that is, he departeth from God's Commandments; that the Devil is that Citizen and Prince who commandeth the Swine, that is debauched Persons; that this Sinner at last acknowledging his Fault, cometh back to God his Father, but with fear and confessing his unworthiness; that the Father full of Compassion and Mercy, receiveth him, embraceth, and puts upon him new Robes; that these new Robes cannot be Baptism which cannot be received a second time, but Repentance, which is instead of Baptism, and which blotting out our Sins with tears, makes us clean and acceptable to God; that the Ring afterwards given to this Prodigal Child, is the Seal of the Holy Ghost, which is given in Repentance as well as in Baptism.

The seventh Extract is of a Sermon upon the Cure of the Centurion's Servant. *Photinus* saith that *Asterius* upon occasion of that History, treateth of the Duties of Masters and Servants; that he adviseth Servants to obey their Masters readily and heartily; and exhorteth their Masters to use them with Meekness and Bounty; looking upon them as Brethren. 'For, saith he, they are made of the same Mould with us; they have the same Creator, the same Nature, the same Passions; they have a Body and a Soul as we have, &c.' The Homily at the beginning of the Fast, from which *Photinus* hath taken out the eighth Extract, is in Latin among the Works of *St. Gregory Nyssen*. I now confess, that it rather belongs to *Asterius*, than to that Father.

The ninth Extract is of the Homily upon the Man born blind, which we have entire.

The tenth is upon the Woman having an Issue of Blood. There he speaks of the History of the Statue, which that Woman caused to be set up in Honour of Jesus Christ in the City of *Paneas*.

This is all that *F. Combefis* hath collected of the Works of *Asterius Amasenus*; but since that *Cotelierius* in the second Volume in his *Ecclesiastical Monuments*, hath given us three Homilies upon *Psalms. 5, 6, and 7.* which he ascribeth to *Asterius Amasenus*, upon the Authority of two *Catena* upon the *Psalms*. He observes that before these Homilies there was one upon *Psalms 4.* Printed in the seventh Volume of the *Eaton* Edition of *St. Chrysostom*, pag. 431. which he likewise attributeth to the same *Asterius*. I confess I mistrust very much the Quotations of these *Catena*, and I should rather believe, that these Commentaries belong to *Asterius* the Philosopher; who according to the Testimony of the Ancients, writ a Commentary upon the *Psalms*, than to the Bishop of *Amasea*, who is not said to have written upon that Subject. *Cotelierius* pretends that the Conformity both of Stile and Doctrine demonstrate that these Homilies were written by *Asterius Amasenus*. But tho' I pay a great deference to the Judgment of that learned Man, yet I find no such Resemblance; however I would not be believed upon my own Word, but leave it to those to judge, who will take the pains to compare them.

The Stile of *Asterius Amasenus* is plain, but with a great deal of natural Beauty. His Characters and Descriptions are excellent: His Sermons would be esteemed in this Age, where those things are extremely valued. He is very severe in his Morals; the Reflections he makes are exact and solid. He explains the Scripture-Parables after an ingenious manner, and draws from them very useful Thoughts. He

doth not excite his Auditors by Violent Motions as great Orators do; but insinuates into their Minds Christian Truths, by his agreeable and natural way of proposing

them: and insensibly begets in them an Abhorrency of Vice, and Love of Vertue, only by a bare Picture lively drawn.

ANASTASIUS.

Anastasius was chosen Bishop of Rome, after the Death of Pope Siricius, Anno. 398. He was an illustrious Person, as commendable for neglecting his private Interest, as for his Pastoral Vigilance. Under his Pontificate, Flavianus and the Eastern Bishops were reconciled to the Church of Rome, and to the other Western Churches. The business of the Origenists making a great noise in the Church, he thought it his duty to declare his Sense of that matter: He therefore made a Decree after the Example of Theophilus, whereby he condemned both the Works and the Person of Origen, and being informed that Rufinus the Priest was his chief Defender, he cited him to come to Rome, and appear before him: But Rufinus deferring to appear, he condemned him as an Heretick in the Year 401. at the Solicitation of a Lady called Marcella, who produced Evidences against him her self, and shewed the Errors that he had left in the Translation of the Books of Origen's Principles, as St. Jerome says, Ep. 16.

John of Jerusalem having heard of this Judgment, writ him a very civil Letter, wherein after abundance of Commendations he spake in Rufinus his behalf. Anastasius, having returned him thanks for his Compliments, answered, that he could not but condemn Rufinus his conduct, because he had translated the Books of Origen's Principles, with a Design that the People should read them as Catholick Books, that the fear he was in lest they should corrupt the Doctrine of the faithful in his Church, obliged

him to condemn them: that he was informed that the Emperors had made an Edict to forbid the reading of Origen's Works: That Rufinus having approved in this Translation the Opinions of Origen, deserved to be treated after the same manner, as he that first published them. Lastly, he declares, that he will hear no more of him; that he might seek for Absolution where he pleased, for his part he looked upon him as an excommunicated Person.

This is the only true Letter of Anastasius, the two others were written by Isidore. The first directed to the German, and Burgundian Bishops is dated fourteen Years before Anastasius was Pope. Those of Burgundy to whom it is directed, were not then converted. It is made up of several passages of the Letters of Innocent, St. Leo and Flavianus, &c. It is full of Faults, and far from the Style of the true Anastasius. The second addressed to Nestarius, is dated fourteen Years after Anastasius his Death, and is taken out of Innocent, St. Leo, Gregory, &c.

We have not the first Synodical Letter of Anastasius, wherein he condemned Origen's Books, nor the Letter wherein he cited Rufinus, nor that directed to Venerius of Milan, whereof he speaks in his Letter to John. It is believed, that he writ a Treatise of the Incarnation directed to Ursinus, whereof some Fragments are found at the latter end of Liberatus's Breviary. But it is certain, that they belong to Anastasius. This Pope died in the Beginning of the Year 402. and left Innocent his Successor.

CHROMATIUS, Bishop of Aquileia.

Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia whom St. Jerome in his Preface to the Chronicles, calleth the most Holy and Learned Bishop of his time, writ and preached several Sermons. There is but one Discourse of his extant upon the Beatitudes, upon Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and upon the Words of St. John to Jesus Christ, I ought to be Baptized of thee. Which probably is a Fragment of a Commentary, composed by this Saint upon the whole Gospel of St. Matthew. He explaineth the Letter of the Gospel, insisting particularly upon the Moral Precepts thereof. In the Exposition of what the Gospel saith, concerning Divorces, he seems to have believed, that a Man might marry another Wife, after being divorced for the cause of Adultery, but he condemneth those that abandon their Wives upon any other account, and marry again, tho' he confesseth that Human Laws allowed it. He expounds the Lord's Prayer, and recommends the Exercise thereof, the Love of our Neighbour, Alms-deeds, Fasting, and other Vertues spoken of in Christ's Sermon upon the

Mount. In the last Fragment he discourseth of the Efficacy of Christ's Baptism.

The Style of this Author is not very lofty, but his Words are well chosen, his Notions just, his Expositions literal, and his Reflections useful. He was one of the most Famous Bishops of the West, and held Correspondence with the learnedest Men of his Time. He is one of the Three to whom St. Chrysostom directed the Letter, to demand help of the Western Bishops: and he subscribed the Letters written for him to the East. His Works were printed by themselves at Basil in 1528. and at Louvain in 1548. and afterwards in the Bibliotheca Patrum: I say nothing of a Letter bearing the Name of Chromatius directed to St. Jerome, in which he desires to have the Martyrology of Eusebius; it being certain, that both this Letter, and the pretended Answer of St. Jerome are spurious, as Baronius evidently proves in the seventh Chapter of his Preface to the Roman Martyrology.

GAUDENTIUS, Bishop of Brescia.

Saint Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, who composed the Book of Heresies mentioned in the foregoing Century, dying in 386. In the Year 387, the Bishops of the Province, together with St. Ambrose, did, with the consent of the People, chuse for his Successor Gaudentius, who was gone to travel in the East; but fearing, lest he should abide in the East, dreading the burthen of the Episcopal Charge, they not only sent Deputies to him, with a Letter to desire his Return; but wrote a Letter besides to the Eastern Bishops to intreat them that they would not admit him to the Communion, if he refused to come and govern the Diocese, of which he was chosen Bishop. Whereby Gaudentius found himself obliged to accept of that Charge, and being come back, was ordained by St. Ambrose and the Bishops of his Province.

All these Circumstances are recorded in the Discourse which he made to them immediately after his Ordination. He was but young when they chose him, as he says, in the same place. He was one of the Deputies sent to Constantinople in the 404, or 405. by the Western Bishops, to demand St. John Chrysostom's Re-establishment in his See. Possibly he lived a great while afterwards.

To this Bishop is attributed the Life of his Predecessor St. Philastrius, which Surinus printed upon the eighteenth day of July. Yet I cannot believe that it is certainly his; but we find in the Bibliotheca Patrum nineteen Instructions, or Sermons, which are unquestionably Genuine, and which he collected himself, to send them to one Benevolus, one of the most considerable Men in Brescia; who had formerly been Receiver of the Emperor's Memorials, and Injunctions,

and who had quitted that Employment, that he might not be obliged to do any thing against his Conscience in obedience to the Empress Justina, who countenanced the Arians, and persecuted St. Ambrose.

This Benevolus was constant at Divine Service, and heard the Sermons of Gaudentius with Pleasure; but having been hindered by Sickness from hearing those which this Holy Bishop preached at Easter, he prayed him to commit them to Writing; and to answer the Desire of this Man, the Holy Bishop did write his Sermons almost in the same Words that he preached them: He joyned to them four small Treatises upon the same places of the Gospel, and a fifth upon the Martyrdom of the Maccabees.

As to the other Sermons which the Copyers writ as Gaudentius was preaching, he will not own them for his, fearing that there may be some Errors in them; this Gaudentius declares in the beginning of his Preface: Afterwards he comforts Benevolus in his Sickness, shewing that God permits often Saints and righteous Men to be afflicted with Poverty and Sicknesses, whereas he lets the wicked enjoy a perfect Health and much Wealth, because both Punishments and Rewards are reserved to the Day of Judgment: that in the mean time he inflicteth visible Chastisements upon the impious and refractory, to frighten others by their Punishments: but permits likewise the Righteous to be afflicted for three Reasons, 1. to correct, 2. to purifie, and 3. to try them. The Severity he useth towards them is a Fatherly Severity. He sends them Afflictions, to manifest their Vertue both to Men and Angels, and so all the Sufferings of the Righteous are either for their Profit, or for their

their Glory. Whosoever honoureth, and loveth God truly, thinks himself happy in the midst of Tribulations, and bleisseth God for all that happeneth to him.

The first of those Sermons preached on *Easter-Eve*, is directed to the *Catechumens* that were to be baptized: He begins it with a Thought that is rather subtle than solid, to give a Reason why *Easter* is celebrated in the Spring, after the ill Weather of Autumn, and the severity of Winter, and before the heat of Summer. It is, saith he, to show that Jesus Christ the Sun of Righteousness, dissipates by his light the Darkness of Jewish Errors, and softens the hardness of the Heathens Hearts, by preventing with his Beams, the hot Fire of the Judgment of the great Day. He adds, that the World having been created in the Spring, it is just that it should be repaired in the same season. Afterwards he compareth the Christian's Passover with that of the Jews; and the deliverance of the People of Israel from Egypt thro' the Red Sea, with the Regeneration of Sinners, by the waters of Baptism.

The second Sermon is directed to the Novices: *Gaudentius* expoundeth in that instruction the Mystery of the Eucharist, which was hid from them till that time. He compares it with the Jews Paschal Lamb, taking notice that that was but the Figure, and not the real thing. 'Whereas in the truth of the new Law, it is the same Lamb dead for all; which being offered in all Churches, nourishes under the Mystery of Bread and Wine, those that offer it, giveth life to them that have a lively Faith, and sanctifieth by Consecration those that consecrate the same. This is the Flesh of the Lamb, this is his Blood.... It is the same Lord Creator of all things, who having made Bread out of the Earth, forms his Body of this Bread, because he is able, and hath promised it. He who formerly changed Water into Wine, now changeth Wine into his Blood.' Having expounded thus plainly the Mystery of the Eucharist, he speaks of the Dispositions that Men ought to be in to come to it: He findeth them all represented by the Ceremonies observed by the Jews in eating the Paschal Lamb; but his Similitudes are so far fetcht, that one would hardly have observed them. For who can believe that the Leathern Girdle that the Israelites were girded withall, was a Figure of the Mortification of Sins? Who would imagine, that when they are forbidden to break a bone of the Lamb, the meaning is that the Scripture-Precepts ought to be observed? And who can conclude from burning the remainders of the Lamb, that Men should consume by a lively Faith the doubts which they might have about the Eucharist. These Allegories, and such-like in this place, are something forced, and I question whether many People can relish them. At last he exhorteth the new baptized strongly to believe that Mystery, and giveth two mystical Reasons why Jesus Christ chose Bread and Wine to be the matter of that Sacrament.

He prosecutes, in the five following Sermons, his Lecture upon that place of *Exodus*, which speaketh of the Circumstances and Ceremonies wherewith the Jews offered the Paschal Lamb; and he applies them to the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the cross, and to what is done among Christians; and sometimes he draws from them some moral instructions.

The eighth and ninth are upon the Gospel of the Marriage in *Cana of Galilee*; He commendeth Virginity, reproving those at the same time who condemn Matrimony, and warneth Parents, that though they may inspire into their Children the Love of Virginity, yet they cannot enjoin them the Vow of perpetual Continency. He maintains, that the Virgin *Mary* did not lose her Virginity in bringing Jesus Christ into the World. Both these Instructions are full of many Similitudes. He exhorteth the new baptized not to lose the Grace of their Baptism.

The tenth Instruction is upon *Exodus*; There he brings many Allegories upon the Passover, and upon the Lord's Day. He seems to be perswaded, that the World shall end after the accomplishment of six thousand Years; and that those Dead who appeared after Christ's Death, were of the number of those Righteous ones, whom the Soul of Christ, that descended into Hell, delivered in that day. These are the ten Sermons which *Gaudentius* preached in *Benevolus* his absence during *Easter* Holy-days.

The other Sermons are particular Tracts which he collected to joyu them to the foregoing. The first is upon the sick of the Palsie, whom Jesus Christ cured on the Sabbath-day. The second is upon Christ's Words, *John 12: And now is the Judgment: Which he expoundeth thus: The World is going to judge its Creator and Master.* The third is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ, and of that Patience wherewith he endured Judas his Treason. Upon occasion of this unhappy Apostle's coverousness, he exhorteth to Alms-deeds, which he makes no scruple of comparing with Baptism; saying, That as the Water of Baptism quenches Hell-fire, so abundance of Alms quenches the fire of Lust that remains after Baptism, or at least hinders it from breaking out in a Flame. He occasionally speaks by the bye against those who say they cannot fast, because they will not. He concludes with an Exhortation to love God and our Neighbour. This Sermon is better written and more useful than the others.

The fourth is about the sending of the Holy Ghost, and contains a curious Observation against such as pretend to fathom Mysteries. *We ought to believe that God is what he hath revealed himself to be; his Actions are not to be examined with a rebellious Spirit, but to be admired with Faith, and Submission: For the Word of God is direct, and all his Actions are for the exercise of our Faith.... And so let us have a care of assaulting, if we may so speak, the Divine Mysteries with injurious Questions. Neither Scrupulousness nor Curiosity will help us to discover them, but only make us lose the Faith which leads to Salvation and Eternal life.*

The fifth Sermon is in commendation of the *Maccabees*. *Gaudentius* endeavoureth to give Reasons, why Swine's Flesh was forbidden to the Jews.

The sixth Sermon is that which he Preached at his Ordination in the presence of St. *Ambrose* and the other Bishops. He speaks at first of the Violence that was used towards him to make him accept the Bishoprick of *Brescia*. He commends his Predecessor *Philastrius*: He entreateth St. *Ambrose*, the first of the Bishops there, to speak in the Name of all the Bishops, as St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles speaketh for them all. He ends, desiring the Bishops to implore God's mercy, that he would assist him with the Virtue of the Holy Ghost to govern his Diocese well.

The seventh is a Panegyrick upon the forty Martyrs, for whose Honour they had built a Church, to deposit their Relicks. St. *Gaudentius*, who called many Bishops to that Feast, having spoken concerning the Relicks of several Martyrs, which he hath gathered; viz. those of St. *John Baptist*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Thomas*, St. *Luke*, St. *Gervasius*, St. *Protasius*, St. *Nazarus*, and the Ashes of the SS. *Sisinnius* and *Alexander*, who had lately suffered Martyrdom: He adds, that Travelling through *Cappadocia*, he found at *Casarea* a Convent of Women, where St. *Basil's* Nieces were, who were so kind as to give him part of the Relicks of the forty Martyrs, left with him by their Uncle. He describeth afterwards those Saints Martyrdom, taken out of St. *Basil's* Discourse; then he makes an end, saying, that the then consecrated Church being adorned with the Relicks of so many Saints, was to bear the Name of an Assembly of Saints.

The eighth Discourse is a Letter to *Germinius*, wherein he explains the Parable of the unjust Steward, related *Luke 16*. Where he treateth chiefly of the obligation to give Alms.

The last Discourse is likewise a Letter to a Deacon called *Paul*, to expound that notable place of St. *John's* Gospel, which the *Arians* did alledge against the Divinity of Jesus Christ: *My Father is greater than I.* *Gaudentius* there refutes *Arius* and the *Arians* with great earnestness; affirming, that this place is to be understood of Christ's human Nature.

It is not necessary to give a character of St. *Gaudentius*. He is sufficiently known by what we have said of him. His Style is plain and without affectation, full of forced Allegories, extraordinary Notions, and far-fetcht Allusions. His Sermons are dry, barren, neither instructive nor moving in any considerable degree. In one word, they have not the strength, eloquence, beauty or exactness observed in the Sermons of those Greek Authors formerly mentioned.

JOHN of Jerusalem.

After the death of St. *Cyril*, which happened in the Year 387, a Monk called *John*, a great Defender of *Origen's* Books, Opinions and Followers, succeeded in that See. St. *Epiphanius* being perswaded, that the *Origenists* were very dangerous Hereticks, reproved him before several Persons for taking their part. But instead of yielding to St. *Epiphanius's* admonition, *John* declared himself openly against him, and upbraided him as a Patron of the *Anthropomorphites*; that is, of those who

affirmed that God had a Body. Soon after St. *Epiphanius* ordained *Paulinianus*, St. *Jerom's* Brother, out of his own Diocese in that of *Casarea*; and that gave *John* an occasion to complain of him, and to accuse him of violating the Canons. St. *Epiphanius* excused himself upon the account of the custom of his Country; and observes in his Letter, that it was not this Ordination which most offended *John*, but that he was accused of being an *Origenist*. This Letter of St. *Epiphanius* was written in 392. St. *Jerom*

John of Jerusalem was much engaged in the quarrel, and upholding St. Epiphanius's Party, was excommunicated of *John*, who used all his endeavours to expell him out of *Palastine*. On the other side, *Ruffinus* took *John's* part; so that this quarrel betwixt two zealous Bishops, being fomented by these two learned Men, grew to a great height in a little time. Count *Archebius* endeavoured to accommodate the matter; and as they accused one another of Heresie, it was agreed, that for their Reconciliation, they should make a Confession of Faith; but *John* appearing not in the Assembly called for that purpose, the Accommodation was broke off.

Theophilus, Bishop of *Alexandria*, informed of this Division, thought it his Duty to endeavour to quiet it: Therefore he sent his Deacon *Isidore* for that end; who being already prepossessed in *Origen's* behalf, strengthened *John's* Party, and returned without effecting any thing; and only brought *Theophilus*, a Letter from *John*, wherein he justified himself, and accused St. Epiphanius. This Letter having been spread in the West, obliged both St. *Jerom* and St. Epiphanius to write to *Theophilus*, that he should make haste to declare against the *Origenists*. This Bishop deferred for some time to make this Declaration, suspecting that St. Epiphanius was guilty of the *Anthropomorphites* Error, which he abhorred. But he found himself obliged to declare himself of a Party, by the Secession of certain Monks of *Egypt*, infected with the *Anthropomorphites* Error; who after they had read a Letter of this Bishop against that Doctrine, came in great fury to *Theophilus* with a design to kill him. *Theophilus* to appease them, made use of *Jacob's* words to *Egari*, *I see your faces as the face of God*. This perswading the silly Monks, that his Mind was altered, and that he really believed that God had a face, they were quieted. But they being perswaded that *Origen* was the greatest Enemy of the Doctrine which they maintained, laid unto him; *If you be of this mind, then condemn Origen's Books*. This was the Reason (if we may believe the Historians of that time) for which *Theophilus* was forced to declare against that Author and his Party; at the time when *Theophilus* was fallen out with *Isidore*, the Long-brethren and the other Monks of *Nitria*. He accused them of *Origenism*, and forced them to retire to *Constantinople*. All this while

John of Jerusalem continued in his Opinion, and writ a Letter in favour of *Ruffinus* and of *Origen*, to Pope *Anastasi*. His enmity against St. *Jerom* lasted long, as we learn by a Letter of Pope *Innocent*; and he joined himself to *Pelagius*, and caused him to be absolved in the Council of *Diospolis*, as appears by the Letter which St. *Augustin* wrote to him. He died in 416.

Gennadius saith that he writ a Book against his Adversaries; wherein he professed to admire the Wit but not the Doctrine of *Origen*. That Discourse is lost.

There is attributed to this Author a Treatise dedicated to *Caprasius* of the Institution of Monks; but that visibly appears to be the Work of a Latin Author, who composed it of purpose to prove, That the Order of the *Carmelites*, which began in the time of the Old Law, was very ancient in the Church, and that many Christians were of this Order in the Primitive Church. It is a heap of Fables, Visions and Dreams concerning *Elias*, and some other Prophets, whom this Author feigneth to have been Monks of Mount *Carmel*. But what is more surprizing, is, that upon occasion of this supposititious Book, there was a *Carmelite* that either had so little sense himself, or rather believed that others were so dull, as to attribute to the same Author several Books, which are either without the Name of an Author, or falsely ascribed to others; which he hath had the confidence to collect and publish at *Bruxelle* in Folio, ann. 1643, under the Name of *John of Jerusalem's* Works; as if this pretended Author must necessarily be the Father of all these unknown Children. But in one word; Though this famous * *Carmelite*, who took the pains to collect them, hath bestowed a whole Volume to shew that the Discourses contained in his First Volume, were truly written by *John of Jerusalem*, and hath endeavoured to justify them from all sorts of Errors; yet one may say that he hath done nothing less than what he promiseth in the Title, and that he hath filled that long and tedious Treatise with idle Conjectures, groundless Suppositions, manifest Falshoods, or with Matters no ways pertinent to his Subject. So that this great Building failing at the foundation, is quickly fallen into ruine, and is become an Object of Laughter to all persons that pretend to Learning.

THEOPHILUS of Alexandria.

Theophilus of Alexandria was ordained Bishop in the Year 385, after the Death of *Timotheus*. We have also observed that he was a politick and daring Man. He took away the Remains of Idolatry in the City of *Alexandria*, by causing the Temples and Idols that were left to be pulled down, and by discovering to the People, the Frauds and Stratagems which the Idol-Priests made use of to uphold their Superstition; having hollow Statues wherein Men were hid, who perswaded the People that the Statues spoke.

This generous Action got *Theophilus* much credit and reputation, and gave him great power in *Alexandria*. The Council of *Capua* having referred to him the judgment of *Flavian's* business, he dealt very moderately with him; but he shewed much partiality in the Ordination of St. *Chrysostom*; being desirous to have preferred *Isidore* to that See: However, they were Friends in appearance for a while, and they united together to procure the Reconciliation of the Eastern, with the Western Bishops. We have spoken before of his Carriage in the case of *Origen*, and the *Origenists*, of the Policy of his Conduct, and the Passion which he shewed in the business of St. *Chrysostom*. There is no likelihood that he ever repented of the injustice and violence which he exercised against St. *John Chrysostom*: For though St. *John Damascene* saith, that when he was near Death, he caused the Image of that Saint to be brought to him; yet one cannot affirm it upon a Testimony of that Nature, especially because St. *Cyril* his Successor, in the Church of *Alexandria*, persisted after his Death to refuse to pay any Honour to the Memory of this Saint, and to insert his Name into the Diptychs. It is more likely, that what is related in the Lives of the Fathers in the Desert, is true; viz. That this Bishop, being at the point of yielding up the Ghost, and reflecting upon the long Penance of St. *Arsenius*, cried out; *O happy art thou Arsenius, to have always had this Hour before thine Eyes! Which sheweth*, saith an Author of that Time, *That Monks who have quitted all the hopes of the World, and of the Court, to mourn in the Wilderness, die more peaceably than the Arch-Bishops that go out of their Dioceses, to disturb the peace of the Church by caballing at Court against the most innocent and holiest of their Brethren*. Yet St. *Leo* calls him *Theophilus of happy Memory*; not that he had an opinion of his Sanctity, but because dying in the Communion of the Church, that Title of Honour could not be denied him.

He wrote, saith, *Gennadius*, a large Treatise against *Origen*, wherein he condemns both his Writings and his Person; shewing at the same time that he was not the first

that condemned him, but that he had been Excommunicated by the Ancients, and particularly by *Heraclius*. He composed another Book against the *Anthropomorphites*, who hold that God hath an human shape, and members like unto ours: Wherein he refuteth their Opinions, and convinceth them by Testimonies of Holy Scripture; proving, that God is of an incorruptible and spiritual Nature; whereas all Creatures are in their Natures corruptible and subject to change. He likewise presented to *Theodosius* the Emperor a small Treatise concerning *Easter*, wherein he fixes the Day and time of the Moon when it ought to be celebrated according to the decision of the Council of *Nice*, adding some Observations touching the Solemnity of that Festival. This Cycle began in the Year 380, and determined *Easter-Day* for 100 Years consecutively, as St. *Leo* assures us in the 94th. and 95th. Letters of the new Edition.

Gennadius saith further, that he had read three Books concerning Faith, that bore *Theophilus* his Name; but addeth, that he did not believe them to be his, because they were written in a different Style.

St. *Jerome* mentions Five Epistles of *Theophilus*, which he had translated into Latin. The first was a Synodical Letter against *Origen* of the Year 399. The second was a Paschal Epistle for the Year 401, and three other Paschal Epistles for the Years 402, 403, and 404. We have not the two first, the other three are among St. *Jerom's* Epistles. The first is divided into four Parts, according to the Observation of that Saint. In the first *Theophilus* exhorts the Faithful to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* worthily. In the second and third he speaks against *Apollinaris*. In the last he adviseth Hereticks to repent. In all the three he shews his aversion to *Origen*, accusing him with great vehemence, of several Errors. It is observed in the last that the Christians of that time forbore in *Lent* the Use of Wine and Meat. In these Discourses he intersperses some Moral Notions, and endeth all his Epistles with giving Notice of the Day when *Lent* shall begin, and *Easter Day*, and *Whit-sunday*.

We have besides, amongst St. *Jerom's* Epistles, three Letters of *Theophilus*: One to St. Epiphanius, wherein he exhorts him to assemble a Council against *Origen*, and two other Letters against the *Origenists*.

There are some Greek Fragments of the Paschal Letters cited by *Theodoret* in the Council of *Ephesus*, and in that of *Chalcedon*, which are among those that we have, or else are taken out of other Letters of the same Nature: For the Council of *Ephesus* quoteth a sixth Paschal Letter; and *Justinian* in his Writing against *Origen*, produces a great part of the Synodical Letter against *Origen*, and two other Frag-

Theophilus Fragments of a Letter, and of a Treatise directed to the Monks of *Scheta*.

Theophilus of *Alexandria*. *Facundus*, l. 6. ch. 5. quoteth a Book of *Theophilus* against St. *Chrysostom*, full of Invectives and Calumnies against that Saint, whereof he gives some Instances, which shew how much Passion and Rage had blinded him.

Lastly, one may see in *Zonara's* and *Balsamon's* Collections some Laws and Canonical Letters of this same Bishop.

The first is a Pastoral Letter; wherein he saith, that when *Christmas* Eve happens upon a *Sunday*, some light Meat may be eaten, that so we may not seem to follow the practice of Hereticks, by eating nothing on the *Sunday*, and yet not to break the Law of Fasting altogether.

The second is a Letter containing some Rules for the Province of *Lycapolis*, directed to *Ammon*.

The first concerneth those that had communicated with *Arian* Bishops; he ordereth that they should be deposed, allowing them still leave to dwell in the Place, and to be dealt with as was appointed by the Bishops of *Thebais*.

The second is upon the occasion of a Priest, who was Ordained after he had committed a crime with a Woman that was divorced from her Husband. *Theophilus* determines that he ought to be Suspended from his Ministerial Function.

The third is concerning a Priest who had been Excommunicated by his Bishop. *Theophilus* declares, that the Priest that was Excommunicated by his Bishop, ought to be esteemed Excommunicate till he had justified himself by the Law.

The fourth concerneth a Deacon, who was accused to have married his Brother's Daughter. *Theophilus* saith, that if he married her before Baptism, and had not co-habited with her since he was Baptized, he might continue in the Clergy; but if he had co-habited with her after Baptism, he ought to be degraded from the Clergy.

In the fifth that relateth to an Accusation brought against a Reader, *Theophilus* gives this Order; that if he be convicted of Fornication, he ought to be degraded; but if this Accusation is grounded only upon suspicion, no regard is to be had to it.

In the sixth he sets down a Rule to be observed in the Ordinations; he saith that the Bishop is to Ordain none, who is not chosen by the whole Clergy in the presence

of the People; and that the Bishop is to give his Approbation before he can be Ordained.

The seventh appointeth, that whatsoever is left of the Offering after Communion, ought to be distributed to the Clerks, and to the Faithfull, and none of it to the Catechumens.

The eighth is also concerning a Clerk that was accused of Fornication. *Theophilus* affirms, that if he be convicted of the Crime, he ought to be deposed; but if he gives a good Account of his Behaviour, and it cannot be proved that he committed the Fact, they ought not to give him any trouble.

The ninth Canon is about choosing a new Steward in the Church.

The tenth enjoyns, that the Poor, the Widows and the Pilgrims should not be disturbed, and that none should usurp the Church-Goods.

The second Letter contains a Rule, whereby it is ordered conformably to the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, that the *Novatins*, who had a mind to come into the Church, might receive Ordination.

The third to *Agatho*, was written upon occasion of a Person, who knowing not the Laws of the Church, had contracted an unlawful Marriage; and being censured for it, had left his Wife with her consent. He adviseth the Bishop to whom he Writeth, to place them among the Catechumens, if he thought fit, and if he judged that they did it sincerely; otherwise he will have him deal more severely with them.

The last Letter is directed to *Menna*; where he forbids him to admit into the Communion of the Church, a Woman that had wronged another, before she had made reparation.

Theophilus hath nothing in his Writings that can turn to his Commendation: They are dark, unintelligible, full of false Reasonings and Reflections, that do not concern his Subject. He was a good Politician, but an ill Author. He knew better how to manage a Court-intrigue, than to resolve a question of Divinity. The only Rule of his Opinions was his Interest or his Ambition. He was ready to embrace any Opinion or Party that came first, provided it could satisfy his Passion, without examining much whether it was just or reasonable.

THEODORUS of Mopsuestia.

Theodorus of *Mopsuestia*. *Theodorus*, a Priest of *Antioch*, *Diodorus's* and *Flavian's* Disciple, St. *Chrysostom's* Companion, and, as some have affirmed, *Nestorius's* Tutor, was chosen Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, about the beginning of the

Fifth Century of the Church. Many were the Works that he writ; but the misfortune which they had to be condemned with his Person, in the Fifth Council, by the Intrigues of *Justinian* the Emperor, caused them to be lost, except the Titles and Fragments that were collected either by his Accusers, or by his Defenders.

It is probable that he writ Commentaries upon the whole Bible: *Photius*, Vol. 25th. of his *Bibliotheca*, saith, that he had read a Commentary of *Theodorus* upon *Genesis*, divided into seven Parts. *Facundus* and the fifth General Council mention Commentaries of *Theodorus* upon the *Psalms*, the Book of *Job*, the *Canticles*, the Twelve lesser Prophets, the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, St. *John* and St. *Luke*, upon the *Acts*, the Epistle to the *Romans*, and upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. In these Commentaries he insisted most upon the Historical sense, avoiding all Allegories: He writ a Book likewise to justify that way of expounding the Scripture, intituled, *Of Allegory and of History against Origen*, quoted by *Facundus*. *Photius* observeth further, that *Theodorus's* Commentaries are full of frequent Repetitions; that they are tedious, and unpleasant to read. The first of his Commentaries is that upon the *Psalms*; he saith himself, that it was the most imperfect and least exact. In his Commentary upon *Job*, he saith, That though the History of *Job* be true at the bottom, yet it is written in a fabulous way: He observeth besides, when he Comments upon the Book of *Canticles*, that it is a difficult thing to write an useful Commentary upon that Book; and that it was forbidden both among the *Jews*, and among the *Christians* to read it publicly, since in all probability it was a Nuptial Song, though it is to be understood of the Love of Wisdom.

The other Treatises of this Author were very long, and very numerous: When he was young he composed a large Work of the Incarnation against the *Apollinarists* and *Anomaeans*, divided into fifteen Books, which, according to his own Testimony, contained above Fifteen Thousand Verses; wherein he shewed, saith *Gennadius*, by convincing Proofs, and by Testimonies of the Scripture, (for he speaketh of *Theodorus*, in the 12th. Chapter of his Book, concerning Ecclesiastical Writers,) That in *Jesus Christ* there is the fulness both of the Divinity and of the Humanity; That Man is made of two Substances, the Soul and the Body; That Sense and

Understanding are not separate Substances, but Faculties of the Soul. The Fourteenth Book is concerning the Trinity: But in discoursing of uncreated Nature, he treateth also of Creatures. The last Book contains many Quotations out of the Fathers, to confirm his Doctrine by the Authority of Tradition. Some considerable Fragments of this Treatise of the Incarnation are cited by *Facundus*, and in the Fifth Council.

He wrote besides Five and Twenty Books against *Eunomius*, in defence of St. *Basil's* Books, mentioned by *Photius* in the 25th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; some whereof are cited by *Facundus*, and in the Fifth Council: Four Books against *Apollinaris*; a Book intituled the mystical Book; a Treatise to those that had been Baptized; two Letters to *Artemius* of *Alexandria*; an Epistle to *Cerdo* upon the Interpretation of the *Psalms*; five Books of the Creature; five other Books to show that God permitted Sin, because it is for Men's advantage; which are all cited by *Facundus*, and in the fifth Council; and three Books of the Magick of the *Persians*, directed to a Suffragan Bishop of *Armenia*, mentioned by *Photius* in the 81st. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; where he saith, that *Theodorus* in the first of those three Books, explains that abominable Axiom of the *Persians*, introduced by *Zarades*; whereby *Zaravas*, the God of Fortune is put for the first Principle of all things, from whom they suppose *Oromazus* to be descended, by whom they mean the Evil Genius or Satan; that when he had given an account of that Doctrine, which was as base as it is impious; he refuteth it in the same Book. In the two last Books he treateth of the True Religion; and having begun with the World's Creation, he falls insensibly upon the Law of Grace.

The Fifth Council attributes to *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, *Charissus's* Creed that was produced in the Council of *Ephesus*: But *Facundus* says, that it was none of his, and that it was an injury to him to ascribe it to him.

Theodorus of *Mopsuestia* was charged with several Heresies after his Death; and particularly, that he was *Nestorius's* Tutor; and that he taught in his Writings those Errors, which since bear the Name of that *Herefiarch*. This personal Accusation occasioned a great Contest, that was agitated with much heat in the beginning of the Sixth Century. *Justinian* caused this Author to be condemned in the Fifth General Council, in despite of *Vigilius*, who defended him. He would have obliged all the Bishops to subscribe that Condemnation; but some refused to do it, and undertook to plead for *Theodorus*. *Facundus*, Bishop of *Hermiana*, a City

Theodorus Mopsuestensis. City in *Africa*, proved one of his most zealous Defenders, and composed twelve Apologetical Books for him; where- in he endeavoured to justify him fully of all the Accusa- tions that were formed against him. This is not a fit place to examine that Question, which we shall handle at large hereafter, when we come to speak of the Fifth Council, and of *Facundus's* Books: And so instead of examining the Doctrines of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, I shall only give some Remarks upon his Style, and way of Writing. His Style, if *Photius* may be credited, is neither lofty nor clear; he is full of tedious Repetitions, but he brings strong Proofs, and hath the Scriptures very ready at Command: This Judg-

ment of *Photius* is confirmed by the Fragments of his Writings that are extant: His Style is perplexed and dif- fuse, no clearness in it, but the Notions are solid and exact enough: He thought and spoke with Freedom: He despised allegorical and mystical Interpretations of Scripture; but inflicted much upon Moral Heads, and made it his main business to set forth the History, and expound the Pro- phecies.

Here is a Catalogue of the Latin Fragments of this Au- thor, set down in the Fifth General Council; and by *Facundus*, which may be consulted to judge both of his Doct- rine and of his Style.

WORKS of THEODORUS of Mopsuestia, cited by Facundus, by the Fifth Council, col. 4. by Photius and Gennadius.

Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture.

Seven Volumes upon *Genesis*, 5. Conc. collat. 4. cap. 62. Photius cod. 25.

Upon the *Psalms*, Facund. l. 9. c. 1. p. 131, 132. l. 6. cap. 3. 5. Conc. c. 19, 23, 24.

Upon *Job*, 5. Concil. c. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67.

Upon the *Canticles*, 5. Concil. cap. 68, 69, 70, 71.

Upon the *Twelve minor Prophets*, Conc. 5. cap. 20, 21, 22.

Upon *St. Matthew*, Facund. l. 3. c. 4. p. 43. l. 9. c. 2. p. 132. Concil. 5. cap. 26, 40, 51, 52, 55.

Upon *St. Luke*, Conc. 5. c. 58.

Upon *St. John*, Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135. Conc. 5. c. 13, 14, 15, 33, 34.

Upon the *Acts*, Conc. 5. c. 16.

Upon the *Epistle to the Romans*, l. 6. c. 3. p. 46.

Upon the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Conc. 5. c. 32, 46.

Treatises against Hereticks.

Three Books of the *Magick of the Persians*, Photius, cod. 81.

Fifteen Books of the *Incarnation*. The 13th. is cited by Facund. l. 3. c. 2. p. 38. The 5th. the 6th. the 10th. the 12th. the 15th. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139. They are all cited l. 10. c. 1, &c. The 6th. p. 149. and 159. The 14th. is cited Conc. 5. c. 17. 54. The 1st. c. 25. c. 27. The 8th. c. 29. the 7th. c. 30. the 12th. c. 43, 47, 48. The 2d. cap. 49, 50. The 13th. in the 53. Gennad. c. 12.

Twenty-five Books against *Eunomius*. The 10th. is cited by Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 139. Photius, cod. 4.

Four Books against *Apollinarius*. The 3d. is cited by Facund. l. 3. c. 2. p. 37. Conc. 5. c. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12. The 1st. is cited, l. 10. c. 1. p. 149. The 4th. is cited Conc. 5. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Five Books of the *Creature*, Conc. 5. c. 56. and 61.

Five Books concerning *God's permitting Sin*, Conc. 5. c. 57, 58, 59, 60.

A Treatise to those who were to be baptized. Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135. Conc. 5. c. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42.

A Mystical Book, Fac. l. 3. p. 37. citeth the 13th. Book of this Work.

A Treatise of *History and Allegory against Origen*. Fac. l. 3. c. 5. p. 46.

Two Letters to *Artemius*, Fac. l. c. 5. p. 45.

A Letter to *Cerdon*. Fac. l. 1. c. 1. p. 150.

Symbolum Charisii, Act. 6. Synodi Ephes. Fac. l. 3. c. 2. and 5. p. 39; and 44. Conc. 5. Act. 4.

PALLADIUS.

Palladius, Originally of *Galatia*, *Evagrius* his Disciple, left his Country at Twenty Years of Age, in the Year 388 (a), and went into *Egypt*, to learn of the Monks of that place the Exercises of the Monastick Life. Being arrived at *Alexandria*, he addressed himself to *Isidore* to be advised by him; who committed him to the Conduct of a Monk, who lived in a Cave near *Alexandria*. But *Palladius* not being able to undergo the Austerities practised by that Monk, was forced to leave him; but nevertheless he continued three Years in the Monasteries about *Alexandria*: afterwards he undertook to visit those of *Nitria* and *Thebais*, and he stayed a great while in those solitary places: But falling sick of a dangerous Distemper, he returned to *Alexandria*, and put himself into the hands of the Physicians there, who advised him to go into *Palestine*, where the Air might agree with him better. From *Palestine* he came to *Bithynia*, where he was ordained Bishop of *Helenopolis* in 421. Being one of *St. Chrysostom's* Friends, when that Saint was condemned, he was obliged to retire to the West, and returning to the East with the Deputies of the Western Bishops, he was put into Prison, and sent back with them. From the Bishoprick of *Helenopolis*, he was translated to that of *Aspuna* (b); a City of *Galatia* under the Metropolis of *Ancyra*. He was *Ruffinus* his Friend, and defended *Origen*, sided with *Pelagius*, and opposed *St. Jerome*. He writ in the Year 421. an History of the Life, Actions, Miracles, and Discourses, of the holiest Monks that he had seen in *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Thebais*, and *Palestine*. It is dedicated to one *Lausus*, wherefore it has had the Name of *Historia Lausiaca*. This Relation, (as most other Works of this Nature) contains many extraordinary things. Among several Examples of sound Vertue, and useful Reflections, one may find childish Sentences, Examples dangerous to be followed, enormous Austerities, unreasonable Practices, and rash Undertakings: The Style of this History is flat, a meer Relation without Ornament or Order; it was Printed in Latin,

in the *Lives of the Fathers* by *Rosweidus*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: The Greek was published by *Meursius*, and Printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1616. It is Printed likewise in Greek and Latin, in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in 1624. *Cotelerius* added some Greek Supplements in the last Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*, Pag. 117, 158.

This same *Palladius* is thought to be the Author of *St. Chrysostom's* Life, and it is very likely. For, 1. The Style of that Work is like that of the *Historia Lausiaca*. 2. *Palladius* Author of the *Historia Lausiaca* was *St. Chrysostom's* Friend, and persecuted upon his Account. 3. It is certain, that the Author of *St. Chrysostom's* Life was called *Palladius*, and that he lived in the beginning of the Fifth Century. But there is no *Palladius* known besides this. 4. It is manifest, that the Writer of *St. Chrysostom's* Life, was of the same Party, and in the same Interest and Sentiments with *Palladius* of *Helenopolis*. 5. The Author of *St. Chrysostom's* Life is called Bishop of *Helenopolis*, in a Greek Catalogue of the Authors, that wrote *St. Chrysostom's* Life mentioned by *Sir Henry Savile*. The Greek Title of that Dialogue in the *Florence Manuscript*, which is Six hundred years Old, beareth the Name of *Palladius* of *Helenopolis*; and it is observed in the Margin, that he was Bishop of *Aspuna*. Lastly, *Diodorus* of *Trimithus* saith, that the Author of *St. Chrysostom's* Life was Bishop in *Bithynia*. Yet some Conjectures seem to prove, that *Palladius* Author of *St. Chrysostom's* Life, and *Palladius* of *Helenopolis* are two different Persons: For, 1. The Writer of *St. Chrysostom's* Life speaks of the Voyage of *Palladius* of *Helenopolis* to *Rome*, as preceding his. 2. He speaks as if he writ the Dialogue which relates that Life, whilst *Palladius* of *Helenopolis* was detained Prisoner in the East: Lastly, *Palladius* of *Helenopolis* was but Thirty nine years Old when *St. Chrysostom* died, whereas the Author of the Dialogue makes *Theodorus* speak of him as of an ancient Bishop. These Reasons persuaded *Bigotius*, that *Palladius*

(a) In the Year 388.] What he saith in his Preface, and at the beginning of the *Historia Lausiaca*, determines the Chronology of this Author's Life. He says at the beginning of the History, that he went into *Egypt* under the Second Consulship of *Theodosius*, which was in the Year 388. And in the Preface, he saith, that he had been a Monk 33 Years, and 20 Years a

Bishop, and that he was 53 Years old. He was therefore 20 Years old when he left his Country to become Monk. He was Ordained Bishop in 401, and wrote his History in 421.

(b) Bishop of Aspuna.] *Socrates Hist. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 36. reckons him amongst the translated Bishops, and saith, that he went from *Helenopolis* to *Aspuna*.

Author of that Dialogue, was not *Palladius* Disciple to *Evagrius*. Yet it is easie to Answer, that *Palladius* feigned these things; after the Custom of *Dialogists*, perhaps to hide himself the better, being unwilling to be known to be the Author of that Treatise. However, this History is composed in the Form of a Dialogue held at *Rome*, betwixt *Theodorus* Deacon of *Rome* and Bishop *Palladius*. It contains *St. Chrysostom's* Condemnation, the History of his Life, and a Justification of the Accusations that were brought against him.

It is written with great Plainness, but with much Exactness and Truth. It was formerly translated by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, but his Version was not sincere. *Bigotius* having since found a Manuscript in the Library of *Florence*, which contained the Greek Original of that Dialogue, caused it to be Printed, with a new Version on the side, composed with all the Fidelity and Exactness that can be expected from so able a Man: This Volume is Printed in Quarto at Paris by *Martin*, Ann. 1680.

Palladius

P. INNOCENT I.

P. Innoc. I. Pope *Innocent* succeeded to Pope *Anastasius* in the Year 402. and governed the Church of *Rome* till 417. This Pope being consulted from all parts, upon divers Questions, both of Doctrine and of Discipline, was put upon writing of Letters, which contain very useful Rules and most judicious Decisions.

The first Letter, which should have been one of the last, since it was not written before 416. is an Answer to *Decentius* Bishop of *Engubium* a City of *Umbria* in *Italy*, upon several Questions put to him by that Bishop.

The Preface of that Epistle, setteth forth the advantage of the City of *Rome*. He pretends that if all Churches had held the Practices which they received from the Apostles, they had all agreed in the same Discipline, and that all the difference, which so much scandalizeth the People, is caused by the Deviation from the Apostles Tradition. Upon this Principle he concludes, that they ought every where to observe the Discipline which *Rome* received of *St. Peter*, and which it hath always kept. 'Especially, saith he, because it is evident, that the Churches of *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and other Islands that are between *Italy* and *Africa*, have been settled by the Bishops whom *St. Peter* or his Successors sent thither.

Tho' this Pope lays down these Maxims as indubitable, yet are they not without Difficulty; and it would have been hard for him to have proved them well: for what Evidence is there to justify, that the Apostles settled all Points of Discipline themselves? and how can we know that they established them all after the same manner? On the contrary is it not certain, that *St. John* celebrated the Feast of *Easter* in the *East*, upon other days than *Sundays*, tho' probably both *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* did the contrary at *Rome*? And had the Apostles settled the same Usages, and Ceremonies in all the Churches which they founded, would it therefore follow, that there is a necessity of observing them? Do not all Men know, that Discipline may and is to alter according to the various Circumstances of time? And what Proof is there, that the Church of *Rome* hath preserved the Discipline settled by *St. Peter*, better than other Churches have kept that which was given them by other Apostles their Founders. Is there any certainty that the Churches of *France*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, were all founded by those whom *St. Peter*, or his Successors sent thither? And Lastly, where is the necessity to oblige them all to change their Rites and Customs, to embrace those of the Church of *Rome*? Many such Queries may be made upon this Principle of Pope *Innocent*, which could not easily be resolved. But an *Italian* Bishop his Suffragan, could not in reason propose such Difficulties; he ought to conform to the Discipline of his Metropolis. He had often been at *Rome*, and present at the publick Service, and so might well be acquainted with the Ceremonies practised there. That was sufficient to instruct, and oblige him to reform the Abuses of his own Church: Yet he advised with Pope *Innocent*; and the Pope thought fit to make him an Answer, not so much to instruct him, as to teach, advise, and reprove with the greater Authority those that receded from the Customs of the Church of *Rome*, and even to impose them if they would not yield to his Admonitions.

In the first Canon he declares, that the Blessing is not to be given before the Consecration of the Holy Mysteries; That so it may be as a Sign and Token, that the People approve of the Consecration of the Mysteries.

The second enjoyns that those who are to be recommended in the Service of the Eucharist be not named, before their Offering be presented.

The third forbids Priests to confirm Children, because they have not the Sovereignty of the Priesthood: That they may Baptize, and Anoint the Baptized with the Oyl that is consecrated by the Bishop, but not lay it upon their Foreheads, because this is allowed to none but Bishops, when they confer the Holy Ghost: He declares that he cannot recite the Words, for fear of discovering the Mysteries, if he would answer the advice that was required of him.

In the fourth Canon he pretends to give an evident Reason of the *Saturday's* Fast, by saying, that as all *Sundays* are kept with joy in remembrance of the Resurrection, and as they fast every *Friday*, because of the Passion of *Jesus Christ*: So they should fast likewise upon *Saturday*, as being between the day of sorrow and that of rejoicing, and the rather because the Apostles mourned all that day. In a word, that

since holy *Saturday* is a Fasting Day, all other *Saturdays* should be such in remembrance of that Day. He observeth that in his time the Divine Mysteries were not celebrated either upon *Fridays* or *Saturdays*.

The fifth Canon is obscure enough. *St. Innocent* saith there, that it was to no purpose for *Decentius* to consult him concerning the leavened Bread, which the Bishop of *Rome* sent every *Sunday* to the Parish-Priests in the City of *Rome*, after he had consecrated it, because his Custom could not concern the Countrey Parishes, for as much as the Sacraments ought not to be carried far, *quia non longe portanda sunt Sacramenta*: Wherefore, addeth he, we do not send them to Priests in distant Parishes, because they have Power to consecrate.

The sixth declares, that a Priest may not lay hands upon an Energumen, without leave from the Bishop, but that he may if the Bishop gives him Commission to do it.

In the seventh it is enjoined, that those who have done Penance should be reconciled upon Holy *Thursday*, whether they were guilty of great Crimes, or of lesser Offences, except some Distemper requireth another time: And to judge of Repentance, regard must be had to the pains, mourning and tears of the Penitent, and his Sin must be remitted, if it appears that he hath made a proportionable satisfaction.

The eighth is about the anointing of the Sick, spoken of in the Epistle of *St. James*. *Innocent* saith, that the Words of the Apostle are without Question to be understood of the Sick that are faithful, that these may be anointed with the Oyl that is consecrated by the Bishop, and the Use of this is not peculiar to Priests only, but all Christians may anoint themselves, and those that belong to them in Case of necessity: That it is not necessary that the Bishop should make this Unction; that it should not be administered to Penitents, because it is a kind of Sacrament, and since other Sacraments are denied, they have no Right to this.

He concludeth with an Exhortation to *Decentius*, that he should cause the Discipline of the Church the of *Rome* to be observed in his Church, and to instruct the Priests and Clerks under his Care well, that so they might discharge their Ministry worthily.

The second Letter was written in 404. to *Victorius* Bishop of *Rothen*, who likewise asked Questions about points of Discipline. It begins also with the Praises of the Roman Discipline; he exhorts him to send this Letter to his Brethren, that they might learn what Rules they were to follow.

This Preface is followed by thirteen Canons.

The first agreeable to the Decision of the Council of *Nice*, forbids a Bishop to be ordained without the Consent of the Metropolitan of the Province: declaring farther, that one Bishop alone cannot ordain.

The second prohibits the admitting of those into the Clergy, that have been Soldiers after they were baptized.

The third allows a Synod of the Provincial Bishops to take Cognizance of all Causes relating to the Persons of Clerks and Bishops, according to the Decree of the *Nicene* Council; but he addeth, *Yet without Prejudice to the Rights of the Roman Church*, to which great Regard is to be had in all Causes. And if they be *Causae Majores*, devolved to the Holy See, they are not to be brought hither nor judged; before Judgment is given by the Bishops of the Province.

The fourth forbids to admit into Orders, a Person that has married a Widow, or a Woman that is divorced from her Husband.

The fifth extends this Prohibition, even to those that have married such a Woman before Baptism.

He confirmeth the same Law in the sixth, with respect to those that have been twice married.

The seventh forbids Bishops to ordain Clerks of the faithful of another Church, except the Bishop of that Church permits it.

The eighth ordaineth, that the *Novatians* and *Donatists* be received by the sole Imposition of hands; because that tho' they were baptized by Hereticks, yet were they baptized in the Name of *Jesus Christ*. He addeth, That if any Catholics being entréd into their Sect, were baptized, and are willing to return to the Bosom of the Church, they must be put to a long Penance, before they be admitted.

P. Innoc. I.

The ninth is concerning the Celibacy of Priests and Deacons. *P. Innoc. I.*

The tenth forbids the Monks that were ordained Clerks, to leave their way of living.

In the eleventh, the Officers of the Emperor, and such as are in publick Employments, are not to be admitted into Orders.

The twelfth prohibits the admitting of those Virgins that being solemnly consecrated to God, married, or were corrupted, to Penance, before the Death of the Person with whom they have committed the Crime, For, saith he, *if a Woman, who during the Life of her Husband marieth another is an Adulteress, and is not admitted to do Penance before the Death of one of them, with how much more reason should the same rigour be observed towards her, who being united to an immortal Husband, went over to an human Marriage?*

The thirteenth enjoyns a Penance of some time to the Virgins that marry, after promising Virginity, tho' they had not solemnly been veiled by the Bishop.

Pope *Innocent* finishes his Letter, saying, that if these Canons were observed by the Bishops, there would be no more Ambition among them, Divisions would cease, Schisms, and Heresies would be stilled, and the Devil would have no occasion to assault the Flock of Jesus Christ, &c.

The third Epistle of the same Nature with the two former, is written in 405. to *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tholouse*.

In the first Canon of this Letter, he confirms *Siricius* his Law concerning the Celibacy of Priests and Deacons; yet he forgiveth those who thro' Ignorance observed it not, upon condition that they shall continue in that Order, and not be admitted to an higher. But he ordains that those should be degraded who violated it knowingly.

The second Canon relates to Sinners, who stay till the hour of Death to desire Penance: Pope *Innocent* saith, that they were dealt withal after two different manners. That the ancient Discipline was more severe, because Penance was granted them without allowing them the Communion: but in his time, it was administered to dying Men, that they might not imitate the hardness of *Novatian*. These last Words with several others that are in the Text of that Canon manifest that by the Word *Communion*, is not to be understood the Administration of the Eucharist: but Absolution.

The third Canon exempts those from Penance, that condemned any Persons to Death, who put any to the Rack, or were obliged by their Office to condemn the guilty to any Punishment, because the civil Powers, saith this Pope, are established by God for the Punishment of Criminals.

The fourth Canon gives a Reason why more Women do Penance for Adultery than Men. Pope *Innocent* saith, That the Christian Religion punisheth this Sin equally both in Men and Women, but Wives not being able to accuse their Husbands of this Crime, the Bishop cannot pass Judgment upon secret Sins, whereas Husbands do more freely accuse their Wives, and discover them to the Priests.

The fifth excuses those who by their Office are obliged to demand the Death of a Criminal, or to condemn him.

The sixth ordaineth, that those should be put out of the Church, both Men and Women, that marry again after a Divorce; but this Penalty is not to extend to their Kindred and Allies, except they contributed to that forbidden Marriage.

The last Canon contains a Catalogue of the Sacred Books, comprehending all the Books, both of the Old and of the New Testament, which we now own for Canonical: He rejects the Acts published under the Names of *St. Matthias*, *St. James* the Less, *St. Peter* and *St. John*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Thomas*, and such like.

The fourth Letter, without Date, is directed to *Felix*, Bishop of *Nuceria*. Having commended that Bishop for asking his advice about some doubts; he tells him in the first Canon, that those are not to be admitted into Orders, who voluntarily have dismembred themselves. In the second, that it is forbidden to ordain such as have been married twice, or have married Widows. In the third, that those must not be ordained that have been Soldiers; that have pleaded at the Bar, or have born Offices at Court. In the fourth, that those of the Laity are to be chosen, who are Baptized, of approved Morals, who have spent their time with Clerks, or in Monasteries, and who have kept no Concupines. Lastly, in the sixth, he commands the Observation of the *Interstitia*; [i. e. the Times between every Ordination, upon any promotion from lesser to higher Orders,] that they ordain no Man a Reader, an Acolyth, a Deacon or a Priest of a sudden; that so having been long in the inferiour Degrees, his Behaviour and Conduct may be tried.

In the fifth Letter, directed to two Bishops of *Abruzzo*, he bids them depose the Priests that were accused of having had Children since their Ordination, if they be convicted of that Crime: He observes in the beginning, that a Bishop ought not to be ignorant of the Canons.

The sixth is to some Bishops of *Apulia*: He enjoyns one Bishop to be deposed, though he had done publick Penance:

He reproacheth them with allowing many things to be done in their Province contrary to the Canons, which *P. Innoc. I.* might easily have been corrected, if Bishops themselves were not Authors of such Disorders.

The seventh is directed to the Bishops of *Macedonia* about two Bishops, *Bubalius* and *Taurianus*, who had caused the Judgment that was given against them to be re-viewed again, and falsely boasted of having a Letter from Pope *Innocent*, written in their behalf.

In the eighth he exhorteth *Florentius*, Bishop of *Tivoli* to restore to his Brother Bishop a Parish which he had taken from him.

The ninth declareth, that a Man who married another Woman while his Wife was in captivity, ought to return to the former; because a second Marriage cannot be lawful, except the former Wife be Dead, or separated by Divorce.

The tenth is a Letter of Compliment to *Aurelius* and *St. Augustine*.

The eleventh to *Aurelius* is touching the determining of *Easter-Day* the following Year.

The twelfth directed to the same, is upon the Choice which they should make of Bishops; he will have them to be chosen from the Clergy, and not from the Laity.

The thirteenth is to *Juliana*, a Lady, whose Devotion he commendeth.

The fourteenth to *Bonifacius*, and those that follow, were written *Anno 413*, after *Alexander*, Bishop of *Antioch*, had inserted again the Name of *St. Chrysostom* into the Diptychs. *Innocent* writeth to *Bonifacius*, that he had admitted that Bishop to his Communion, upon condition that he should not disturb those that were ordained by *Evagrius*, and that he should put *St. Chrysostom's* Name among those Bishops whose Memory was celebrated.

The fifteenth is directed to *Alexander*, Bishop of *Antioch*; wherein he congratulates their Reconciliation.

In the sixteenth to *Maximianus*, he saith, that he had not yet communicated with *Atticus* of *Constantinople*, because he had not performed the Conditions, without which there could be no Peace.

The seventeenth subscribed by twenty *Italian* Bishops, is directed to the same *Evagrius*, whom he commendeth for re-uniting the remainders of *Paulinus* and *Evagrius's* Party.

The eighteenth to the same, consists of three Canons; in the first, he extolleth the Dignity of the Church of *Antioch*, that he may magnifie that of *Rome* the more; saying, that according to the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, which gives the Sense of all the Bishops in the World, the Church of *Antioch* had Jurisdiction over a whole Diocesis; that this Authority was not granted to it, because of the greatness of the City of *Antioch*, but because it hath been the first Seat of *St. Peter*; And that it deserveth that the most solemn Assembly of the Apostles should be made there: So that it had not given place to the Church of *Rome*; but only for this Reason, that the latter had the End and Consummation of that which the former had but an occasional Enjoyment of: and by reason of his Dignity, he tells the Bishop of *Antioch*, that as he ordaineth the *Metropolitans* by an Authority peculiar to him, he ought not to suffer that other Bishops should be ordained without his Leave and Consent, by writing to the Bishops that are afar off, and causing them that are near to come to him for Ordination.

In the second Canon he saith, that two Bishops are not to be made *Metropolitans*, when Towns are newly erected into *Metropoles*, at the same time upon the dividing of a Province into two by the Emperor. He speaketh afterwards against the Custom of the Bishops of the Isle of *Cyprus*, who Ordained Bishops without consulting with the Bishop of *Antioch*.

In the last he affirms, that the *Arians* returning to the Church are to be admitted with Imposition of Hands; but their Clergy are not permitted to continue in the Ministry of the Church.

The nineteenth, directed to *Acacius* of *Berea*, is upon the Reconciliation with *Alexander* of *Antioch*.

In the twentieth, he writes to *Lucianus*, Bishop of *Sigini*, to stop some Meetings of the *Photinians* in his Diocesis.

The twenty-first, directed to *Martinianus*, a Bishop in *Macedonia*, is written from *Ravenna*, he writeth to that Bishop, that he should not refuse his Communion to some Clerks, who were ordained by *Bonofus*, but had abjured his Error. He saith, that he had already written a Letter to *Rufus*, and other Bishops of *Macedonia*; wherein he gave his Judgment, that they were to be received to the Communion, and left in Possession of their Churches.

This Letter is probably, the two and twentieth, which consequently ought to be set before the foregoing; it beareth date from the Year 414, and is directed to *Rufus* and other Bishops of *Macedonia*. He tells them in the beginning, that he was much surprized by a Letter directed to the See of *Rome*, as the chiefest of all Churches, because they consulted him about things that had no difficulty; and concerning which, he had plainly declared his Opinion. One of those things is the Ordination of such as had married Widows. Pope *Innocent* saith, that there is no Dispute that

P. Innoc. I. that they should not be ordained; and affirms, that it was the Practice of all both the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches; Nay, he would have those to be degraded, who were found to be in Orders. The second is concerning those, who having lost a former Wife, being yet unbaptized, had married a second after Baptism. Some were of opinion, that this kind of Bigamy did not hinder them from being admitted into the sacred Orders. Pope *Innocent* alledgeth several Reasons to prove that such a Practice is not to be followed.

The third Rule is touching the Ordinations by Hereticks. Pope *Innocent* scruples not to alledge the same passages, and the same expressions, used by *St. Cyprian*, to prove the invalidity of their Baptism, to shew the nullity of their Ordination: For he saith, that as many as are thus ordained, having their Heads wounded with the Imposition of Heretical Hands, had Need of Penance for their Remedy; and that such as need Penance, ought not to be ordained: That Hereticks having not true Orders, cannot confer Orders: That they cannot make those on whom they lay their Hands, Partakers of any thing but of the Condemnation that themselves are subject to. After this Observation, he refutes the false Principle of such as believed, that a lawful Bishop's Ordination remitted all Sins. He saith that the Custom of his Church was to grant Lay-communion, after a single Imposition of Hands, to those who, having been baptized by Hereticks, desired to enter into the Church; but that those were obliged to do Penance, who returned to the bosom of the Church, after they had quitted it, to enter into a Sect of Hereticks. He blameth those who not only do not put them under Penance, but also suffer them to continue in their Ministry.

Afterwards he frames some Objections against this Rule. The first is the Law made by *Anisius*, concerning those whom *Bonofus* ordained; whereby he permitted, that they should be received into the Church with their Orders. Pope *Innocent* answers, that this Example is of no consequence, because they made use of this Condescension in favour of those that were ordained by *Bonofus*, to prevent several Bishops from persisting to follow his Party. That this particular Exigency of the Church obliged them to transgress the Rules; but when the necessity ceaseth, they ought to return to the Law.

The second Objection is grounded upon the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which permits the receiving of the *Novatians*. Pope *Innocent* saith, that this Canon relates to the *Novatians* only, and is not to be extended to other Hereticks. He adds, that in this Canon the business is about Baptism; and that the Council ordains that the *Paulianists* should be re-baptized, because they baptized not in the Name of the Holy Trinity; whereas the *Novatians* baptized as the *Catholics* did, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And lastly, he declareth that this Rule concerneth those that were baptized by Hereticks; but as to those who were baptized in the Church, and embraced an Heretical Sect, if they recover from their Apostasy, they ought undoubtedly to be put to publick Penance; and having done Penance, they can never come into the Clergy. Whence he concludes, that those who left the Church after *Bonofus* was condemned, to joyn with him, and received Orders from Hereticks, are not to keep their Dignity, nor to be ordained, when they return again to the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth the *Macedonian* Bishops to reform that abuse; telling them that they ought not to allow that in time of Peace, which necessity commanded to be done in time of Trouble; that it often happens that a Fault remains unpunished, because a whole People is guilty of it. Upon such occasions, what is past must be left to God's Judgment, and care must be taken to prevent the like disorders for the time to come. All this is a continuation of the same third Canon, though it be divided into four.

The Last Canon is concerning a Bishop, one *Photinus*, who had been condemned by the See of *Rome*, with too much rigour. Pope *Innocent* approves of the Admonition of the *Macedonian* Bishops; but saith, that the See of *Rome* was mis-informed and deceived by the Calumnies of his Enemies. He owns him for a Bishop, and commends the others for informing him better, and desireth them to shew kindness to a Deacon called *Eustathius*.

The twenty-third Letter is directed to the *Spanish* Bishops, that were assembled in Council at *Toledo*. It is about particular affairs of the Churches in that Kingdom. The first Canon takes notice of a kind of Schism among the Bishops of *Batona*, and of other *Spanish* Provinces, who had given the Communion to those of *Gallicia*, Pope *Innocent* proves that *Lucifer's* severity was not to be imitated, in refusing to admit converted Hereticks; but, on the contrary that all possible Means should be used to cause them to return into the bosom of the Church.

The second is against two Bishops who ventured to ordain out of their Dioceses.

The third Canon is concerning one Bishop *John*, who by his Deputies had approved the Condemnation of *Symphosius* and *Diocletianus*. Pope *Innocent's* Opinion is, that his case

ought to be examined, as well as that of others, to know whether he had acted with Sincerity.

In the fourth he speaks of irregular Ordinations practised in *Spain*, contrary to the Canons: He says, that they are to many, that it were impossible to apply a Remedy; and so he thinks it convenient to leave what is past to God's Judgment: But for the future to establish a Rule, that whosoever shall Ordain contrary to the Canons, shall be deprived of the Sacerdotal Dignity, together with those that received Orders.

The fifth is concerning a Business of *Patruinus*, Bishop of *Merida*, which, he saith, ought to be examined, and those punished that complain of his Ordination; if they had unjustly accused him.

The sixth containeth Rules to be observed in the Choice of fit Persons to be Ordained.

To understand well the three following Letters of Pope *Innocent*; it is to be noted, that the Bishops of *Africa* and *Numidia* having condemned both *Pelagius* and *Caelestius* in the Councils of *Carthage* and *Numidia*, assembled in the Year 416, wrote to Pope *Innocent*, to give him an Account of the Sentence which they pronounced against both those Hereticks, and their Doctrine, that so they might add to their Judgment the Authority of the See of *Rome*; and so to much the rather, because *Caelestius* had thought fit to appeal, and it was reported that Pope *Innocent* countenanced them. And for this Reason *Aurelius* and four more of the principal Bishops wrote another familiar Letter to him concerning some disadvantageous Reports that had been raised against him about that Business.

In the three following Letters, Pope *Innocent* answereth the other three that were brought to *Rome* by Bishop *Julian*; these are dated the 27th. of January, 417.

The first is directed to *Aurelius* and the Bishops in the Council of *Carthage*. He commends them at the first for their Courage in condemning Error, and for their Respect to the See of *Rome*, in consulting with it about what they had decided. From which he takes occasion to exalt the Authority of the See of *Rome*; affirming, that it is of Divine Right to have its Opinion in Ecclesiastical Matters, before any thing be determined in the Provinces concerning them. It is probable that the *African* Bishops did not own that Right, since they had definitively judged the Case of *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*, before they acquainted him with it; and they did not write to him as a Judge, that might disannul what they had done, but only to get his Approbation of their Decision, as a thing which he could not refuse to do without being suspected of Heresie. And indeed this Pope who was supposed to favour *Caelestius*, having known his Errors could not forbear declaring against them; and commending the *African* Bishops, who had condemned their Authors. He subscribes to their Judgment, and proves by several Reasons the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. The first is taken from Prayer, which supposeth that we owe to God's Help, and not to our Free-will, the Good that we do. He says, that Man being fallen by the Abuse of his Free-will, must be raised again by the Grace of Jesus Christ. That our Saviour not only delivered him from Sins past, but that knowing his weakness, he also prepared him Helps and Remedies to preserve him for the future; and that we must of necessity be overcome, if we be not succoured by him, who alone can make us Conquerors. *Necesse est, ut quo auxiliante vincimus, eo iterum non adjuvante, vincamus.* By which Principles he condemneth all those who affirm that there is no Need of God's Grace to do Good, and judgeth them unworthy of the Church's Communion: He saith, that refusing to others God's Succour, they are bereaved of it themselves, and ought to be cut off from the Church as rotten Members. He saith further, that if they acknowledge their Error, and admit of God's Grace, being sincerely converted, it is the Bishop's Duty to help them, and not to deny them the Grace which the Church grants to those that are fallen, by admitting them to the Communion of the Church.

He speaks much to the same purpose in that Letter which follows, directed to *Silvanus Valentinus*, and other Bishops, who had been present at the Council of *Milevis*. He seems to restrain that Maxim which he established, of referring all Church-affairs to the See of *Rome* only to Matters of Faith: *Præsertim quoties fidei ratio ventilatur.* He refutes particularly the *Pelagian* Error concerning Children dying before Baptism, whom they pretended to have a share of Eternal Life.

The Third Letter of *Innocent* upon that Subject is his Answer to the five Bishops, who writ to him, upon the Suspicion of his Siding with *Pelagius*. He tells them, that by his two former Letters he sufficiently discovered his Opinion concerning the Doctrine of that Heretick; that as to his Person, he had received certain Acts, by which it appeared, that he had been heard and absolved since the Council; but that he did not believe them, because it was plain from the Acts themselves, that he had not clearly abjured his Errors: He concludes with assuring them, that he had read *Pelagius* his Book which they sent him, and that he had found it to be full of Blasphemies; that he met with nothing

thing in it that pleased him, or rather that he met with no-
P. Innoc. I. thing there that did not displease him.

With this Letter there was a short Letter directed to *Aurelius*, but there is nothing remarkable in it.

These Letters should be put last, being written but a little before the Death of *P. Innocent*, which was upon the 12th. of *March* of the same Year, and long after those that follow about the business of *St. Chrysostom*, written in 404.

The twenty-eighth is a Letter of Consolation to *St. Chrysostom*, soon after his Banishment.

The twenty-ninth is directed both to his Clergy and People upon the same Subject. The Thirty-first to *Theophilus*, which is in Greek in *Palladius*, is the first of the Three. In the same Author there is another directed likewise to *Theophilus*.

The thirtieth Letter to the Emperor *Arcadius*, as well as the pretended Answers of that Emperor to *Innocent*, and to his Brother *Honorius*, are spurious, grounded upon the

In the Year 404.

A Letter to Victorius, Bishop of Rouen, February 15. which is the II.
A Letter to Theophilus XXXI.
A Letter to St. John Chrysostom XXVIII.
A Letter to the People of Constantinople XXIX.

In the Year 405.

A Letter to Exuperius, Bishop of Tholouse, February 20. III.

In the Year 413.

A Letter to Boniface XIV.
A Letter to Alexander XV.
A Letter to Maximian XVI.
A Letter to Alexander XVII.
A Letter to Acacius of Beroa XIX.
A Letter to Alexander XVIII.

In the Year 414.

A Letter to the Bishops of Macedonia, December 13. XXII.
A Letter to Marcian XXI.

Fable of *Arcadius* and *Eudoxia's* Excommunication. He that forged them, supposeth, that this Empress out-lived *St. Chrysostom*; but it is certain from *Eunapius*, who is quoted by *Photius*, Vol. 77. of his *Bibliotheca*, that she died soon after *St. Chrysostom's* Banishment, and three Years before his Death.

The 32d. 33d. and 34th. Letters of *P. Innocent*, are written about the Persecutions exercised by *John of Jerusalem* against *St. Jerome*.

This Pope was skilful in the Ecclesiastical Laws: He often speaketh in commendation of the *Nicene* Canons: He was very zealous for the Grandeur of the *Roman* Church, and insisted much upon her Rights and Privileges. He writes indifferently well, and he giveth such an Air to his Notions and Reasonings as recommends them, though they have not always that solidity and exactness that might be expected. The Chronological Order of his Letters, which ought to have been observed in the Printing of them, is as follows:

In the Year 416.

A Letter to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, March 17. I.
A Letter to Aurelius, June 1. XII.
A Letter to John of Jerusalem XXXII.
A Letter to St. Jerome XXXIII.
A Letter to Aurelius XXXIV.
A Letter to a Council at Toledo XXIII.

In the Year 417. Jan. 27.

A Letter to the Council of Carthage XXIV.
A Letter to the Council of Milevis XXV.
A Letter to five Bishops XXVI.
A Letter to Aurelius XXVII.

LETTERS without Date, the Time whereof is not known.

A Letter to the Bishop of Nuceria IV.
A Letter to Maximus and Severus, Bishops of Abruzzo V.
A Letter to Innocent, Agapetus, Macedonius and Marianus, Bishops of Apulia VI.
A Letter to Rufus, Gerontius, &c. Bishops of Macedonia VII.
A Letter to Florentius, Bishop of Tivoli VIII.
A Letter to Probus IX.
A Letter to Aurelius and to St. Austin X.
A Letter to Juliana XIII.
A Letter to Laurentius XX.
A Supposititious Letter to Arcadius XXX.

Saint JEROME.

St. Jerome. **S**aint *Jerome* was born in the Town of *Strigonium* (a), Situated upon the Borders of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*. He came into the World about the 345 Year of *Jesus Christ* (b).

(a) **T**HE Town of *Strigonium*.] This Town is called *Strigonium* by *Ptolemy*; some confound it with *Serigonium* in *Isria*, others will have it to be different.

(b) **A**bout the 345 of *Jesus Christ*.] The Chronology of *St. Jerome's* Life is much disputed; Some say, that he was born under the Empire of *Constantine*; according to some, in the 25th. Year of that Emperor's Reign; and according to others in the 31st. that is, in the 331, or in 337. *Prosper* observes in his *Chronicon*, that he died when *Theodosius* was the Ninth time Consul, and *Constantius* the Third, which is in the Year 420; and that he lived 91 Years. If this be so, the Year of his Nativity should be 329. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Sigebert*, *Bede*, and the Writers of the Martyrologies, give him 98 years; which would set the time of his birth yet seven years higher, if we depend upon *Prosper's* Epocha for the time of his Death. *Baronius*, on the contrary computes that he lived but 78 Years; so that if *St. Jerome* dy'd in 420, he was born, according to that Author, in 342. Lastly, others affirm, that he was born in 348, or 350; and that he dy'd in 427. All that can be done in this diversity of Opinions is to find out those which agree best with what *St. Jerome* hath written of himself, and with the Circumstances of his Life. He saith in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk*, Chap. 3. That he was a Child, a Student in Grammar, when *Julian* the Emperor was killed. Being, saith he, yet a Boy, *PUER*, and in *Grammatical Exercises*, at the time that all the Cities of the World were polluted with the Blood of Victims; in the greatest heat of Persecution, on a sudden came the News of *Julian's* Death. This expression, *Dum adhuc essem puer*, might intimate that *St. Jerome* was then but 10 or 12 Years old, if *St. Jerome* did not often use the same word to signify an older Age; for in the Apology to *Pammachius*, he hath the same word when he speaks of his Age when he was at *Rome*. *Dum essem puer Romæ, & liberalibus studiis erudirer, &c.* Now it is certain that he was then above 12 Years of Age. In a Letter to *Nepotian*, speaking of the time of his retiring, he saith that he was then *adolescens, imo penè puer*. And yet he was then 30 Years old at the least. In the 15th. Chapter of his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, making mention of the Earthquake that happened under the Consulship of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, anno 365, he saith that he was a Boy, and yet he must be then above 24 Years old. Lastly, In his Preface to the Com-

mentary upon *Obadiah*, he saith, that he had formerly made a Commentary upon that Prophet, being yet a Child: *Quid igitur condemnamus, in quibus pueri lusimus?* *Baronius* affirms, that *St. Jerome* saith in the same place, that he was 30 Years old when he writ his first Commentary upon *Obadiah*, and that 30 other Years were gone since: If it is certainly so, there could be no difficulty to fix the Epocha of *St. Jerome's* Nativity; but he doth not say positively that he was 30 Years old, when he made the first Commentary. It is certain that *St. Jerome* was ordained Priest by *Paulinus* before the Peace was concluded with *Meletius*, and consequently before the Year 378; but he could not be then less than 30 Years of Age. When he came to *Rome*, three Years before the Death of Pope *Damasus*, in 382, he must have been 40 Years old at least. In 382, he must have been 40 Years old at least. In 392 he composed his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, and he must needs have been then above 50. He began to grow in years, when he had some differences with *St. Augustine*; and he treated that Saint, who was born in 355, as a person much younger than himself. All these things give us Reason to believe, that *St. Jerome* was born in the Year 340, or 342; That he compleated his Studies at *Rome* in the 25th. Year of his Age, or thereabouts, towards the Year 365; That he went into the Solitudes of *Syria* at 30, in 370, or 371; that he was ordained Priest at 35, in 375; that he came to *Rome* in 382, and went from thence in 385; that he retired to *Bethlehem* in 386, or 387; that he composed his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers in 392, where he mentioneth the Books that he had wrote before; that he writ Letters and Treatises after the taking of *Rome*, in the Year 412; that he died about 420, Aged 78, or 80 Years.

(c) **H**is Father *Eusebius*. He was of a good Family, and sufficiently rich. *St. Jerome* says, that he had a great Family. The Name of his Mother is not known. His Aunt by the Mother's side was call *Castorina*. *St. Jerome* wrote to her the 36 Letter. He had a Sister that vowed Virginity, and a Brother much younger than himself, called *Paulinianus*.

(d) **T**he first Principles of Languages, &c.] He gives this Account of his first Studies, in his Apology against *Rufinus*. *Memini me puerum cursitasse per cellulas Servulorum, dum seriatim duxisset lusibus, & ad Orbilius severientem de avia sinu tractum esse captivum.*

(c) The

where he had for his Tutor the famous *Donatus* (e), under whom he made a wonderful Progress in Philological Learning (f). But that he might make himself yet more perfect, having been baptized at *Rome* (g), he resolved to go into *Gaul*, where were at that time many able Men, who made Learning flourish. Having performed that Journey with *Bonofus* his ancient Companion (h), and collected all the curious things he could meet with in *Gaul*, he returned to *Rome*, where he raised a very fine Library, designing to spend the rest of his Life in Studies and Retirement: But finding that neither *Rome*, nor his Native Country were fit Habitations for such as intended to lead that sort of Life, he resolved to withdraw into a far Country, and so leaving his Country, his Kindred and Estate, carrying only his Library, with a Sum of Money to bear the Charges of his Journey, he departed from *Italy* with *Heliodorus* (i), *Evagrius*, *Innocent*, and *Hylas* to go to the *East*. *Evagrius* left him at *Antioch*, but *Heliodorus*, *Innocent*, and *Hylas* accompanied him to the place of his Retirement. He went first to *Jerusalem*, and there staid some time, afterwards he went thro' the Provinces of the lesser *Asia*; and, Lastly, having tarried some time at *Antioch*, he went into the dismal Solitudes of *Syria*, that were uninhabited, unless it were with a few Monks. He spent there four Years in Study, and Exercises of Piety: He learned the Rudiments of the Hebrew Tongue, and began to write Commentaries upon the Scripture. *Heliodorus* soon left him, *Innocent* and *Hylas* died in that Desert, and himself was taken very Sick, and being forced at last to quit it, he returned to *Antioch*. That Church was then divided by the Factions of *Meletius*, *Paulinus* and *Vitalis*, who all assumed the Title of Bishop of that City. *St. Jerome* made no difficulty what side to take. His Baptism made him a Son of the Church of *Rome*, and so he was obliged to own him, whom that Church acknowledged for lawful Bishop of *Antioch*. Having therefore written upon that Subject to *Damasus*, who was then Bishop of *Rome*, and having received an Answer in favour of *Paulinus*, he embraced his party, and was ordained Priest by him, but upon condition that he should not quit that kind of Life which he had embraced, nor be obliged to perform any of the Functions of his Ministry (k): This Ordination was about the Year 375. before the Peace was concluded betwixt *Meletius* and *Paulinus* in 378. *St. Jerome* might be about 35 Years old at that time. As he would not enter into Orders, but upon condition not to be compelled to exercise the Functions of his Ministry, so he did not think himself obliged to have his Name registred, nor to reside in the Church of *Antioch*; he left it therefore to go to *Bethlehem*, which he chose for his constant Habitation. Yet he did not stay there long, but went to *Constantinople*, where he conversed with *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, whom he calls his Master, and of whom he professes to have learned to expound the Holy Scripture. Having tarried some time with this Saint, he had a Call to *Rome* about the Affairs of the Church, with *Paulinus* and *St. Epiphanius* (l), whose interest he had espoused against those of the *East*; this Journey was in all probability undertaken after the Death of *Meletius* in the Year 382. *Damasus* taking notice of *St. Jerome's* merit, kept him with him, that he might have a Man that was able to answer all Questions proposed from all parts. *St. Jerome* did not only discharge the parts of that

difficult Employment most worthily, but composed several Books besides. He was likewise charged with the conduct of the most considerable Ladies of the Town (m), by which means he got many Friends and much credit. But as he severely reprov'd the Mis-demeanors of the Clergy, and the Vices of the People, so he got many Enemies, who endeavoured to render his Behaviour suspected. After *Damasus* his Death, *St. Jerome* who this whole three Years that he was at *Rome*, longed for his Solitude, took Shipping in August, 385. to go back to *Bethlehem*, with a great many Persons that accompanied him. He passed thro' *Cyprus*, where he saw *St. Epiphanius*; from thence he went to *Antioch*, where *Paulinus* received him courteously; and from *Antioch* he went to *Jerusalem*, and then into *Egypt*, where he staid some time with *Didymus*. Afterwards he visited the Monasteries of *Nitria*, and finding the Monks there adhering to *Origen's* Opinions, he returned to *Bethlehem*, whither the Ladies *Paula*, *Eustochium*, and *Melania* came soon after. He continued some time in that place in a little Cell. But the number of those that embraced that kind of Life being increased, *Paula* built there a Church and four Monasteries, one for Men, and three for Women. *St. Jerome* then enjoying perfectly that Quietness which he so much desired, continued his Labours, and there composed the greatest part of his Works upon the Scripture. His rest was somewhat disturbed by the Quarrels which he had with *Rufinus*, and with *John of Jerusalem*, upon the Account of *Origenism*; yet he went on with writing, and defended himself with a great deal of Vigour. He died very old in the Year of Christ, 420.

This Saint wrote great numbers of Books, full of profound Learning, and written with great Purity and Eloquence. In our Accounts, and Abridgments, we shall follow *Marianus Victorinus's* Order, that he uses in the Edition which he published of *St. Jerome's* Works.

The first Volume contains the Letters which *St. Jerome* writ, either to exhort his Friends to Vertue, or to instruct them, or to commend them in *Panegyrics*, or funeral Oration.

The first, directed to *Heliodorus*, was written by *St. Jerome* from his Solitude, some time after this Friend left him to return into his own Country. He exhorts him to come back again, by representing the great Advantages of a retired Life, with great Force and Fineness, and by answering all the Reasons that might keep him from embracing it with abundance of Art. This Treatise is a Master-piece of Eloquence in its kind; nothing can be more florid, more agreeable, or more moving. 'This Letter, saith he, whereof you will find some lines blotted with my Tears, will put you in mind of the Tears I shed, and of the Groans I uttered at your going from me. You then endeavoured by your Caresses, to sweeten the contempt that you cast upon my Intreaties.... I was not able to stop you at that time, and now I seek after you now you are absent... No, I will use no more Intreaties, I will employ no more Caresses: Love that feels it self offended ought to turn into Anger: You who regarded not my Supplications, will perhaps hearken to my Reproaches. Nice Soldier, what are you doing in your Fathers house? ... Remember that day wherein by Baptism you listed

(e) The famous *Donatus*.] He that writ Commentaries upon *Virgil* and *Terence*, as *St. Jerome* assures us, in the first Book against *Rufinus*, where he calleth *Donatus* his Tutor, as well as in his *Chronicon*.

(f) A wonderful Progress in Philological Learning.] He learned the Latin and the Greek Tongues perfectly, and got an exact knowledge of profane Authors: He exercised himself in publick pleadings and frequented the Bar, as he confesseth in the second Chapter of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*.

(g) Having been baptized at *Rome*.] He says so positively in two Letters to *Damasus*, which are the 57th, and 58th, where he observes, that he took the Robe of Christianity in the City of *Rome*.

(h) With *Bonofus* his ancient Companion.] *St. Jerome* saith in his Letter to *Rufinus*, that they had been bred together, had studied together, and that they went together to *Rome*, and travelled together into *Gaul*; but he followed not *St. Jerome* in his Journey into *Syria*, but retired into a Desert Island of *Dalmatia*.

(i) He departed from *Italy* with *Heliodorus*.] He would not continue in his Native Country for several Reasons, but particularly, because of the disorderly Behaviour of *Lupicinus* the Bishop; nor at *Rome*, by reason of the tumult of that great City, that disturbed his rest.

(k) He was ordained Priest by *Paulinus*, but upon condition that he should not quit that kind of life, which he had embraced, nor be obliged to perform any of the Functions, &c.] He says in his Apology to *Pammachius*, that he told *Paulinus*, *Si sic Presbyterum tribuis, ut Monachum nobis non auferas, tu videris de judicio tuo*. *St. Epiphanius* writing to *John of Antioch*, says that *St. Jerome* and *Vincentius*, two Priests would perform no Functions of their Ministry, refusing so much as to offer the Sacri-

fice. *Cum sancti Presbyteri Hieronymus & Vincentius propter verecundiam & humilitatem, nollent debita nomini suo exercere Sacrosanctia, & laborare in hac parte Ministerii, qua Christianorum precipua salus est.*

(l) He was called to *Rome* with *Paulinus* and *St. Epiphanius*.] He says to himself in his 16th, and 27th Epistles. He came thither in the 382, and went away three years after, as he observes in the Letter to *Asella*; he speaks in the 11th Letter, and in his Apology to *Pammachius* of the Letters, and Answers which he writ in *Damasus's* Name.

(m) He was charged likewise with the conduct of the most considerable Ladies of the Town.] These Ladies are become famous by *St. Jerome's* Writings; their Names are *Martella*, who being left a young Widow, and having been but seven Months with an Husband, refused to Marry a Man of the first quality called *Cerealis*, to continue in Widow-hood. Her Mother *Albina*, who came also to hear *St. Jerome*. *Melania* is not less famous by the Praises of *St. Jerome*, than by those of *Rufinus*. *Asella*, *Martellina*, and *Felicitas*, are also of the number of those whom he commended: but his greatest affection appeared to be for *Paula* and her Daughters, *Blesilla*, *Eustochium*, *Paulina*, *Ruffina*, and *Toxotium*. This is what he saith himself in his Letter to *Asella*, of the Esteem, which he had gotten among the Women. I have, saith he, dwelt three Years at *Rome*, I was often encompassed with great numbers of Virgins and Women, I often expounded the holy Scripture to them, this reading made them constant, and their Assiduity begot a kind of Familiarity, upon which an ill Opinion was conceived of me, and yet he was not able to prevent wholly evil speaking. The Clergy of that City, whose manners he reprov'd, found fault with his Carriage, accused him of too much Familiarity with *Paula*, and they suborned a Footman to tax him with disorder; but the Fellow being imprisoned, and put to the Rack, disowned all that he had said before.

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your self a Soldier of Christ, then you took an Oath of Fidelity to him, that you would spare neither Father nor Mother for his Service. . . . Tho' your little Nephew should hang about your Neck, tho' your Mother should tear her hair, and rend her clothes to show you that Bottom that carried you, to oblige you to stay; and tho' your Father should lie down upon the Threshold of the Door to stop you, step over your Father, and follow the Standard of the Cross with dry Eyes: It is great mercy to be cruel on such occasions. I know you will tell me, we have not an Heart of Stone, nor Bowels of Iron. . . . The Love of God, and the fear of Hell break all Chains. The Scripture, you will say, commands us to obey our Parents: Yes, but whosoever loveth them more than Christ, loseth his own Soul. But this, you will say, is to be understood, when they persecute us to make us deny Christ. You are mistaken, Brother, if you suppose that a Christian can be without Persecution: He is then most violently assaulted, when he thinks himself most secure. Satan our Enemy is always like a Lyon seeking to devour us; . . . On the one side Pleasures court us, on the other Covetousness torments us. . . . You are not allowed to enjoy your own Estate, you must renounce all for Jesus Christ. If you will be Heir to the Goods of this World, you cannot be Co-heir with Jesus Christ. Do you know the meaning of the Word *Monk*? Why do you remain in the World, you that ought to be alone? . . . But what! you will answer me then, are all those that live in Cities no Christians? You are not in the same condition with others. Hear the Words directed unto you by our Saviour; *If you will be perfect, sell all that you have, give it to the poor, and come and follow me.* Have you vowed perfection? A perfect Servant should have nothing but Jesus Christ. So that if you be desirous of this World's Goods, you are no longer in that State of perfection which you have embraced. Perhaps you will alledge the Example of those Church-men who live in Cities; shall I find fault with their Resolutions? God forbid, that I should speak evil of those that succeed the Apostles, who consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ with their Sacred Mouths, who make us Christians, and who holding the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven in their hands, judge, if I may so say, before the day of Judgment, and are the Guardians of the Virginity of the Spouses of Christ. It is not with Monks as with Secular Church-men: These feed the Sheep of Christ, and we receive from them the spiritual Food: they live of the Altar, and we should be guilty if we did not bring our Offerings to the Altar. I am not permitted to sit down before a Priest, and if I sin he may deliver me to Satan; if you are solicited to take Orders, I shall rejoyce with you for your Exaltation, but shall fear a Fall . . . for as he who worthily discharges his Ministry, acquires a degree of perfection; so he on the contrary that comes to the Altar unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ. All Bishops are not Bishops. If the Example of St. Peter comforts you, let that of Judas terrifie you. If you admire Stephen's Sanctuary, let the Fall of Nicholas fright you. It is not the Ecclesiastical Dignity that makes good Christians. . . . It is not easie for all Men to have St. Paul's Graces, nor St. Peter's Holiness, who now are reigning with Christ. If a Monk falls, a Priest may pray for him, but who shall pray for the Fall of a Priest? St. Jerome having thus far prosecuted his reasonings, endeth with these Acclamations. 'Imitating, *saith he*, those Pilots, who happily steered their Ship between Rocks and Banks of Sand! O Wilderness, *he cries* out, always covered with the flowers of Jesus Christ! O Solitude, where the stones that were made use of to build the City of the great King, spoken of in the Revelations, are to be found! O happy Retirement, where Men may have familiar conversation with God! What do you do, Brother, in the World? how long will you dwell under the shadow of Houses? till what time will you be in the Prison of smoking Cities? what are you afraid of in these solitary places? Is it Poverty? but Jesus Christ calleth the poor happy. Do's Labour astonish you? Can he that strives in the pulick Exercises be crowned before he has fought; Do you think of your Diet? a lively Faith fears not Hunger. Do you dread lying upon the naked ground, with your Bodies worn out with Fasting? Remember that Jesus Christ rests there along with you. Are you scared with the extent of this hideous Solitude? Paradise is open to you. These are some of the Arguments which St. Jerome uses to perswade *Heli-dorus* to return to his Retirement.

The Second Letter to *Nepotian Heli-dorus* his Nephew was composed by St. Jerome long after the First, as he says himself at the beginning. 'Being, *saith he*, yet young, when I struggled with the first motions of Youth, by the Austerities of Solitude; I writ to *Heli-dorus* your Uncle a Letter of Exhortation, full of Complaints and Tears, to show how sorry I was for the absence of my Friend. I plaid then suitably to my Age, and used all the Flowers of Rhetorick with which my self at that time was full.

But now I am Old, and my Forehead is full of wrinkles, and my Chin covered with a white Beard, I can no longer do what I could do then.' And yet, he discourses here after a manner youthful enough, producing several Examples taken out of Ecclesiastical and Prophane History, to shew that Old Men have not the same heat nor vigour that young Men have. He addeth, 'Expect not therefore from me youthful Declamations, florid Sentences, sweet Words, poignant or acute Expressions at the end of my Periods, to draw the applause of those that hear us; I beg of God only the lights of his Wisdom. . . . Harken then, as St. *Cyprian* saith to a Discourse that hath more Strength than Sweetness; Harken to him that is your Colleague, and your Father by his Age. . . . I know that your holy Uncle *Heli-dorus*, who is now a Minister of Jesus Christ, has taught and do's teach you Holiness, and that his Life is an Example of Vertue to you: But take from me besides these small Directions, and joining this Treatise to that which I writ before to your Uncle, learn of this how to be a perfect Church-man, as the former may instruct you, how to be a good Monk. These are the main Precepts which St. Jerome giveth to a Church-man in this excellent Letter. 'A Clerk, *saith he*, that serveth the Church of Jesus Christ ought to begin with the knowledge of what his Name signifies; and then labour to be what is signified by it. The Greek Word *κλῆρ* signifieth a Lot or a Portion: Therefore the Name Clerk is given to Church-men, either because they are consecrated to the Lord, or because the Lord is their Portion, but whosoever belongeth to the Lord, or hath the Lord to his Portion, ought to live as one that possesseth the Lord, and in whom the Lord dwelleth: he is to possess nothing but the Lord. . . . And so indeed, in serving at the Altar, I ought to live of the Altar: but ought to be content with what is necessary for Food and Raiment; and stript of all things, I ought only to follow the Cross. . . . I conjure you therefore, and I admonish you, let not Intrest make you enter into Christ's Service, neither heap up greater Riches in the Ecclesiastical State than you did when you were in the World, lest they say unto you: *Their lot will do them no Good.* We see some Men wealthier since they have been Monks, than they were before: Some Clerks have Riches while they serve poor Jesus Christ, which they had not while they served the rich Devil: so that the Church groans to see them rich in her Bosom, that were Beggars whilst they were in the World. You must let the Poor and Pilgrims at your Table, and Jesus Christ will be one of the Guests. Avoid those Clerks as a Plague who make Merchandise of the Church's Goods, who become rich and proud, tho' they were poor and contemptible enough before. . . . Let Women never come near your Houses, or at least but seldom; have no Familiarity with the Virgins consecrated to God, either be acquainted with none, or love them all equally: Dwell not in the same Houses with them. Trust not your past Chastity: you are neither holier than *David*, nor stronger than *Sampson*, nor wiser than *Solomon*. Visit not Women alone, speak not with them face to face: but avoid whatsoever may beget evil Suspicion. . . . This is a thing shameful for us. The Priests of false Deities, Comedians, Actors, and the basest of Men may be Legatees, only Clergy Men and Monks cannot, the Law forbids them; and the Law that was not made by Emperors who were Enemies to Religion, but by Christian Princes. Yet I complain not of this Law, but I am sorry that we deserv'd it. . . . The Law was enacted out of a prudent foresight, and yet it is not strong enough to suppress Covetousness. We elude the Law by Trustees. . . . The Glory of a Bishop is to give ease to the Misery of the Poor, and it is his greatest disgrace to apply himself to increase wealth.' St. Jerome describes here the Lewdness of some Clergy-men, and the Baseness of others to ingratiate themselves with rich Men, that they might make them their Heirs. He adds afterwards, That a Bishop ought to do what he preaches; that his mouth, his hands, and his mind are exactly to agree together. He recommends to Priests Submission to their Bishops, and that they should honour them as their Fathers. But at the same time he warneth Bishops, to remember that they are Priests and not Masters: *Sacerdotes se esse noverint, non Dominos*; And that they are to use Church-men as Church-men, if they themselves would be honoured as Bishops. He blames the Custom of some Churches where Priests were not permitted to speak before their Bishop. He would have a Preacher to excite the tears of his Auditors, rather than their applause. He says, that his Preaching ought to be neither Declamatory nor Satyrical, but that he ought to expound the Mysteries of our Religion, and the Morality of the Gospel, with Clearness and Gravity. Afterwards he goes to the manner how Church-men ought to be habited. No Clergy-men in his Opinion should affect either black or white Garments, but avoid Neatness and Slovenliness: the one is a Mark of Effeminateness, and the other is often the effect of a foolish Vanity. As to Alms-deeds, St. Jerome complains that in his

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time some Bishops and Ecclesiasticks distributed small Alms to the poor, to enrich themselves, by appropriating to themselves considerable Sums under the pretence of those Alms. He tells the Bishops that they ought to take special care whom they intrusted with the Dispensation of Alms. He reproves those who were very careful to see Churches well built, sumptuously adorned with Marble and Gold, and the Altars covered with precious stones; but took no care to make a good Choice of Ministers of Jesus Christ. He forbids Church-men, and particularly Bishops to make any Feasts for Lay-men, but recommends to them Sobriety. Yet he desires them not to proceed to Excess in their Fasts, but that such as they shall observe should be pure, chaste, modest, simple, and without Superstition. He laughs at those, who refusing to eat Oyl upon Fast-days, inquired after Dainties and Meats not ealie to be had; and that those, who forbearing to drink Water or to eat Bread, drank the Juice of pleasant Herbs. He declaims against those Ecclesiasticks, that affected to make a shew of their Mortifications and good Works, to get Glory to themselves. Lastly he recommends to Clergy-men Charity, Prudence, Discretion, and Modesty. He takes notice at the latter end, that he writes this Letter in his Retirement at Betlehem, Ten Years after the Book of *Virginity*, which he wrote at Rome. This shews that this Letter is of the Year 393.

Nepotian to whom this Letter was written, dying not long after, St. Jerome writ the third Letter to his Uncle Heliodorus, to comfort him for the Death of his Nephew, of whom he makes a *Panegyrick*. This Letter which is not less florid or less eloquent, is full of Historical Passages, collected with much Affectation: He produces the Examples of several Heathens who despised Death: and shews that it ought less to be feared by a Christian. That Heliodorus ought to be comforted, since Nepotian was in possession of eternal Happiness. Then he sets forth his Vertues, together with the Misfortunes and Miseries of this Life, whence he concludes, that we are to esteem those Happy, who are out of this World. There he makes an elegant Comparison, betwixt the power of Kings and Bishops. A King says he, commands Men that are obliged to obey whether they will or no; whereas the Bishop hath Dominion over those only that are willing to obey. The Prince brings Men under by Terror: The Bishop is bound to serve those that are under his Conduct. The former protects the Bodies which must die; but the latter takes care of Souls to give them eternal Life. All the Faithful have their Eyes upon their Bishop, as his Family and Conduct is observed by every Body, he is to be an example to the whole Church: and there is none but thinks he can do what he does.

Besides, there is in that Letter, an excellent Portraiture of the uncertainty of this Life, *We die daily* saith he, *We alter continually, and yet we are so foolish, that we live as if we were to abide eternally. The time I spend in dictating, writing, reading over again, and correcting, is so much time towards the shortning of my Life. The Stops, and Letters of my Amanuensis, are many Moments to lessen the Length of my Life; the only thing that turns to an account, is the love which we have for Jesus Christ. Charity never comes to an end, but lives for ever in the Heart, and by it our Brother Nepotian is still present with us after his Death; It is that which unites us, tho' we be separated by a vast space of Land or Sea.*

The fourth Letter is directed to one Rusticus a Western Monk, to whom St. Jerome gives Rules for that kind of Life, which he was to follow. It begins with this Sentence, *None is more happy than a Christian, seeing he hath a promise of the Kingdom of Heaven: None is to fight more, since he is in danger of his Life; none is stronger since he overcometh the Devil:* And then he exhorts Rusticus to persevere with Zeal in that profession which he had embraced. He enjoyns him to be respectful to his Mother, but not to be too much tyed to her, nor to hold any Conversation with other Women. He adviseth him to renounce all these things, and to withdraw from the World. He warneth him not lightly to take upon him Holy Orders; or to affect to be a Master before he had been a Disciple; and to chuse rather, to live in a Monastery; than to be an Hermit in a Solitude; and he represents the inconveniencies of that kind of Life: *Commonly, saith he, an Hermit becometh proud; he thinks himself to be some Body; and forgetteth what he is; he eats what he pleases, sleeps as much as he will, fears no Body, and you shall find him oftner in the Town, than in his Cell. Not, saith he, that I find fault with a solitary Life, which I have so often commended: but I would have these Soldiers come out of Monasteries where they have learned their Exercises, lest the severe beginning of Solitude should amaze them.* St. Jerome recommends to him afterwards the Vertues and Exercises of a right Monk, and particularly, Working with his Hands, Reading and Meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, Prayer, Obedience to Superiors; Chastity, Fasting, &c. He blames the Monks that live like Seculars, and observes, that they used to chuse Monks to make them Church-men. He tells Rusticus, That he ought not to begin to write early, but practise long before he undertook to teach. At the end of this Letter he praises two Bishops

of Gaul, Proculus Bishop of Marseilles, and Exuperius Bishop of Tholose; what he saith of the latter is very remarkable. *This Holy Bishop, saith he, imitates the Widow of Sarepta; he feeds others, and starves himself; his Face is pale with fasting; nothing but other Mens hunger troubles him; He has given all his Estate to the Poor, and yet there is none richer than he; He carries the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in an Oser Basket, and his precious Blood in a Glass Vessel; one may say, that he drove Covetousness out of the Temple of the Lord. Follow, saith he, to Rusticus, at the latter end of the Letter, the steps of this good Bishop, and of other Persons who imitate his Vertues, those Saints whom the Pastoral Dignity has made poorer and more humble. And if you desire to embrace a condition more perfect, get out of your Country, as Abraham did, leave your Kindred, and get you to an unknown place. If you have any Goods sell them, and distribute the price of them to the Poor. If you have none, you are discharged of a great Burthen. Strip your self of all things to follow Jesus Christ only. Nudum Christum nudus sequere. It is Hard, I confess, it is Great, and it is Difficult, but the recompence is Infinite.* He mentions in this Letter, that which he had written to Nepotian, and so this was written after the Year 393, perhaps in 394.

In the fifth to Florentius, who came to Jerusalem, he commends the Charity of that Holy Man: He sent him a Letter to be delivered to Rufinus, who was to go from Egypt to Jerusalem with Melania, where he speaks as much to the advantage of that Presbyter, as he spoke afterwards since to his Disparagement. *I would not, saith he, to Florentius, have you judge of me by his Vertues, you shall see in him the visible marks of Holiness, I am but dirt and ashes, and I think my self happy if my weak Eyes can but behold his Vertues; he is, pure and white as Snow, but I am all over covered with Sins.* St. Jerome writ this Letter from the Solitudes of Syria, about the Year 772.

Florentius having answered St. Jerome, this Saint wrote again a sixth Letter, to tell him, that having read his, he was tempted to go to Jerusalem, but he durst not quit his Solitude. He prays him to desire of Rufinus the Commentary upon the Canticles that was composed by Rheticius Bishop of Autun, that he might take a Copy of it; and to tell him that an Old Man one Paulus, desired the Copy of Tertullian which he had lent him: He intreats him likewise that he would cause some Books to be transcribed for him, which he had not, of which he sent him a Memorandum: and sent him St. Hilary's Commentary upon the Psalms, and his Book of Synods, which he himself had copied with his own hand at Triers: and in requital he professes to communicate to him the Books which he had in his own Library.

The seventh is directed to Leta Wife of Toxotius Paula's Son. This Lady had a young Daughter called Paula, whom her Grand-mother designed for a Religious Life. St. Jerome writes this Letter to the Mother of this little Girl, to teach her how she should breed her up, and exhorts her to send her as soon as she could to his Monastery at Betlehem. Her Grand-father was a Priest of Jupiter, but the rest of the Family were Christians. This made St. Jerome say pleasantly, that it was a surprizing thing that this Old Man should make much of a Girl that Sung the Praises of Jesus Christ, and be compassed about with a Family of Christians; which gave him hopes that he would be converted: *For, saith he pleasantly, I fancies that Jupiter himself might have believed in Jesus Christ, had he had such a Family as yours; what he says afterwards is more serious. Though he laughs at my Letter, and calls me Fool and Senseless, yet I despair not of his Conversion, his Son-in-Law did the same before he embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ. No Man is born a Christian, but becomes one afterwards. . . . It is never too late to be converted.*

It will not be thought amiss, that I should set down here some of those Precepts which St. Jerome gives for the Education of a young Woman, to shew that it is no new thing to see retired Persons, and those that are furthest from the commerce of civil Life, teach the People of the World how to breed their Children. It is strange that such as have Children to bring up, should be obliged, to do it well, and to have recourse to those that have made a Vow never to have Children, or a Family themselves. *Thus, saith St. Jerome, is that Virgin to be educated, whose Soul is designed to be the Temple of God, let her not hearken to, let her not learn nor discourse of any thing, but what is proper to inspire the love of God. Let her never hear filthy Talk, nor learn prophane Songs, but let her Voice be betimes accustomed to the singing of Psalms: Let no Boys come near her, her Maids and Governesses should be wise, and kept from the Company of disorderly People, lest they teach her more Evil than they have learned themselves. Let them learn her to read with Box or Ivory Letters, whereof she may remember the Names. . . She ought to be made to love Study and Labour, either by promising her a Reward, or by provoking her by Example. If she be of a soft Temper, reprove her not too fiercely; she ought to be encouraged with Commendation to raise in her Mind a Desire to excell others, and*

St. Jerome. some trouble to see her self out-done. Above all, have care that she be not disgusted with Study, lest she come to hate it when she becomes older. Let her read the Sentences of the Holy Scripture, and chuse for her an able Master, a Man of a good Life, who may take pains to teach her to read. Despise not these beginnings as inconsiderable, for the rest depend upon them. The beginnings of Reading and Pronunciation are not taught alike by a skilful, and by a heavy Man: Do not let her use her self to speak her Words by halves, nor to take pleasure in handling of Gold or Purple: the one will hurt her Speech, and the other her Manners. Let her not learn that in her Infancy which she must forget afterwards. . . . Evil is easily imitated, and we often take up their Vices, whose Vertues we cannot reach: Her Nurse should be sober, no Tatler nor given to Wine. . . . Let her Cloths be modest, convenient for the State for which you design her: Let not her Ears be bored, nor her Face used to painting: she should not have her Hair died fair, nor her Garments adorned with Gold, Pearls or Jewels, unless you design her for Hell fire. . . . When she grows older, let her follow her Parents to the Church, but never go out to return to the Poms of the World. Let her keep to her Chamber, and never appear at Feasts, or publick Meetings: But she ought not to use too much Abstinence till she comes to the Age of strength, lest she prejudice her Health. Let her take that which helps Necessity, but not what feeds Luxury: Let her not be at Musick-Meetings, nor hear musical Instruments, but learn and repeat daily Sentences out of the Holy Scripture; She should never go abroad without her Mother, nor grow very Familiar with any one of her Servants; provide her a wise, prudent and vertuous Governess, that she may shew her the way to rise in the Night to sing *Psalms*, to rehearse the morning Hymns, at *Tierce*, *Sext*, *Nones*, and *Vespers*. Let her pray, and work Night and Day; let her learn to handle the Distaff, to turn the Wheel and Spin Wooll; let her not meddle with Embroidering either of Gold or Silver; let her be modestly clothed, and soberly fed; she should not fast excessively, but observe Lent regularly, and take no pleasure in Baths.

To those moral Precepts, *St. Jerome* adds an Instruction for the Studies of young Girls, and advises them to read all the Canonical Books, both of the Old and New Testaments, not excepting the *Canticles*. He advises them not to read the *Apocrypha*, but the Books of *St. Athanasius*, and of *St. Hilary*. He concludes by exhorting *Læta* to send her Daughter to the Monastery at *Bethlehem*. This Letter is written from the solitude of *Bethlehem* about the Year 400.

The eighth Letter was written in the Year 411. after the taking of *Rome* by the *Goths*, it is directed to a Virgin of the first quality, one *Demetrias*, who was retired into *Africa*, and there had embraced a religious Life. *St. Jerome* having commended her Grand-mother *Proba*, directs her how to maintain her Virginity, by recommending to her several Exercises of Piety, as reading of the Holy Scripture, renouncing the Poms of the World, exercising Penance, moderate Fasting, Obedience, Humility, Modesty, Alms-deeds, Prayers at all hours of the Day, and working with her hands. He advises her to stick to the Faith of Pope *Innocent*, and to beware of the Errors of the *Origenists*, and tells her, that she should chuse rather to dwell in a Nunnery with other Virgins, than to live alone. But he would have her avoid the Company of the Ladies of the World. He finishes his Letter with Commendations of Virginity. It is to be noted, that in those days Virgins consecrated to God might go out of their Cloysters, but *St. Jerome* advises them to do it seldom. He calleth Penance, a second Plank after Shipwrack. He observeth that Fasting is not properly a Vertue, but the ground of all Vertues; that Chastity is a degree to arrive at Perfection, but if it be single, it is not enough to merit the Crown of Heaven. He admonishes Virgins not to be lifted up, because of the perfection of their State, but to humble themselves under the mighty Hand of God, who resisteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the Humble. But, saith he, what is of Grace is no recompence for Works, but a Free-gift, wherefore the Apostle writeth, that the Good which Man doeth is not to be attributed, either to his Will or Labour, but to the Mercy of God; and yet to will or not to will, is in our Power; but what depends upon us, doth not so without God's help. *Velle & non velle nostrum est, ipsumque quod nostrum est, sine Dei miseratione nostrum non est.* At last he exhorts Virgins rather to bestow their Estates upon the Poor, than to beautifie Churches.

The ninth Letter is directed to a Lady of Quality, one *Salvina*, who had lost her Husband *Nebrius*, Son to the Empresses Sister. Tho' *St. Jerome* knew her not, yet he writ to her at the request of one of her Friends called *Avitus*. He begins his Letter with commendation of *Nebrius*, whose Vertues were the more to be admired, because he had spent his Life at Court, and in great Employments; and then advises his Widow to render to her Children what she owed her Husband by giving them a good Edu-

cation, exhorting her earnestly to continue a Widow, and giving Rules for her Behaviour. He exceedingly blames second Marriages, and looks upon them rather as tolerated to prevent a greater Evil, than permitted as a Good. He observes in that Letter, that Riches do not hinder a Man from being saved, provided he makes good Use of them; as Poverty doth not make a Man holy or just, if he doth not avoid Sin. He calls Penance the Remedy of the miserable: He says, that Men should have a care of Sinning, out of hopes of rising again by Repentance; that such Wounds should be prevented, as cannot be cured without Pain; that it is a far greater advantage to enter the Haven of Salvation with a sound Vessel full fraught with Merchandises, than to be forced to swim upon a Plank, in danger of being broken against the Rocks, and the Waves of an agitated Sea. *Salvina* or *Silvina*, to whom this Letter was written, was the Daughter of that *Gildo* Governour of *Africa*, who going about to usurp the Empire, after *Theodosius* his Death, perished Anno 398. She was a Widow, and dwelt at *Constantinople* when *St. Chrysostome* was expelled from thence, as we learn from *Palladius*, who tells us, That *St. Chrysostome* before he went away, entred into the Baptistry, and called to him *Olympias*, the Deaconnesse, *Procla*, *Pentadia*, and *Silvina*, *Nebrius's* Widow: so that *St. Jerome's* Letter might be written about the Year 400. not long after the Death of her Husband.

The tenth is written to another young Widow named *Furia*, of the Race of the *Camilli*. He dissuades her from Marrying a second time, tho' she had had no Children by her first Husbaud; he tells her, that in this particular, she should not regard neither the Remonstrances, or Threatnings of her Father, but he recommends to her, that she should be sober, modest, constant in reading and praying, that she should give Alms, avoid the World, despise its Poms, &c. Lastly, he represents the inconveniencies of a second Marriage very lively, and says at the latter end of the Letter, that he writ it two Years after his Books against *Jovinian*, that were composed, sometime before the Year 392. and so this Letter is of 394.

The following Letter to *Ageruchia*, is upon the same Subject: He does speak there with no less Zeal against second Marriages, than in the foregoing; and yet he professes not to condemn them. He says that he had seen at *Rome* a Woman buried by her twenty second Husband, and a Husband who had buried twenty Wives. At the end of this Letter he discourses against such as are too much in love with this Life, and the good things of this World. Men, says he, build as if they were to live for ever, and they live as if they were sure of Life next day. There is none so aged but promises to himself, that he shall live one year more, and so forgets what he is: and when he is come to the age that he desired, yet does he not think himself near Death, and flatters himself with the Life of many years to come. He concludes this with a Description of the pitiful condition, the *Roman Empire* was reduced to by the Incursions of the Barbarians, especially in *Gaul* and *Spain*, which made him afraid of *Rome* it self. This shews, that this Letter was written some time before the taking of *Rome*, which happened in 410.

In the twelfth Letter *St. Jerome* prescribes to *Gaudentius* some Rules for the Education of his Daughter *Pacatula*, whom he designed for a Religious Life: It contains such Precepts as are in the Letter to *Læta*; there he bewails the misfortune of the taking of *Rome*, in 410.

The thirteenth is directed to *Paulinus* afterwards Bishop of *Nola*, who intending to be a Monk, addressed himself to *St. Jerome*, as a Person perfectly well skilled in the Exercises of a Monastical Life, to ask his advice how he should behave himself. This Father having with great Humility answered *Paulinus* his Compliments, for his living so long solitary in the Wilderness of *Bethlehem*, counsels him to retire out of Cities, if he resolved to embrace a Monastick State.

In this Separation from the World, he chiefly places the difference between a Monastical, and an Ecclesiastical State. If, says he, you will enter upon the Ministry of the Church, and perform the Functions of the Priesthood, if you are pleased with the Episcopal Dignity; then keep in Towns, and work out the Salvation of your own Soul by saving others: but if you would be a Monk, that is, live solitarily, what do you do in Towns, which are no Habitations for Monks, but for those that love the World? . . . Priests and Bishops ought to imitate the Apostles and Apostolical Men, to succeed them in their Vertue, as they do in their Dignity; as for us, we have for our Commanders, The Pauls, the Antonies, the Julians, the Macarii, the Hilarions; and to come to the Scripture it self, Elias is the first of our Order, Elisha is one of us, the Sons of the Prophets that dwell in the Fields and Desert places, and upon the Banks of Jordan, they are our Masters. The Sons of Rechab, who drunk neither Wine nor Sider, are also of this Number. *St. Jerome* having exalted the Monastical State by these Examples, prescribes several Rules to *Paulinus* for the Exercises which he was to follow in his Retirement. He thanks him afterwards for the Books that he sent him, in Commendation of *Theodosius*, and having commended it, he ex-

St. Jerome. horts *Paulinus* to apply himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture, telling him that if he had but that Foundation, nothing would be more learned, more sweet, or more acceptable, and better written than his Works. From thence he takes occasion, to describe the Style and Character of the Latin Ecclesiastical Authors. *Tertullian*, saith he, is full of Sentences, but his Elocution is hard. *St. Cyprian's* Style is smooth, and like the running waters of a Fountain, which passes away quietly, and without Agitation; but having wholly apply'd himself to the teaching of Virtue, and being busy'd by Persecutions, he writ nothing upon the Holy Scripture: The glorious Martyr *Victorinus* can hardly tell his meaning. *Lactantius* is like a River of a Ciceronian Elocution; would to God he could as easily have confirm'd our Doctrine, as he overthrows that of other Mens. *Arnobius* his Style is uneven, without method or order. *St. Hilary* hath an high and swelling Style, like the Gallick Tragedies, but intermixing that way of writing with Grecian Flowers, he often writes long Periods and very intricate, which can neither be read nor understood by Men of ordinary Capacities. And having thus set forth the Character of those ancient Authors, he giveth that of *Paulinus* in these Terms: *You have*, saith he, *a great deal of Wit, a wonderful abundance of Expressions, a natural pureness, and rare prudence. If you add to that Eloquence, the Study and Understanding of the Scripture, I shall quickly see you the first of our Authors.* And to this he exhorts him. This Letter was written before *Paulinus* was ordained, and after his Conversion about the year 380.

The fourteenth Letter to *Celantia*, is not like *St. Jerome's* Style. It is thought to be written by *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*. It contains very useful Instructions, and Precepts for a Lady, to lead a Christian Life in the midst of Honours, Riches, and the Perplexities of managing her Family.

The fifteenth Letter to *Marcella*, is in Commendation of one *Afella* a Virgin.

The sixteenth directed to a Virgin, named *Principia*, is the Panegyrick of *Marcella*, a Roman Lady, Daughter of *Albina*, who being left a Widow seven Months after Marriage, resolv'd to continue so, though she was courted by the Consul *Cerealis*, and was the first of the Roman Ladies that embrac'd a Religious Life. *St. Jerome* after a description of her Vertues, commends her for procuring the Condemnation of *Origen's* Books, and for the Courage which she shew'd when *Rome* was taken; he observes that she died quickly after, and that he writ this Panegyrick two years after her Death; which shews, that this Letter was written in 412 or 413.

The seventeenth Letter is from *Bethlehem*, in the Name of *Paula* and *Eustochium*, to *Marcella*, whom they invite to come to them, and to visit the Holy Places. It may have been written about the year 400.

The eighteenth is written in *St. Jerome's* Name to the same Lady, and upon the same Subject.

The nineteenth is a handsome Letter of Thanks to *Eustochium*, for a Present of some Fruits that she sent him upon *St. Peter's* Day.

The following Letter to *Marcella* is likewise to thank her for some Presents, which that Lady had sent him from *Rome*.

The twenty-first is written to an Old Man of *Spain* of 100 years of Age. *St. Jerome* congratulates with him, that God had given him a fine Old Age, freed from the ordinary infirmities, common to Persons of those years; he commends his Vertues, and desires of him the Commentaries of *Fortunatianus*, the History of *Aurelius Victor*, and *Novatian's* Letters, and tells him that he would send him the Life of the Blessed *Paul* the first Hermite. This Letter may have been written in *St. Jerome's* first Retreat.

The two and twentieth is a Treatise of *Virginity* to *Eustochium*. Having spoken of the Excellency of it, of the Difficulty of preserving and the Danger of losing it, he lays down Precepts which a Virgin is to observe to keep her self pure. He forbids her to drink Wine; he bids her avoid dainty Fare, Effeminateness, Pleasures and superfluous Ornaments; he recommends Solitude to her, and the Reading of the Holy Scripture, Prayer, Renouncing of the things of this World, Fasting, Humility, and other Christian Vertues. He speaks against some Clergy-men who kept devout Sisters in their Houses; And who (saith he) under pretence of Spiritual Consolation, entertained a carnal commerce. He blames those also that courted Ladies; and to please them, condescended to do several things unworthy of their Character. To dissuade *Eustochium* from reading prophane Books, he tells her, that being once too earnest in reading *Cicero*, *Plautus*, and other prophane Authors, he fell into a violent Fever, and by it into a kind of Agony, and then was caught up in the Spirit to the Tribunal of Jesus Christ; where having been soundly whipt for reading prophane Authors too much, he was forbidden to read them any more: He assures *Eustochium*, that this Story is not a Dream, and calls the Tribunal where he appeared, and the Judgment that was given against him to attest the Truth of what he says: Yet when *Rufinus* upbraided him afterwards, that for all that he had not given over reading prophane Books, he laughs at his Simplicity, and jests upon him for taking a

Dream for a Truth. Declaiming against Covetousness, he says, that a Monk of *Nitria* having got together One hundred Pence which were found in his Cell after he was dead, they buried him with his Money, and with this Imprecation; *Let this Money perish with thee.* He observes upon that occasion, that there were five thousand Monks in the Solitudes of *Nitria*, dwelling in separated Cells; and that there were three sorts of Monks in *Egypt*, namely the *Cænobites*, who lived in common; the *Anchorets*, who dwelt alone in the Wilderness; and those that were called *Remoboth*, who lived two and two together, and maintained themselves after their own way, with the Work of their own hands. He blames this last sort, and describes the manner of living of the *Anchorets* and *Cænobites*, at large. After this digression, he concludes with commending the Purity of *Eustochium*. In all likelihood this Treatise was composed at *Rome* about the latter end of *Damasus's* Pontificate, about the year 385.

The two and twentieth is written to *Marcella* upon the Recovery and Conversion of *Blasilla*, *Paula's* Daughter, and Sister of *Eustochium*. This young Widow, after the Torment of a violent Fever for thirty Days together, had embraced a Solitary Life. *St. Jerome* commends her for that generous Resolution, and confounds those that blamed her: One may find in that Letter a handsome description of the Habit of those ancient Nuns. *St. Jerome* speaks there against the Finery of Women. This Letter was written at *Rome* about the year 383.

The next was written much about the same time; it is directed to *Paula*, concerning the Death of an Holy Nun, one *Lea*. *St. Jerome* shews, that they ought to rejoyce for her Death, because she enjoyed Happiness. He commends her Vertues, and comparing her Death, with that of one designed to be Consul, which happened at the same time; he shews the vast difference betwixt a poor righteous Man's death, and that of a great, rich, and impious Lord.

The four and twentieth is a Letter of Consolation to *Paula*, upon the Death of her Daughter *Blasilla*, who departed this Life four Months after her Conversion: *St. Jerome* shews, that we should not mourn for Christians who die in a State of Grace, but rather rejoyce for their Happiness. He reproves *Paula* severely, because she had given way to excessive Grief. This Letter may pass for an exact Pattern of Elegant and Christian Consolation. It was composed at *Rome* about the year 384.

The five and twentieth is likewise a Consolatory Letter to *Pammachius*, upon the Death of his Wife *Paulina*, who was also one of *Paula's* Daughters. He saith but little of *Paulina's* Death, but enlargeth much in Commendation of *Pammachius*, who left the World after his Wife's Death, and had bestowed great part of his Estate upon the Poor, and built an Hospital for Strangers in the Port of *Rome*. *St. Jerome* says at the latter end of this Letter, that so great a number of Monks flock'd to his Monastery at *Bethlehem*, that he was oblig'd to send his Brother *Paulinianus* to sell the rest of the Estate which he had in his own Country, to enable him to support his Undertaking. This informs us that this Letter was written at *Bethlehem* in 398.

The twenty-sixth is a Funeral-Sermon for the famous *Paula*, whose Life he describes, and makes her Panegyrick. It is directed to her Daughter *Eustochium*. He sets down at the latter end some Epitaphs which he put upon the Grave and upon the Cave where that holy Lady was buried in *Bethlehem*, and he says that she died *Febr. 22d.* and was buried the 24th, under the Seventh Consulship of *Honorius* and *Aristenetus*: That is, after our way of reckoning, the 404th. Year since the Nativity of our Saviour: And this proves that Funeral Oration to be of that same Year.

The seven and twentieth Letter to a *Spaniard*, one *Lucinius* is very remarkable. *St. Jerome* exhorts that Man who had embraced a Monastical Life with his Wife's Consent, to prosecute the Design which he had to come to *Jerusalem*. He tells him, that he had given Copies of his Works to those whom he sent to him; that he had not translated *Josephus* his Books, nor the Writings of *St. Papias*, and *St. Polycarp*; that he translated only some Treatises of *Origen* and *Didymus*; that he had corrected the Version of the Septuagint, restored the Greek of the New Testament, and that he sent to him part of the Canonical Books, which he revised and made conformable to the Truth of the Hebrew. He afterwards answers two Questions, which *Lucinius* had put to him about *Saturday's* Fast, and a frequent Communion. That Answer is too considerable not to be translated here. As to what you ask me concerning the *Saturday's* Fast, whether it ought to be kept; and about the Eucharist, whether it should be received every day, as is Customary in the Churches both of Italy and Spain, we have upon that Subject a Treatise of *Hippolytus*, a very Eloquent Man, and several Authors have occasionally treated of that Matter; for my part, this is the advice I think ought to be given in that Point; That Ecclesiastical Traditions, not contrary to the Faith, ought to be observed after the same manner, that we received them from our Ancestors: And I am persuaded, that the Custom of one Church is not to be abolished, because of a contrary one in use in another Church. Would to God that we could

fast every day: Do we not read in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Jerome. that both St. Paul, and they that were with him fasted in the Days of Pentecost, and even upon Sundays: Yet for all that they ought not to be accused for Manichees, because they did it out of a Spiritual Good, before which a Carnal one is not to be preferred. As to the Eucharist, it is good, to receive it daily, provided there be no prickings of Conscience, and no danger of receiving our own Condemnation. Not that I would have Men fast on Sundays, or in the fifty Days after Easter, but I must still return to my Principle, That every Country ought to follow its own Custom, and look upon the Ordinances of their Ancestors as Apostolical Laws. This Letter was written about the Year 406.

Lucinius to whom this Letter is directed being Dead. St. Jerome comforts his Widow Theodora, in the following Letter, in which he citeth there the Books of St. Irenaeus with Commendation.

St. Jerome's eight and twentieth Letter is a Funeral Oration, in Commendation of a Roman Lady called Fabiola. This Lady had a former very lewd Husband, and having procured a Separation, she was married to another; but having acknowledged her fault, she did publick Penance, and was admitted to the Communion. She built at Rome an Hospital for sick Persons whom she had assisted with wonderful Zeal, and surprizing Charity. St. Jerome commendeth chiefly those generous Actions, and speaks of the Journey which she had undertaken to Bethlehem, where she remained some time with him. This Letter was written in 400, two years after the Funeral Discourse for Paulina, and four years after that for Nepotian, as St. Jerome says in the beginning.

The nine and twentieth is a Note to Theophilus, wherein he excuseth himself, that he had not yet translated into Latin that Bishop's Book concerning Easter, because of the troubles of the Church that had disquieted him, and Paula's Death which had overwhelmed him with Grief; so that this Letter was written in the Year 404.

In the thirtieth, St. Jerome comforteth a Spaniard, one Abigaius, for the loss of his sight, he commends his Piety, and desires him to exhort Theodora, Lucinius his Widow, to continue her Journey to Jerusalem, this shows that this Letter was written after Lucinius his Death, about the Year 408, or 409.

The thirty first is likewise a Letter of comfort to another Blind Man, one Castrutius, who was St. Jerome's Countryman. He thanks him for beginning his Journey to come to see him, but desires him, to undertake the Journey next year. The year of this Letter is not known. It is probable that it was written very near the same time with the foregoing.

In the two and thirtieth, having administered comfort to Julianus one of his Friends, for the loss of two Daughters, of his Wife and Estate, and for the Discontents occasioned by his Son in-Law, he adviseth him to give himself to God, and embrace a monastical Life: This Letter is written from the Solitudes of Bethlehem about the Year 408.

In the thirty third, he exhorteth Exuperantius to forsake the Wars, and the World, and to withdraw himself with his Brother Quintillian to Bethlehem.

The thirty fourth is to his Aunt Cassorina, with whom he had had some difference, he intreats her by this Letter to be reconciled to him, this Letter was in all probability written during St. Jerome's first retreat, and since he tells her, that he had written to her the year before upon the same Subject, this must be of the Year 373, or 374.

The five and thirtieth was written at the same time. He prays Julian the Deacon to send him News of his own Country, and gives him thanks for sending word, that his Sister continued in the resolution not to marry.

The thirty sixth to Theodosius and the other Monks, was written by St. Jerome, after his quitting the Desert of Syria in 374. where those Monks dwelt. He desires them to pray, that God would call him back into the Desert.

The thirty seventh to the Virgins dwelling upon Mount Hermon, is written from the Desert of Syria, about the Year 373. He complains that they had not answered the Letters that he had written to them.

The eight and thirtieth is certainly not St. Jerome's, and there is nothing in it worth Observation.

In the thirty ninth he invites Rufinus Presbyter of Aquileia, who was then in Egypt, to come to him in his Solitude of Syria, where he was alone with Evagrius only, after the going away of Heliadus, and the Death of Innocent and Hylas. This Letter is of 373, or 374.

The fortieth, forty first, forty second, and forty third, are very near of the same time, they are written to his old Friends at Aquileia. The first to Niceas Deacon of that Town, the second to Chromatius, Eusebius, and Jovinus:

the third to Chrysogonus a Monk of Aquileia: and the last to another Monk called Anthony. These are of no great Consequence.

The forty fourth to Rusticus is more useful. He exhorts that Man to do Penance, urging several places of Scripture touching Repentance. He invites him to visit the Holy Places. This Letter is not of the same Style with the rest of this Father's Letters.

The forty fifth Letter is a biting Satyr against Virgins and Women, who dwelt with Clergy Men that were not of their Kindred.

The six and fortieth is a Declamation against Sabinianus a Deacon, whose Life had been disorderly both in his own Country and at Bethlehem. Those three last are written from the Solitude of Bethlehem. The Year is uncertain.

The seven and fortieth is an Historical Narrative of a Woman of Vercelle, who having been falsely accused of Adultery, and condemned to die, tho' she constantly denied the Fact, was tortured seven times, but could not be put to Death. The Style of this Letter is florid and childish, tho' St. Jerome writ it when he was well in years.

The Life of St. Paul the first Hermite, is one of St. Jerome's first Works. This man, at fifteen years of Age withdrew himself into the Deserts of Thebais, when Valerian and Decius persecuted the Church, fearing his want of strength to resist the Temptation. He spent there the rest of his Life, which lasted 113 years. St. Jerome gives an account of the manner of his being visited by St. Anthony, and describes several Circumstances of that History that are very hard to be believed.

The Life of St. Hilarion is full of Miracles of that Holy Anchorite St. Anthony's Disciple. St. Jerome places it in his Catalogue, amongst those Books which he wrote after his Return from Rome to Bethlehem. Likewise he makes mention there of the History of a Monk in the Desert of Chalcis called Malchus, who having quitted the Monastery to return into his Country, was taken and carried away Captive by the Saracens.

This Volume endeth with his Book of the Famous Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, written in Latin by St. Jerome, and translated into Greek, as it is supposed, by Sophronius (n). He did it at the request of Flavius Dexter, Praefectus Praetorio, in imitation of Suetonius, and other prophane Authors, who writ the Lives of Philosophers, and other Famous Men. He confesses that Eusebius his Books did him much Service: He intreats the Authors of his own time, whom he doth not mention, not to take it ill; he declares that he did not intend to conceal their Works, but that they had never come to his hands; but however, if their Writings make them Famous, his silence will not long prejudice them. Lastly, he observes that this Treatise confounds Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and the other sworn Enemies of the Church, who reproached it as having no Philosophers, no Orators, or learned Men; by proving to them that it was established, upheld and adorned by very great Men. This Book comprehends the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors, and Writers, from Jesus Christ to St. Jerome's time. It concludes with a Catalogue of the Works which this Father had composed to the fourth year of the Emperor Theodosius, which is the Year 392, of Jesus Christ.

The second Tome, which is in the same Volume contains the Letters, or rather the Discourses of Dispute and Controversie.

The first is his Treatise against Helvidius, of the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that Man had written a Book wherein he pretended to show by Testimonies of the New Testament, and the Opinions of some ancient Fathers, that after the Birth of Christ the Virgin Mary had Children, by Joseph her Husband. The first passage of Scripture which Helvidius cites for his Opinion is that of St. Matthew, ch. 1. The Virgin being espoused was found with Christ, before Joseph and she came together: Helvidius concluded from this place, that therefore they came together afterwards. St. Jerome answers him, that this Consequence doth not follow, because that a thing is often said to have been done before another, which other is never to be done: and that when it is said such a one died before Penance, it doth not follow, that he, of whom this is spoken, does Penance in the other World; so likewise from what St. Matthew saith, that she was found with Child before Joseph knew her, it doth not follow, that he knew her after she was with Child. The second passage quoted by Helvidius is another of the same Evangelist, Joseph knew not his Wife till she had brought forth her Son; Helvidius concludes from this passage as from the former, therefore he knew her after she was delivered. He maintained that the Word *untill* always signified in Scripture a fixed time, after which the thing would come to pass. St. Jerome shews

(n) By Sophronius. Erasmus published this Version under Sophronius's Name upon the credit of a Manuscript. None doubted at first, but that it was his. Mr. Vossius the Father owned it, but Mr. Isaac Vossius his Son, contradicted that Opinion in his Notes upon St. Ignatius's Epistles: where he boldly

affirms, that this Version is not Sophronius's: that it is very bad, that he that made it did not understand Greek; that it is visible that it was written by an Impostor. Huetius in his Book, *De optimo genere interpretandi*, refutes Vossius, and doth not doubt but that Translation was made by Sophronius,

him, that tho' this is often true, yet there are several passages where it signifies an unlimited time, as it is said of God, *I am, till you are grown old, or untill that*, which can never describe the Term, or the End of God's existence, seeing he is for ever. And when Jesus Christ saith in the Gospel, *I am with you to the end of the World*; it were ridiculous to conclude, Wherefore he will be no more after the World's end.

Helvidius's third Objection is grounded on the Title of *First Born* given to Jesus Christ, *Luk. ch. 2.* *St. Jerome* affirms, that it doth not suppose that he had younger Brethren, for in the Language of the Scripture, every Child of the first lying in of a Woman is called *First-born*, these Words being Synonymous, *Adaperiens uterum* and *Primo-genitum*, as appears, *Numb. 18. Exod. 13. Levit. 12. Luk. 2.*

The last Objection is taken from what is said in Scripture that Jesus Christ had Brethren; now among his Brethren, said *Helvidius*, are reckoned *St. James*, and *Joses* Son of *Mary*: as it is said, *Matt. 27. Mark 15. Luk. 24.* That *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses* was present at the Passion, and at the Burial of Jesus Christ, but this *Mary*, said he, is the Mother of the Lord; for it is not likely, that she should forsake him upon that occasion. *St. Jerome* answers, that it is very certain by *St. John's* Testimony, that *Mary* the Mother of God was near the Cross of Jesus Christ at his Passion, since he recommends her to that Evangelist; but that *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses* is different from the Mother of the Lord, seeing that of the two Apostles called *James*, one was Son of *Zebedee*, and the other of *Alphaeus*. But it cannot be said that the Lord's Mother was married to either of these two Persons. He maintains then, that *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses* was the Wife of *Alphaeus*, and Sister to the Mother of our Lord, and is also called *Mary Cleophe*. The Conjecture not being very certain, *St. Jerome* gives this general Answer, that the Word *Brother* is equivocal, and is taken four ways, a Brother by Nature, by Nation, by Relation, and by Affection; but sticks to the Brother-hood by Blood, shewing by several places of Scripture, that Cousins, and near Kindred are called Brethren.

Having thus with much Wit and Learning, refuted the false Consequences that *Helvidius* drew from those passages of the New Testament: *St. Jerome* opposes to *Tertullian*, and *Victorinus* whom *Helvidius* had quoted, the Authority of *St. Ignatius* *St. Polycarp*, *St. Irenaeus*, *St. Justin*, and other ancient Apostolical Authors, who had written against the Hereticks *Ebion*, *Theodorus* of *Byzantium*, and *Valentinus*, whom *St. Jerome* pretends to have been of *Helvidius* his Opinion. But the Error of those Hereticks was far more intolerable, and we do not read that the Fathers quoted by *St. Jerome*, did precisely refute *Helvidius's* Error. However *St. Jerome* rejects *Tertullian's* Authority, by saying, that he was not of the Church; and as for *Victorinus Pazarionensis*, he saith, that his Testimony hath no greater difficulty than that of the Scripture, since he speaks of Christ's Brethren, but does not say that they were the Sons of *Mary*. In the latter part of this Discourse, he speaks like an Orator of the inconveniencies of Marriage, and the advantages of Virginity. This Treatise was composed at *Rome*, about the Year 383.

In his Treatise against *Jovinian*, he further defends the Excellency of Virginity. This *Jovinian* had asserted in a small Discourse published at *Rome*, that Widows and married Women were not to be less regarded than Virgins, if they have the same Vertues; this was the first Error of this Man. The second was, that a Christian baptized could not fall from Righteousness. The third, that Abstinence from certain Meats was unprofitable. The last, that the glorified Saints are all equally Happy. *St. Jerome* refutes the first of these Errors in the first Book. He explains at first *St. Paul's* Notions concerning Marriage and Virginity; afterwards he takes notice of the Examples of the Old and New Testament, which *Jovinian* had brought to prove, that the greatest Saints and most excellent Men of all Ages had been married. *St. Jerome* shews that he has multiplied those Examples too much: He affirms that the Apostles left their Wives, after their Call to the Apostleship; and that *St. John* being called before he was married, always lived in Celibacy: He answers those places of Scripture alledged by *Jovinian*, and discourses of the Celibacy of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. He condemns second Marriages with much severity, and produces several Examples of Heathen Women that either kept their Virginity, or continued in Widow-hood.

In the second Book he refutes *Jovinian's* other Errors. He shews against the second, that the Holiest of Men may fall from Baptismal Grace. Against the third, that tho' God is the Creator of all things fit for Man's Use, yet it is good to fast and use abstinence, and that it is very dangerous to indulge one's Senses, and satisfy greediness. Lastly, that as there are various degrees of Vice, and Virtue here in this Life, so there are likewise in the other several degrees of Felicity and Pain. These Books were not completed by *St. Jerome*, when he writ his Book of famous Men, though

he mentions these two Books there: and so they are of the year 392.

These Books being published at *Rome*, several Persons found fault with the hard Terms which *St. Jerome* made use of in speaking of Marriage: *Pammachius* having sent word of it to *St. Jerome* hinting withall at the principal Passages excepted against. This Father expounds them in the Apology directed to him, declaring that it was never his intention to condemn Matrimony.

He found himself obliged a second time to defend himself from the same Accusation against a Monk; and this he does in the Letter intitled the fifty first to *Domnion*.

The fifty second Letter to *Pammachius* was joyned to the Apology directed to him. He thanks him for securing the Copies of his Books against *Jovinian*; but he tells him that it was impossible to suppress them: that he had not the good Fortune to be able always to correct his own Works, as some had; because he had no sooner composed them, but they were made publick even against his Will. He insults over them that found fault, challenging them to write against him. He adviseth him to read the Commentaries of *Dionysius*, *Rheticus*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinaris*, and *Didymus*, who expounded that Passage of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and spoke in the behalf of Virginity more powerfully than himself. He sends him Word, that he had translated out of the Hebrew, the Books of the Prophets, of *Job*, and that he had written Commentaries upon the Twelve Minor Prophets, and upon the Book of Kings. He observes that if his Translation of *Job* be compared with the Greek, and the old Latin Version, there will be found such a difference as is betwixt truth and falshood.

The fifty third Letter is directed to *Riparius* a Presbyter in *Spain*, who desired to know his opinion of a Book of *Vigilantius* a Presbyter of *Barcelona*; who condemned the Veneration of Relicks, and the Worshipping of Saints. *St. Jerome* explains that Error, and prayeth *Riparius* to send him his Book that he might refute it at large, and this he does with great earnestness in the Treatise that follows this Letter written two years after, as he himself affirms. He taxeth *Vigilantius*, with reviving *Jovinian's* Errors, and wonders that any Bishop should be of his mind. If saith he, the name of Bishops may be given to such as will ordain no Deacons, except they are married: What will the Churches of the East, those of Egypt, and even the See of *Rome*, which do not admit into the Clergy any but such as are unmarried, or being married profess to live as if they were not?

Having made this occasional remark concerning the Celibacy of Clerks, he particularly undertakes *Vigilantius's* Error about Relicks and the Invocation of Saints. This Man maintained that the Bones of the Dead were not to be honoured, and that the Saints could not hear our Prayers. *St. Jerome* puts himself into a great heat to prove the contrary, and falls upon *Vigilantius* with a great deal of reproachful Language. In that Treatise he likewise defends the Festivals of Saints, the Solemnities practised upon their Eves, Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, the Monastick State, and the Use of lighted Torches only in the Night; for he owns, that in his time they lighted none in the Day. We saith he, do not light Torches in the day time, as you accuse us; but only in the Night, that their Light may afford joy and comfort in the Obscurity of the Night. This Treatise was written long after the Book of famous Men, about the year 406.

The fifty fourth Letter to *Marcella*, is against the Errors of the Disciples of *Montanus*. He not only lays them open, but accuseth them. 1. Of owning but one Person in God. 2. Of condemning second Marriages, as adulterous. 3. Of holding the obligation to keep three Lents. 4. That they did not acknowledge Bishops to be the Apostle's Successors, and the first of the Hierarchical Order, but that there were two degrees of Persons above them. 5. That they were very rigid in imposing of Penances and never granted Absolution. 6. That they believed the Prophecies of *Montanus*, *Prisca*, and *Maximilla*. Lastly he says that they were accused of celebrating Criminal Mysteries with the Blood of a Martyred Child; but he declares that he had rather believe that this was not true. This Letter is written about the year 400.

In the fifty fifth Letter to *Riparius*, he sayeth that *Ruffinus*, whom he calls his *Catiline*, had been expelled out of *Palastine*.

In the fifty sixth he commends *Apronius* for opposing the Errors of the *Origenists*, and invites him to come to *Jerusalem*. Both these Letters were written under the Pontificate of *Anastasius*, about the year 400.

The two following Letters were written to Pope *Damasus*, out of the Desarts of *Syria*. *St. Jerome* asks his advice, what he should do about the Disputes then in the East. *I am*, saith he, eyed to your Holiness's Communion, that is to *St. Peter's Chair*; I know that the Church is founded upon that Rock. Whosoever eateth the Lamb out of that House, is a prophane Man. Whosoever is not found in that House shall perish by the Flood. But forasmuch as being retired into the Desert of *Syria*, I cannot receive the Sacrament at your hands, I follow your Colleagues the Bishops of Egypt: I do not know

St. Jerome. Vitalis; I do not communicate with Meletius; Paulinus is a Stranger to me, He that gathereth not with us scattereth. He gives an account afterwards of the occasion of those Divisions. After the Decision of the Council of Nice, after the Decree of the Council of Alexandria, enacted with the consent of both the Eastern and Western Bishops, they yet ask of me that am a Roman a new Confession of Faith, to acknowledge three Hypostases. It is an Arian Bishop, and the Monarchians who require that of me. . . . We ask what signifies this Word, Hypostasis, they say, that it signifies a subsisting Person; we answer that if it be so, we are of that opinion; They are not satisfied with our professing that Sense, but they require further that we own these Terms. There must be some Person hid under these Words. We say openly, that if anyone owns not three subsisting Persons, let him be Anathema; but because we do not use the Terms which they require we are accused of being Hereticks. . . . Order me if you please what I should do, I will not be afraid to say, that there are three Hypostases, if you command me so to do. Yet he is afterwards of opinion that this way of speaking is not to be approved of, because the Term *Hypostasis* is for the most part equivalent to that of Substance.

The fifty eighth Letter to *Damasus* is much upon the same Subject, and he asks his advice with whom he ought to communicate, *Meletius*, *Paulinus*, or *Vitalis*. These Letters are of 374.

The following Treatise is a Dialogue betwixt an Orthodox Christian and a Disciple of *Lucifer Calaritanus*. This Man defends the Conduct and Opinions of those of his Sect, maintaining that those are not to be owned as Bishops, that communicated with the Arian Bishops, and that such as were baptized by Hereticks ought to be baptized again. The Orthodox Christian affirms the contrary. *St. Jerome* introduces the Orthodox Christian relating the History of the Council of *Ariminum*, and the dissensions that troubled the Church, and shewing that it was a reasonable thing to pardon those Bishops that had been surprized. There is in that Treatise a curious passage about Tradition, which he proves by the Custom of imposing of Hands, and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, after the administration of Baptism. He adds, *That many other things are observed in the Church upon the account of Tradition without being authorized by a written Law; as, faith he, the dipping of the Head three times in Water at Baptism, the giving Milk, and Honey to the baptized: not bowing the Knee upon Sundays, nor all the time betwixt Easter and Whitsontide.* The *Luciferian* advances this Proposition, and the Orthodox Christian agrees to it, confessing that the Bishop alone lays his Hands upon the Baptized, to cause the Holy Ghost to come down upon them: That he only confers the Sacrament of Confirmation. But he says that this Custom was introduced rather for the honour of the Priesthood, than through any necessity; That however the Holy Ghost, descends upon them that are baptized tho' they receive not the Imposition of Hands from the Bishop. This Treatise was written at *Rome* about the Year 384.

The 59th. Letter to *Avidus*, contains an enumeration of those Errors which *St. Jerome* had found in the Books of *Origen's* Principles, translated by *Rufinus*; which *Pammachius* had sent him ten years since: which shews that it was written about the year 407.

The 60th. is a Translation of *St. Epiphanius's* Letter to *John of Jerusalem*, concerning the Ordination of *Paulinianus*, whom *St. Epiphanius* had ordained Deacon and Priest, in a Monastery of *St. Jerome's*, which *John of Jerusalem* pretended to be under his Jurisdiction. This Letter is very cunningly written. He complains of the Anger which *John of Jerusalem* had shewed for that Ordination, representing to him, that such behaviour was contrary to the Spirit of the Church; and that instead of being angry that he had ordained a Priest in a Monastery of strange Monks that were not of his Diocese, he ought to shew much satisfaction, because there ought to be no Dissention among Priests, when no other thing is aimed at but the Good of the Church. That though all Bishops have every one their Church committed to their Charge, and whereof they ought to take Care, and that no Man is to inroach upon another's Jurisdiction, yet Christian Charity which hath no Bounds is to be preferred in all things; and that the Action is not to be considered in its self, but respect ought to be had to the Circumstances of Time, Place, Persons, and Occasions. He urges afterwards such things as might excuse his Ordination by saying, that there being but two Priests in their Monastery, *Jerome* and *Vincentius*, who would not perform any Function of their Ministry, he thought it his Duty to give them a Priest; and having met with *Paulinianus*, who so declined the Priesthood, that *John* could not seize upon him to put him into Orders, he caused him to be taken by Force and ordained a Deacon: and that afterwards he ordained him Priest against his Will, when he waited at the Altar, and that however the Ordination was performed in a Monastery, and not in a Parish of his Diocese. He adds, that the Bishops of *Cyprus*, were much more simple, and careless in the Sense of *John of Jerusalem*; for they were so far from finding fault, that their fellow-Bi-

shops ordained out of their Dioceses, those Persons that declined the Priesthood; that on the contrary they exhorted them to do it. He speaketh next against *Origen's* Errors, and desireth *John of Jerusalem* to condemn them. He reduceth them to eight principal Heads, which are these. 1. That the Son of God does not see his Father. and that the Holy Ghost doth not see the Son. 2. That Men's Souls were sent from Heaven to the Earth for their Sins, and shut up in Bodies as in so many Prisons. 3. That the Devils shall repent one Day of their Faults, and shall reign with the Saints in Heaven. 4. That *Adam* and *Eve* had no Flesh before they committed Sin: and that the Skins wherewith they are said to have been covered, signifies their Bodies. 5. That Man shall not rise again with Flesh and Bones. 6. That the earthly Paradise is to be understood Allegorically. 7. That the Waters, which the Scripture speaks of above the Firmament, are the Angels, and those which are said to have been under the Earth are the Devils. 8. That by Sin Man lost the Image of God. The latter part of this Letter is concerning a Veil whereon was painted the Image of a Man, which *St. Epiphanius* had found in a Country-Church near *Jerusalem*, and had caused it to be torn in Pieces, because he condemned that Practice as contrary to the Custom of those times. We have shewed in another place, that this Letter was truly written by *St. Epiphanius* in 392, and translated by *St. Jerome* in 393.

John of Jerusalem seeing himself thus accused by *St. Epiphanius*, made an Apology, which he sent to *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and caused it to be published every where, and chiefly in the West. *Pammachius* having seen it at *Rome*, wrote to *St. Jerome*, to let him know that Men were divided about that matter, and desired him to write to him about it. *St. Jerome* did not defer to put Pen to Paper, and directed to him in 393. the sixty first Letter, wherein he observes, that *St. Epiphanius* having by his Letter, laid Eight Articles of *Origen's* Errors to *John of Jerusalem's* Charge, he had justified himself but from Three, without so much as mentioning the other Five. Those Three Articles are about the knowledge of the Son of God, the Pre-existence of the Souls, and the quality of the Bodies after the Resurrection. As to the First Head *John of Jerusalem* had cleared himself, by declaring that he was no Arian; but *St. Jerome* pretends that he had not justified *Origen*. He had explained his Opinion very obscurely upon the Second and the Third. *St. Jerome* relates *Origen's* Opinion upon those three Articles, and refutes them with much Earnestness. Then he enlarges upon the Quarrel betwixt *St. Epiphanius* and *John of Jerusalem*: He complains, that the latter had addressed himself to *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; and that he had said in the beginning of his Apology that he was charged with the Care of all the Churches. 'You, saith he, directing his Discourse to *John of Jerusalem*, who make your boast of following the Rules of the Church, and observe the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, and go about to appropriate to your self the Clergy that depend upon other Bishops, tell me I pray, is *Palestine* under the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Alexandria*? If I mistake not, it was decided in the Council of *Nice*, that *Cæsarea* was the Metropolis of *Palestine*, and *Antioch* of all the East. You ought therefore either to send to the Bishop of *Cæsarea* with whom you knew, we communicated; or if a Judge was to be sought for further off, you might have sent your Letters to *Antioch*. But I guess what it was that kept you from sending to *Cæsarea*, or *Antioch*; I perceive what you were afraid of, and were willing to avoid: You chose rather to apply your self to a pre-engaged Person, than to yield your Metropolitan that Deference which you owe him.' After that he accuseth *Isidore*, whom *Theophilus* had sent to the place to inform himself of the state of things, of being corrupted by *John of Jerusalem*, of following his Passion, and declaring absolutely for him; of being concerned in composing the Apology, and then undertaking to carry it himself. 'So that, saith he, He that dictated the Letter was he that carried it.' At last *St. Jerome* says, that the Original of that Quarrel was not *Paulinianus's* Ordination, but the accusing of *Origen's* Errors. And this he sets forth speaking against *John of Jerusalem* with all possible Vehemency. By this Letter it appears, that both *St. Jerome*, and the other Monks of *Palestine* had great differences with him.

But lest *Theophilus* persuaded by *John of Jerusalem's* Letter, should come to espouse his Interest, *St. Jerome* directs the sixty second Letter to him, in defence of his own Cause. This Bishop had sent him a Letter, by *Isidore*, whereby he exhorted him to Peace. *St. Jerome* declares in his Answer, that he was desirous of nothing more; but that such as could alone procure it, were contented only to make a show of being for it. That the Peace which he would have, was a true Peace, the Peace of Jesus Christ, a Peace without Enmity, a Peace without War. That there could be no Peace, when one would usurp Dominion and Empire, when he excommunicated true Catholics, when Men were forced to communicate with an Heretick, and to receive the Body of Jesus Christ at his hands, and when Violence was used. These things he charges upon

John

St. Jerome. John of Jerusalem and complains of the injurious Treatment wherewith he uses him in his Letter. And as for that which John of Jerusalem upbraided him withal, that he had formerly translated Origen's Books, which this Author so much condemns; Now he answers, that he was not the only Man that did it: that before him St. Hilary the Confessor had done it: but that imitating him he had expunged what was dangerous in those Writings, and translated what was good and useful; and however he had always commended Origen for his Ability in expounding the Scriptures, yet he had always condemned him for his Errors. *That he owned there was a vast difference betwixt the Apostles Writings, and those of other Ecclesiastical Writers, since the former wrote nothing but what was true, whereas the latter were sometimes deceived.* Afterwards he justifieth the Ordination of his Brother Paulinianus, saying, that St. Epiphanius did not ordain him in the Diocese of John of Jerusalem, since the Monastery where that Ordination was performed, belonged to the Diocese of Eleutheropolis, and not to that of Jerusalem: That he had done very ill in asserting that St. Epiphanius had ordained a Child, since Paulinianus was then thirty years old: That John himself was not older when he was ordained Bishop.

St. Jerome having thus pleaded for himself, doth in his Turn likewise accuse John of Jerusalem. He says, that this Bishop was the Author of all this trouble, and a Fomentor of the Division: that pretending to be for Peace, he prosecuted a cruel War: That he requested, and obtained his Banishment. Here he cries out in this manner: *The Church of Christ, saith he, was established by sufferings, and shedding of Blood. Persecutions have increased it, and by Martyrdom it came to be crowned. If our Enemies were not of this Disposition; if they had rather persecute than be persecuted; In this Country there are Jews and Hereticks of all sorts, and particularly infamous Manichees, who hinder them from falling upon these; Their Spleen is against us, we are the only Persons whom they intend to drive away. . . . One Monk, I speak it with grief, one Monk who boasted of being the Bishop of an Apostolick See, threateneth another Monk, desires he should be banished, and accordingly 'tis done; but God be praised, adds he, Monks are not frightened with Persecutions, they wait for the Blow without Trouble, and without offering to defend themselves. For every Monk being out of his own Country is also out of the World. What need is there of the Prince's Authority, or of written Orders? Let them give us the least Summons, and we will depart immediately, knowing what we are, and and being persuaded that the Earth is the Lord's, and that Jesus Christ is not shut up in any place. He tells us of going to Rome to communicate with that Church, from which we seem to be separated; but this we need not do, we are as much in Communion with the Church of Rome in Palestine as if we were at Rome, we communicate with it's Priests which are in the Town of Bethlehem. At last St. Jerome professes that he is ready to be reconciled to John of Jerusalem, provided he would put on a charitable Spirit, and prove the same towards him as he had been before. We know, saith he, what we owe to the Bishops of Jesus Christ; but let them be contented with Honour and Respect, and know that they are Fathers and not Masters; and particularly with relation to those who despising Ambition, prefer rest and quietness before all other things.*

After St. Jerome's 63d. Letter follows Rufinus's Preface to his Translation of Origen's Principles. He saith in that Preface, That several Persons desirous of learning the Holy Scriptures wished that Origen might be made to speak Latin: That his Colleague and Brother, St. Jerome, having translated two Homilies of this Author upon the Book of Canticles, had so much exalted him in his Preface, that Men were very desirous to see his Works: That he had given this advantageous Testimony of him, *That he exceeded all others in his Commentaries, but had surmounted himself in his Homilies upon the Book of Canticles: That this same St. Jerome had promised to translate the other Works of this Author, but he thought it afterwards more glorious to write himself and to be an Author rather than an Interpreter. We therefore prosecute and compleat a thing which he has both approved and began, but we cannot render Origen's Words with the same Eloquence.* And he adds, that this very thing had kept him from undertaking that Translation; but at last he yielded to Macarius's earnest Intreaties; however that in this Version he had followed the Rule of those who had translated that Author before him; and that he had imitated St. Jerome, by cutting off those things which seemed disagreeable to the Doctrine of the Church; and so much the rather, because in Origen's Works there were Notions quite contrary: That the Reason of that seeming Contradiction might be found in the Apology that Pamphilus had written for Origen, and which himself had translated; and that he pretended to shew, by undeniable Proofs, that Origen's Works had been corrupted in several places by Hereticks or Men of ill designs; and that for this very Reason he had either omitted or altered in the Translation of that Treatise, those Articles wherein he seemed to speak otherwise than he did in his other Books. This Preface

was written in 397. when Rufinus published his Version of the Books of Origen's Principles at Rome.

It was no sooner published, but Oceanus and Pammachius sent it to St. Jerome, observing that they had found still some Errors there, notwithstanding that great part was expunged: intreating him, that to secure them in the Truth, he would make a faithful Translation of that Work. The Note which they writ to him about that Business, is the sixty fourth Letter.

St. Jerome thinking himself indirectly affronted by Rufinus's Preface, intimating that he had formerly commended Origen, which might insinuate that he then approved his Errors, and approved them still, fell instantly to Writing, to let the World know in what Sence he had commended Origen: He owns that he did it in two places of his Works, namely, in the Prologue of his Translation of the Homilies upon the Canticles, dedicated to Damasus, and in the Preface to his Treatise of Hebrew Names. But he affirms, that in both these places, he had not spoken either of his Doctrine or of his Opinions. *I have commended him, saith he, as an able Interpreter, and not as a man whose Dogm's ought to be followed; I have admired his Parts without approving his Doctrine, I have valued his Philosophy, and not his Preaching.* He adds, *That if any man would know what his Opinion has always been concerning Origen's Books, let him but read his Commentaries upon Ecclesiastes, and his three Volumes upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, whereby it will appear that he hath constantly contradicted Origen's Opinions.* Huetius is not perfectly satisfied with this Excuse of St. Jerome: He says that it doth not appear by the Commentaries which he citeth, that he hath contradicted Origen's Notions, tho' he hath filled them with that Author's Dogm's without quoting him. *If he believed them false, says he, ought he not to have censured them? Why did he not think it an Honour to copy them, as he affirms in the Preface to the second Book of his Commentary upon the Prophet Micah? Why hath he asserted in his Preface to the Book of Hebrew Names, That none but an ignorant man could deny that Origen was one of the Masters of the Church, after the Apostles.* These Reasons made Huetius say, that Rufinus was in the right in accusing St. Jerome of being an Origenist, and upbraiding him in his first Inveictive, that the Name of a Master of the Church cannot be given to an Heretick; that St. Jerome's Excuse is pitiful; that Rufinus thoroughly proves that he commended Origen's Doctrine; and that at last this Father is obliged to confess that his Opinions were altered as to Origen: That Sulpitius Severus had a great deal of Reason to find fault, that St. Jerome having at first followed Origen; did of a sudden condemn all his Works: That St. Augustine did justly accuse him of Inconstancy and Lightness; and that Pope Pelagius the II. is not to be blamed for putting him amongst Origen's Disciples. *That in a word, tho' this Holy Doctor acted the part of a good Catholic in abjuring Origen's Errors after he had owned them; yet it were to be wished he had been more constant and moderate, and that he had not so much indulged the Motions of his inflamed Choler, so as to be carried away unto contrary Notions, according to the different Circumstances of Time, and outrageous railing against the greatest Men of his Age. For this must be acknowledged, that Rufinus reproved him often with Reason, and that he often blamed Rufinus without Ground.*

* This is the Judgment which the Learned Huetius, now nominated to the Bishoprick of Soissons, doth with much Reason and Justice make of the Parts and Conduct of St. Jerome. I willingly subscribe to it, and do not doubt but that as many as have ever read this Father, will be of the same Mind.

Origen as well as he, and therefore they cannot with any Decency excuse his Carriage towards Rufinus; but in his Controversies with Jovinian and Vigilantius, concerning Virginity, and Invocation of Saints, he is applauded by them; only the wiser Men amongst them are a little out of Countenance at his Heat: It is a Misfortune that Jovinian's and Vigilantius's Books are lost; and there is Reason to believe from those other Disputes wherein St. Jerome was engaged, that if we knew what they said for themselves, instead of thinking them Hereticks, we should esteem them illustrious Defenders of the Christian Religion against that Superstition which an immoderate Zeal for a Monastical Life, did at that time introduce into the Church. Jovinian indeed is accused of maintaining, that a Christian who is baptized cannot fall away from Grace, which is a very great Error; but it had no relation to his other Opinions, and since Obstinacy is necessary to make a Man a Heretick it would be rashness to call Jovinian a Heretick of whom we know nothing, but what we have from his Enemies,]

And now to return to our Subject: St. Jerome going on to justify himself of those things which they reproached him withal, namely, of commending Origen, sets forth some Examples

St. Jerome. Examples of great Men that might be commended for their Learning, who did hold very remarkable Errors. 'St. Cyprian, saith he, took *Tertullian* for his Tutor, as appears by his Writings, and yet did not approve the Dreams of *Montanus* and *Maximilla* as he did. *Apollinarius* hath written very convincing Books against *Porphyrius*; and *Eusebius* writ a most useful History of the Church. The former erred concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, and the latter defends the Opinions of *Arius*.' He owns that he was *Apollinarius*'s Disciple, *Didymus*'s Scholar, yea, that he hath had a Jew for his Master; that he collected carefully all *Origen*'s Works, and read them exactly, but affirms, that he never followed his Errors. Lastly, to make short, he saith, that if he may be believed, he never was an *Origenist*, and that tho' he had been, yet now he ceaseth to be so. Upon this Principle he exhorts others to imitate him, and to condemn his Errors; after that, he gives *Origen* high Commendations, rejecting his Opinions. He refutes what *Rufinus* had asserted, that the Errors which were found in *Origen*'s Works had been added; and laughs at the Liberty which he had taken to expunge what he thought fit. Last of all, he affirms, that the first Book of the Apology for *Origen*, which bore the Name of *Pamphilus*, was not that Martyr's, but *Didymus*'s, or at least some other Author's. This Letter is written near 150 years after *Origen*'s Death, that is, in the year 399.

The sixty sixth Letter to *Rufinus*, wherein he complains of his Preface, is written at the same time. He speaks to him as to a Person with whom he would not quite fall out; he telleth him, that he knew not with what Spirit he writ that Preface, but that all the World saw how it was to be understood; that he might have been even with him, by commending him after the like malicious Manner, but that he chose rather to justify himself of the Crime laid to his Charge than offend his Friend; that he intreated him to cite him no more after the same manner; that he undertook to write to him about it as to his Friend, rather than to ingage with him publicly. To let him know that he would do nothing that might check that sincere Reconciliation which he had made with him, he exhorts him on his part to do the same, lest, saith he, that biting one another we do not mutually consume one another.

Rufinus, who was not of a Temper to lie still without replying, immediately put Pen to Paper to write against St. Jerome. *Paulinianus*, who was then in the West, having found a Way to get the Extracts of *Rufinus* his Book before it was quite published, sent them to his Brother, who besides was informed by *Pammachius* and *Marcellinus*, of the principal Heads contained in *Rufinus*'s Answer, and so he composed immediately his first Apology divided into two Books.

In the first he answers *Rufinus*'s Calumnies. The first was, that he had translated into Latin the Books of *Origen*'s Principles without altering.

St. Jerome answers, that he did it, to shew the falsity of *Rufinus* his Translation, and to shew *Origen*'s Errors, and so his Translation could hurt no Body, since it appeared that it was made only to condemn the Errors of that Book.

To justify *Origen*'s Doctrine about the Trinity, *Rufinus* had quoted the first Book of *Pamphilus*'s Apology. St. Jerome affirms, that it was not composed by that Martyr.

Rufinus laid before him the Praises which he had given to *Origen*. He answers as he did before, that he had commended his Learning but not his Doctrine, as he had commended *Eusebius* and *Apollinarius* without approving their Errors.

Rufinus charged him with publishing Errors, and Contradictions in his Commentaries. He says that he did it without approving of them; that he has collected in his Commentaries, the Notions and Words of others, observing that some understood those passages in one Sense, and others in another, that so the prudent Reader may chuse what is Truth, and reject what is false; and that in this Case none can tax him with Errors, and Contradictions, who barely relates the Notions, and different Expositions of others. This he proves by the Example of the ablest Commentators of profane Authors.

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Opinions without approving of them, since he observes at the same time, that those Explications were not his own. St. Jerome.

Lastly *Rufinus* upbraided St. Jerome, that he was naturally given to Calumniating, and Speaking evil of every Body: That he reprov'd other Mens Works out of Envy: Yea, he laid Perjury to his Charge; because having protested before the Judgment Seat of Christ (as he says in his Book of the *Instruction of Virgins*;) that he would read no more the Books of profane Authors, yet it did appear, that he had not left off reading of them. St. Jerome justifieth himself from the former Accusations; but as to the last he thinks it an Honour to follow the Study of learned Books, and declares, that whatsoever he hath said in the Treatise concerning the *Instructions of Virgins*, was only the Description of a Dream.

Towards the latter end of this Letter, he asserts that what he had said in the eighty third Epistle to *Oceanus*, that Baptism remits all Sins, that it blots out even the very spot of *Bigamy*: So that a Man might be ordained after a second Marriage, if the former was before Baptism. This Decision is contrary to that of Pope *Innocent I*.

St. Jerome having thus pleaded for himself against *Rufinus*'s Accusations, answers the Apology which he had made to satisfy Pope *Anastasius* who had condemned him, and to justify himself of those things that they reproached him withall. He made Profession of the Faith of the Church, and of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity at first. St. Jerome answers that this is not the Question, for now all Mankind was persuaded of that Principle concerning the Incarnation. St. Jerome asks him what he thought of the Soul of Christ, whether it was created before or at the Moment of his Conception. He chargeth him that he did not speak plain enough about the Resurrection of the Body, and further he pretends that *Rufinus* did not sufficiently explain himself upon the Eternity of the Devil's punishment. Concerning the Origination of the Soul he had said that there were three different Opinions; some held that one Soul begat another, as *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*. Others that God created them after the Forming of the Body, and so they came in by Infusion; and lastly some imagined that they were made when God created the World of nothing; that this was *Origen*'s Opinion, and that of some other Greeks: For his part, he was at no certainty about it, but left it to God, and to those to whom it should please God to reveal it: But that he believed what the Church openly professed, that God was the Creator of Souls, and Bodies. St. Jerome torments himself much about the last Point, and tho' he doth not say that any of these three Opinions are decided, yet he inveigheth much against *Rufinus*, because he would not condemn *Origen*'s Opinion. He endeavours afterwards to refute the Reasons which he alledged to justify himself for translating the Books of *Origen*'s Principles: He finds fault that he should strike out some of the Errors and leave the rest. He answers those Conjectures which he brought to show that *Origen*'s Books were Corrupted; and since he had asserted the same thing of the passages in the Works of the Ancients, as in St. *Clement*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and which did not seem to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity: He denies that that can be reasonably said, observing that if such Conjectures may take place, the greatest Hereticks should thereby be easily excused, as *Marcian*, *Manicheus*, *Arius*, *Eunomius*. But as *Rufinus* might have pressed upon St. Jerome by asking him, Why then were there any Errors in their Works, and whether he would call them Hereticks upon that Account? St. Jerome prevents that Objection by saying, *That perhaps they were in an Error, or the expressions they made use of had another Sense, or their Works might be corrupted by Transcribers; or lastly, that Writing before the Arian Heresie appeared, they did not take the necessary Precautions against it.* When St. Jerome made these remarks, he did not consider, that *Rufinus* might use them to defend *Origen*, as he did to excuse the Ancients: and perhaps this way of justifying him had been more solid than that which he made use of, by saying that those Errors had been added. This St. Jerome opposes with all his Might, and endeavours to show, that all the Examples of falsification of the Fathers Works alledged by *Rufinus*, have no Relation to those that are supposed to be in *Origen*'s Books. In the rest of the Letter he justifies himself from that Calumny, that he blamed the Version of the *Septuagint*. He declares, that he was so far from condemning it, that he had corrected it himself, and spake much in its Commendation. But he asserts that this Translation was not composed by the LXX in distinct Cells, and he defends those that have recourse to the Hebrew Text.

Rufinus was much surprized to see an Answer to a Book that was not yet published, and he Writ immediately to St. Jerome about it, and sent him withall an intire Copy of his first Answer. This Father who was not wont to leave any thing unanswered that was against him, wrote immediately the third Book of his Apology, which contains nothing but Personal Quarrels, or Repetitions of what had been said before: which commonly proves the end of all Disputes that continue long betwixt learned Men.

Pelagius

St. Jerome. Pelagius having made his Errors publick. St. Jerome, who suffered no New Opinion in the Church to pass unpunished, fell upon him vigorously in his Letter to *Ctesiphon*.

The first Maxim of *Pelagius*, which he opposes, is that of *Apathy*, that is, Freedom from Passions, which this Heretick thought Men could attain unto; and that having once got thus far, they might be without Sin.

The second is concerning the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, whereof *Pelagius* denied the Necessity, affirming, that Mens Salvation depended upon the Power of their Free Will. St. Jerome, as well as St. Augustine opposes this Error, by shewing the necessity of Prayer, and of good Works. If saith he, the Grace of *Jesus Christ* dependeth upon our Will, if we need only a free Will, and none other help is required, to what purpose should Prayer be made to God? Wherefore do we endeavour to move his Clemency, and call upon him for Succour, to obtain daily what is our own Power? We must therefore remove Fasting also and Continence: For why should I labour to get that by my Industry, which always depends on my self? He adds that this Consequence follows so Naturally upon this Heretick's Principles, that one of his own Party could not forbear reasoning after this manner in a Commentary, saying; That if there is need of foreign help to do Good, then Liberty is destroy'd. 'St. Jerome saith against this Error, that we have nothing but what is the Gift of God: That indeed it is Man's part to run and to will, but he hath need of God's assistance, to do it: That it is not, that God should once give us his Grace, he must give it constantly: If we would obtain we must ask for it, and having obtained it, there is Need of asking: And yet this Grace does not destroy Free-will, neither does it follow upon these Principles, that it is impossible to keep God's Commandments.

The third Maxim of *Pelagius* refuted by St. Jerome in this Letter, is a Consequence of the former. He held, that Man could be perfect, and freed from Sin, without God's Help. St. Jerome proves the contrary by several places of Scripture, which shew that Man cannot be delivered, but by the Grace of *Jesus Christ*. This Letter is of the year 411.

He handleth the same Questions in the Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, where he introduces a *Pelagian*, under the Name of *Critobulus*, discovering and establishing his Errors; and a Catholic under the Name of *Atticus* confuting them particularly, by Testimonies of Holy Scripture. This Dialogue is divided into two Books, and was written some time after the Letter to *Ctesiphon* about the year 415.

The sixty seventh Letter is a Translation of a Letter from *Theophilus* to St. *Epiphanius*, whereby he desires that Bishop of *Cyprus* to assemble a Synod in that Island, to condemn *Origen*, as he had done in *Egypt*. This Letter is of the year 399.

The sixty eighth is a Letter of St. Jerome's to *Theophilus*, who had sent him Word, that he should be exact in the observation of the Canons. St. Jerome thanks him for his admonition, and exhorts him to use his Authority against the *Origenists*, since Patience and Meekness could not reclaim them from their Error. This Letter is of the year 398.

The sixty ninth is from *Theophilus* to St. Jerome, giving him notice how he had driven away the Monks of *Nitria* who were accused of *Origenism*. St. Jerome returns him thanks for that Noble Action by the seventieth Letter. And he commends him again in the seventy first Letter for what he had done against *Origen*. And in the last Place *Theophilus* acquaints him by the seventy second that he had cleansed the Monasteries of *Nitria* of *Origenism*.

The seventy third is from St. *Epiphanius* to St. Jerome, giving him notice of the Judgment given by *Theophilus* against *Origen*: and he sends him the Letter written by that Bishop, and prays him to Publish what he had written in Latin upon that Matter.

The seventy fourth is a Note to *Marcella*.

The seventy fifth is against *Vigilantius*, who had accused him of *Origenism*, he uses the same Arguments for his defence, that he had done in his other Letters, and treats *Vigilantius* very ill. This Letter was written, about the year 397.

The seventy sixth is of the same time. He repeats there what he had written in several places, that *Origen* deserves to be commended for his Learning, but that his Principles are not to be followed.

The seventy seventh to *Mark* the Presbyter was written by St. Jerome from the Desert of *Syria*, about the time when the Eastern Bishops tormented him to oblige him to own three *Hypostases*, about the year 373.

The seventy eighth to *Pammachius* and *Marcella*, is about *Origen's* Condemnation. He gives them an Account of what *Theophilus* had decreed. He sends them a Copy of his Letter, and the Acts of his Judgment, and desireth them to have it confirmed at *Rome*, by Pope *Anastasius*. This Letter is of 399.

The seventy ninth is the last Letter of St. Jerome's, to St. Augustine. St. Jerome sent by *Innocent* the Priest, who in the year 419, was sent from *Africa* into *Egypt* to look after the Copies of the Council of *Nice*. It is not directed

to St. Augustine alone, but to him and *Alypius*. He congratulates their overthrowing of Heresie, and tells them, that he had not had time yet to answer what *Anianus*, *Pelagius's* Disciple had written against him, but he would do it very soon if God gave him Life: He speaketh of *Eustochium's* Death, who was alive when *Palladius* wrote his *Historia Lausiaca*, in 419, which shews that this Letter was written in the year 420.

The eightieth Letter wherein he commends St. Augustine for the Resolution and Courage, wherewith he had opposed *Pelagius's* Heresie, was written some years before. He exhorts him to go on, praising him in this manner, You are commended in *Rome*; The Catholics look upon you as the Restorer of the ancient Faith, and what is yet a more honourable thing for you is, that the Hereticks hate you.

The eighty first is a Note written about the time of his falling out with *John* of *Jerusalem*, after the Condemnation of the *Origenists*, about the year 404.

In the eighty second Letter, St. Jerome answers the Question about the Origination of Souls, proposed to him by *Marcellinus* Governor of *Africa*. He does not decide the Question, but saith that he had delivered his Opinion in his Books against *Rufinus*, and advises him to consult St. Augustine, who would clear that Point to him: He adds, that he could not yet compleat the Commentary upon *Ezekiel*, because of the *Barbarian's* Incursions. This Letter is of the year 410.

The eighty third to *Oceanus* concerneth a Point of Discipline, whether a Person twice married, but once before Baptism, is to be looked upon as a Bigamist, and so to be kept from sacred Orders: St. Jerome maintains the Negative with abundance of Wit.

In the eighty fourth to *Magnus*, St. Jerome proveth by the Examples of St. Paul, and of the most famous Christian Authors that a Christian Author, may, as he did, make use of prophane Examples, and prophane Authors. This Letter was composed about the year 400. In this Letter there is a Catalogue of almost all the Christian Authors to St. Jerome.

The eighty fifth is an Invektive against one who would have Deacons preferred before Priests. St. Jerome exalts the Priestly Dignity in a manner which seems too high, when he compares them with Bishops, 'I am informed saith he, that one was so impudent as to prefer Deacons before Priests: before Priests, I say, who may be compared with Bishops; For when St. Paul plainly teaches that Priests are Bishops, who can endure that those who serve Tables and Widows, should by pride exalt themselves above those, who by their Prayers consecrate the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*?' Then he produces passages out of the Apostolical Epistles, where they give to meer Priests the Name of Bishops, and adds, 'That it was to prevent Schism, that in process of time, one was chosen to be preferred before others, lest every one presuming to ascribe to himself the Pre-eminence, the Church of *Jesus Christ* should be perpetually divided.' For, saith he, in the See of *Alexandria*, from St. Mark the Evangelist to the time of *Heraclius* and *Dionysius*, the Priests chose one of them, whom they placed in a seat higher than the rest, and called him Bishop, much after the same manner, as an Army chuses an Emperor, or as Deacons chuse one of themselves to make him Archdeacon: And indeed, what doth a Bishop do, that is not done by a Priest, if you except Ordination? We are not to believe that the Church is otherwise at *Rome*, than in other Cities of the World. Gauls, Britains, Africans, Persians, Indians, and all other Nations worship the same God, and have the same Rule of Faith. If Authority be required, the World is bigger than a City. Let a Bishop be the Bishop of what Town you please, he is neither more or less a Bishop; whether of *Rome*, or *Eugubium*, whether of *Constantinople* or of *Rhegium*, *Alexandria* or *Tunis*, it is still the same Dignity, and the same Function. Power and Riches do not make a Bishop greater, Poverty and Want of Credit do not render his Station more vile. All Bishops are Successors of the Apostles. But, you will say, how cometh it to pass, that at *Rome* a Priest is not ordained, except a Deacon gives him his Testimonial? Why is the Custom of one only Town objected to me? Why is the small number of Deacons so exalted, as if that were the Law of the Church? All that is rare is most esteemed. The small number hath made Deacons valued, and the great number hath rendered Priests contemptible. However, Deacons stand before the Priests, even when the Priests are sate down, and this is observed even in the Church of *Rome*. Though I have seen a Deacon sitting in the same rank with the Priests, in the absence of the Bishop, and give the Blessing in the Presence of the Bishop, such is now the Corruption of Manners! But let such as undertake those things know that they are against Order; Let them hear these Words of the Apostle. It is not just that we should leave the Word of God to serve Tables; let them learn wherefore Deacons were established, let them read the Acts of the Apostles, and remember their Condition. The Name of Priest or Presbyter denotes Age, and that of Bishop Dignity; wherefore in the Epistle to *Timothy*, mention is made of the Ordination of Bishops and Deacons, but not of that of Priests, because

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Opinions without approving of them, since he observes at the same time, that those Explications were not his own. St. Jerome.

Lastly *Rufinus* upbraided St. Jerome, that he was naturally given to Calumniating, and Speaking evil of every Body: That he reproved other Mens Works out of Envy: Yea, he laid Perjury to his Charge; because having protested before the Judgment Seat of Christ (as he says in his Book of the *Instruction of Virgins*;) that he would read no more the Books of profane Authors, yet it did appear, that he had not left off reading of them. St. Jerome justifieth himself from the former Accusations; but as to the last he thinks it an Honour to follow the Study of learned Books, and declares, that whatsoever he hath said in the Treatise concerning the *Instructions of Virgins*, was only the Description of a Dream.

Towards the latter end of this Letter, he asserts that what he had said in the eighty third Epistle to *Oceanus*, that Baptism remits all Sins, that it blots out even the very spot of *Bigamy*: So that a Man might be ordained after a second Marriage, if the former was before Baptism. This Decision is contrary to that of Pope *Innocent I*.

St. Jerome having thus pleaded for himself against *Rufinus*'s Accusations, answers the Apology which he had made to satisfy Pope *Anastasius* who had condemned him, and to justify himself of those things that they reproached him withall. He made Profession of the Faith of the Church, and of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity at first. St. Jerome answers that this is not the Question, for now all Mankind was persuaded of that Principle concerning the Incarnation. St. Jerome asks him what he thought of the Soul of Christ, whether it was created before or at the Moment of his Conception. He chargeth him that he did not speak plain enough about the Resurrection of the Body, and further he pretends that *Rufinus* did not sufficiently explain himself upon the Eternity of the Devil's punishment. Concerning the Origination of the Soul he had said that there were three different Opinions; some held that one Soul begat another, as *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*. Others that God created them after the Forming of the Body, and so they came in by Infusion; and lastly some imagined that they were made when God created the World of nothing; that this was *Origen*'s Opinion, and that of some other Greeks: For his part, he was at no certainty about it, but left it to God, and to those to whom it should please God to reveal it: But that he believed what the Church openly professed, that God was the Creator of Souls, and Bodies. St. Jerome torments himself much about the last Point, and tho' he doth not say that any of these three Opinions are decided, yet he inveigheth much against *Rufinus*, because he would not condemn *Origen*'s Opinion. He endeavours afterwards to refute the Reasons which he alledged to justify himself for translating the Books of *Origen*'s Principles: He finds fault that he should strike out some of the Errors and leave the rest. He answers those Conjectures which he brought to show that *Origen*'s Books were Corrupted; and since he had asserted the same thing of the passages in the Works of the Ancients, as in St. *Clement*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and which did not seem to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity: He denies that that can be reasonably said, observing that if such Conjectures may take place, the greatest Hereticks should thereby be easily excused, as *Marcian*, *Manichaeus*, *Arius*, *Eunomius*. But as *Rufinus* might have pressed upon St. Jerome by asking him, Why then were there any Errors in their Works, and whether he would call them Hereticks upon that Account? St. Jerome prevents that Objection by saying, *That perhaps they were in an Error, or the expressions they made use of had another Sense, or their Works might be corrupted by Transcribers; or lastly, that Writing before the Arian Heresie appeared, they did not take the necessary Precautions against it.* When St. Jerome made these remarks, he did not consider, that *Rufinus* might use them to defend *Origen*, as he did to excuse the Ancients: and perhaps this way of justifying him had been more solid than that which he made use of, by saying that those Errors had been added. This St. Jerome opposes with all his Might, and endeavours to show, that all the Examples of falsification of the Fathers Works alledged by *Rufinus*, have no Relation to those that are supposed to be in *Origen*'s Books. In the rest of the Letter he justifies himself from that Calumny, that he blamed the Version of the *Septuagint*. He declares, that he was so far from condemning it, that he had corrected it himself, and spake much in its Commendation. But he asserts that this Translation was not composed by the LXX in distinct Cells, and he defends those that have recourse to the Hebrew Text.

Rufinus was much surprized to see an Answer to a Book that was not yet published, and he Writ immediately to St. Jerome about it, and sent him withall an intire Copy of his first Answer. This Father who was not wont to leave any thing unanswered that was against him, wrote immediately the third Book of his Apology, which contains nothing but Personal Quarrels, or Repetitions of what had been said before: which commonly proves the end of all Disputes that continue long betwixt learned Men.

Pelagius

St. Jerome. Pelagius having made his Errors publick. St. Jerome, who suffered no New Opinion in the Church to pass unpunished, fell upon him vigorously in his Letter to *Cresiphon*.

The first Maxim of Pelagius, which he opposes, is that of *Apathy*, that is, Freedom from Passions, which this Heretick thought Men could attain unto; and that having once got thus far, they might be without Sin.

The second is concerning the Grace of Jesus Christ, whereof Pelagius denied the Necessity, affirming, that Mens Salvation depended upon the Power of their Free Will. St. Jerome, as well as St. Augustine opposes this Error, by shewing the necessity of Prayer, and of good Works. If faith he, the Grace of Jesus Christ dependeth upon our Will, if we need only a free Will, and none other help is required, to what purpose should Prayer be made to God? Wherefore do we endeavour to move his Clemency, and call upon him for Succour, to obtain daily what is our own Power? We must therefore remove Fasting also and Continence: For why should I labour to get that by my Industry, which always depends on my self? He adds that this Consequence follows so Naturally upon this Heretick's Principles, that one of his own Party could not forbear reasoning after this manner in a Commentary, saying; That if there is need of foreign help to do Good, then Liberty is destroy'd. 'St. Jerome saith against this Error, that we have nothing but what is the Gift of God: That indeed it is Man's part to run and to will, but he hath need of God's assistance, to do it: That it is not, that God should once give us his Grace, he must give it constantly: If we would obtain we must ask for it, and having obtained it, there is Need of asking: And yet this Grace does not destroy Free-will, neither does it follow upon these Principles, that it is impossible to keep God's Commandments.

The third Maxim of Pelagius refuted by St. Jerome in this Letter, is a Consequence of the former. He held, that Man could be perfect, and freed from Sin, without God's Help. St. Jerome proves the contrary by several places of Scripture, which shew that Man cannot be delivered, but by the Grace of Jesus Christ. This Letter is of the year 411.

He handleth the same Questions in the Dialogue against the Pelagians, where he introduces a Pelagian, under the Name of *Critobulus*, discovering and establishing his Errors; and a Catholick under the Name of *Atticus* confuting them particularly, by Testimonies of Holy Scripture. This Dialogue is divided into two Books, and was written some time after the Letter to *Cresiphon* about the year 415.

The sixty seventh Letter is a Translation of a Letter from *Theophilus* to St. *Epiphanius*, whereby he desires that Bishop of Cyprus to assemble a Synod in that Island, to condemn *Origen*, as he had done in Egypt. This Letter is of the year 399.

The sixty eighth is a Letter of St. Jerome's to *Theophilus*, who had sent him Word, that he should be exact in the observation of the Canons. St. Jerome thanks him for his admonition, and exhorts him to use his Authority against the *Origenists*, since Patience and Meekness could not reclaim them from their Error. This Letter is of the year 398.

The sixty ninth is from *Theophilus* to St. Jerome, giving him notice how he had driven away the Monks of Nitria who were accused of *Origenism*. St. Jerome returns him thanks for that Noble Action by the seventieth Letter. And he commends him again in the seventy first Letter for what he had done against *Origen*. And in the last Place *Theophilus* acquaints him by the seventy second that he had cleansed the Monasteries of Nitria of *Origenism*.

The seventy third is from St. *Epiphanius* to St. Jerome, giving him notice of the Judgment given by *Theophilus* against *Origen*: and he sends him the Letter written by that Bishop, and prays him to Publish what he had written in Latin upon that Matter.

The seventy fourth is a Note to *Marcella*.

The seventy fifth is against *Vigilantius*, who had accused him of *Origenism*, he uses the same Arguments for his defence, that he had done in his other Letters, and treats *Vigilantius* very ill. This Letter was written, about the year 397.

The seventy sixth is of the same time. He repeats there what he had written in several places, that *Origen* deserves to be commended for his Learning, but that his Principles are not to be followed.

The seventy seventh to *Mark* the Presbyter was written by St. Jerome from the Desert of Syria, about the time when the Eastern Bishops tormented him to oblige him to own three *Hypostases*, about the year 373.

The seventy eighth to *Pammachius* and *Marcella*, is about *Origen's* Condemnation. He gives them an Account of what *Theophilus* had decreed. He sends them a Copy of his Letter, and the Acts of his Judgment, and desireth them to have it confirmed at Rome, by Pope *Anastasius*. This Letter is of 399.

The seventy ninth is the last Letter of St. Jerome's, to St. Augustine. St. Jerome sent by *Innocent* the Priest, who in the year 419, was sent from Africa into Egypt to look after the Copies of the Council of Nice. It is not directed

to St. Augustine alone, but to him and *Alypius*. He congratulates their overthrowing of Heresie, and tells them, that he had not had time yet to answer what *Anianus*, Pelagius's Disciple had written against him, but he would do it very soon if God gave him Life: He speaketh of *Eustochium's* Death, who was alive when *Palladius* wrote his *Historia Lausiaca*, in 419, which shews that this Letter was written in the year 420.

The eightieth Letter wherein he commends St. Augustine for the Resolution and Courage, wherewith he had opposed Pelagius's Heresie, was written some years before. He exhorts him to go on, praising him in this manner, You are commended in Rome; The Catholicks look upon you as the Restorer of the ancient Faith, and what is yet a more honourable thing for you is, that the Hereticks hate you.

The eighty first is a Note written about the time of his falling out with John of Jerusalem, after the Condemnation of the *Origenists*, about the year 404.

In the eighty second Letter, St. Jerome answers the Question about the Origination of Souls, proposed to him by *Marcellinus* Governor of Africa. He does not decide the Question, but saith that he had delivered his Opinion in his Books against *Rufinus*, and advises him to consult St. Augustine, who would clear that Point to him: He adds, that he could not yet compleat the Commentary upon *Ezekiel*, because of the Barbarian's Incursions. This Letter is of the year 410.

The eighty third to *Oceannus* concerneth a Point of Discipline, whether a Person twice married, but once before Baptism, is to be looked upon as a *Bigamist*, and so to be kept from sacred Orders: St. Jerome maintains the Negative with abundance of Wit.

In the eighty fourth to *Magnus*, St. Jerome proveth by the Examples of St. Paul, and of the most famous Christian Authors that a Christian Author, may, as he did, make use of prophane Examples, and prophane Authors. This Letter was composed about the year 400. In this Letter there is a Catalogue of almost all the Christian Authors to St. Jerome.

The eighty fifth is an Invektive against one who would have Deacons preferred before Priests. St. Jerome exalts the Priestly Dignity in a manner which seems too high, when he compares them with Bishops, 'I am informed saith he, that one was so impudent as to prefer Deacons before Priests: before Priests, I say, who may be compared with Bishops; For when St. Paul plainly teaches that Priests are Bishops, who can endure that those who serve Tables and Widows, should by pride exalt themselves above those, who by their Prayers consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ?' Then he produces passages out of the Apostolical Epistles, where they give to meer Priests the Name of Bishops, and adds, 'That it was to prevent Schism, that in process of time, one was chosen to be preferred before others, lest every one presuming to ascribe to himself the Pre-eminence, the Church of Jesus Christ should be perpetually divided.' For, saith he, in the See of Alexandria, from St. Mark the Evangelist to the time of Heraclius and Dionysius, the Priests chose one of them, whom they placed in a seat higher than the rest, and called him Bishop, much after the same manner, as an Army chuses an Emperor, or as Deacons chuse one of themselves to make him Archdeacon: And indeed, what doth a Bishop do, that is not done by a Priest, if you except Ordination? We are not to believe that the Church is otherwise at Rome, than in other Cities of the World. Gauls, Britains, Africans, Persians, Indians, and all other Nations worship the same God, and have the same Rule of Faith. If Authority be required, the World is bigger than a City. Let a Bishop be the Bishop of what Town you please, he is neither more or less a Bishop; whether of Rome, or Eugubium, whether of Constantinople or of Rhegium, Alexandria or Tunis, it is still the same Dignity, and the same Function. Power and Riches do not make a Bishop greater, Poverty and Want of Credit do not render his Station more vile. All Bishops are Successors of the Apostles. But, you will say, how cometh it to pass, that at Rome a Priest is not ordained, except a Deacon gives him his Testimonial? Why is the Custom of one only Town objected to me? Why is the small number of Deacons so exalted, as if that were the Law of the Church? All that is rare is most esteemed. The small number hath made Deacons valued, and the great number hath rendered Priests contemptible. However, Deacons stand before the Priests, even when the Priests are sate down, and this is observed even in the Church of Rome. Though I have seen a Deacon sitting in the same rank with the Priests, in the absence of the Bishop, and give the Blessing in the Presence of the Bishop, such is now the Corruption of Manners! But let such as undertake those things know that they are against Order; Let them hear these Words of the Apostle. It is not just that we should leave the Word of God to serve Tables; let them learn wherefore Deacons were established, let them read the Acts of the Apostles, and remember their Condition. The Name of Priest or Presbyter denotes Age, and that of Bishop Dignity; wherefore in the Epistle to Timothy, mention is made of the Ordination of Bishops and Deacons, but not of that of Priests, because

cause Priests are comprised under the Name of Bishops. Lastly, to shew that a Priest is above a Deacon, one needs only observe that a Priest is made of a Deacon, but not a Deacon of a Priest.

This Letter was written after his going from Rome, the year is not known, but it was in all probability about the year 387. What he saith of Bishops may have a good Sense, if we consider his design in this Place, which was to exalt the Dignity of the Priesthood by comparing them with Bishops, not that he thought them equal in Dignity, since he positively excepteth the Power of Ordination, (and that of Confirmation in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*;) but since Priests have a share in the Government of the Church, they may in that Sense be called Bishops. Like Expressions may be seen in St. Jerome's Commentary upon the Epistle to *Titus* and in many Authors that have followed him.

The eighty sixth is a Letter from St. Augustine, to St. Jerome, whereby he thanks him for the Answer to his, and intreats him in the Name of the whole African Church, to translate the Greek Authors that had writ Commentaries upon the Scripture. He says, that he was very desirous that St. Jerome would translate the Sacred Books after the same way, that he had translated *Job*, by setting down the differences of the Version of the LXX, which had great Authority in the Church. Now because St. Austin did not understand Hebrew he could not apprehend that there should be so much difference, betwixt the Hebrew Text, and the Translation of the LXX, and doth not approve of any departing from it. For, saith he to St. Jerome, either those passages are clear or they are dark. If they are dark you may be mistaken, as well as the Seventy; If they are clear, can any Man believe that these learned Men did not understand them? This Letter which was written about the year 395, not being carried, St. Augustine wrote another to St. Jerome, upon the same Subject, in 397. But the Person to whom he had given it to deliver to St. Jerome, gave out some Copies of it which were spread in Rome, so that it was publick before St. Jerome saw it. This second Letter is here the ninety seventh. St. Augustine asketh of St. Jerome the true Title of his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*; afterwards he reproves what St. Jerome had said, that St. Peter, and St. Paul pretended to have a difference, though they were agreed. He pretends that this Opinion is of very great Consequence, and may have dangerous Effects, because if we admit of an Officious Lye in the Holy Scripture, it seems to give Men a handle to doubt of all. He therefore exhorts him to alter that passage in his Commentary. At the latter end, he prays him to add to his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, the Errors of some Hereticks of whom he speaks, or to make a Book purposely on that Subject. St. Augustine having no Answer, because neither of those two Letters were delivered to St. Jerome, wrote a third by Cyprian the Deacon, wherein he requireth an Answer to the former, adding in this, that he found fault with his writing a new Translation of the Bible, pretending that it would cause Disturbances and Scandals if it were publicly read in the Church: as it really happened in a Church of *Africk*; where a Bishop having publicly read the Prophecy of *Jonas*, according to St. Jerome's Translation: the People hearing other Terms than they were wont to hear, accused their Bishops of falsifying the Scripture. This Letter was written some years after the foregoing, about the year 403.

St. Jerome having received these three Letters by Cyprian the Deacon, thought himself affronted by St. Augustine's demands, and answered him with some Loftiness in the eighty ninth Letter. He repeats all the Questions that had been put to him by St. Augustine, and endeavours to give him satisfaction. He telleth him 1. about the Title of his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, that it ought to be intitled, the Book of *Famous Men*, or of *Ecclesiastical Writers*.

2. He defends his Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the *Galatians*, about the Action of St. Peter, and St. Paul, by the Authority of *Origen*, *Didymus*, and other ancient Authors, whose Commentaries he only translated, as he had said before in the Preface. That if he is in an Error, he had rather err with those great Men, than flatter himself with having the Truth only on his side. He adds Reasons to Authority, shewing by the History of the *Acts*, that St. Peter could not but know, that Christians were freed from the Burthen of the Law; That on the other side St. Paul had himself practised that very thing whereof he here accuseth St. Peter, by observing the Ceremonies of the Law; from whence he concludes that both these Apostles, being of the same Opinion, had agreed to raise that small Dispute to instruct both *Jews* and *Gentiles* by that pious Artifice. Afterwards he refutes St. Augustine's Opinion, and strives to answer the Reasons which he had produced.

Last of all he gives him Reasons for the Notes, that were in his Translation of the Scripture. He answereth St. Augustine's Reasoning, to prove that he had done well in translating the Bible a new, very pleasantly, by retorting the same upon him, 'You cannot be ignorant, saith he, that the *Psalms* have been expounded by several Commentators, Greek and Latin, who wrote before you. Pray tell me,

how you durst undertake to give a new Exposition of them, after those great Men? You believed that those places which you explained were either clear or obscure: If they were clear, it is probable (to use your own way of reasoning) that they did understand them, and if they are obscure, and they did not well understand them, it may be thought that you might be mistaken as well as they. And lastly, he makes himself sport with their Quarrelling, with the good Bishop for reading his Translation of *Jonas*, shewing that the occasion of it was ridiculous, because the Question was about one single Word only, namely the *Fern Gourd*; which he had rendred *Ivy*. This Letter is of the year 404.

St. Jerome being sometime without answering this Letter, St. Augustine wrote to him, that he was informed that he had received his Letters, and expected an Answer, and whereas there was a Discourse that he had sent a Book to Rome against St. Jerome, he assures him that he had not. This Letter is of the year 402. It is here the ninetieth.

St. Jerome in answer to it saith, that he saw a Letter wherein he proved a passage of his Commentary upon St. Paul, and advised him to retract it; but not being sure that this Letter was from him, he had not answered it yet, because he had been disturbed by the Sickness of Paula. Afterwards he upbraids him for the Liberty he had taken; and taxes him with seeking after Glory, by attacking great Men, telling him that he ought to examine his own Strength, and not compare himself with a Man that is grown old in Studying the Holy Scripture, and much less provoke him to a Combat. And at last deals with him as with one whom he did not much value, and whom he judged not worthy of his Anger. This Letter is of the year 402.

The ninety second is written by St. Jerome with the same Spirit. Again he complains that St. Augustine's Letter was published. He writes him word that his Friends said that he had not acted innocently in that particular, but seemed to go about to establish his own Glory by the ruin of another Man's: That if he would dispute, there were young and able Men at Rome of his own strength; As for himself, he might, like a Veteran Soldier commend the Victories of others but not engage in the Fight; that he would not so much as read his Books to find fault; that he had seen nothing of his but his Soliloquies, and some Commentaries upon the *Psalms*, and that if he would examine them, he could shew him how he departed from the Exposition of ancient Authors. This Letter is of the year 403.

St. Augustine having received both these Letters, answered him with much Civility and Moderation, yet without subscribing to his Opinions. He speaks of the Quarrel which he had with *Rufinus*, and laments that Division, representing to him, that he had not shewed that Meekness and Charity which he might have done. This Letter is written very artificially. It is the ninety third. He directed it to *Presidius*, to see it conveyed to St. Jerome, as appears by the ninety fifth.

St. Jerome contented with St. Augustine's Compliments and Satisfaction, writ to him some time after the ninety sixth Letter, whereby he excuses himself for having answered him, and tells him, that he earnestly desired there should be no more Disputes betwixt them.

St. Augustine having received this Letter by *Firmus*, returned an Answer by the ninety seventh Letter, to what St. Jerome had written to satisfy his requests, and defended his Opinions with great Clearness and Moderation. This Letter is here the ninety seventh, and was written as well as the foregoing in the year 403.

After this time there was no more said of the Questions that were betwixt them, and they never writ to one another but with Civility. This may be taken Notice of in the Letters we have already spoken of, and in the ninety fourth, where St. Jerome thanketh St. Augustine, for dedicating and sending to him, by *Orosius*, the Books concerning the *Origination of Souls*; and he tells him, that he spake honourably of him in the Dialogue, which he wrote against *Pelagius*. This Letter is of the year 406.

The ninety eighth is a Compliment from St. Jerome to St. Augustine of the year 397.

The ninety ninth Letter to *Asella* was written by St. Jerome, at his going from Rome; he defends himself very warmly from the false Rumours, which his Calumniators had spread against him; because of the Familiarity which he had had at Rome with some Roman Ladies. This Letter he writ when he was embarking to return into the East, in 385.

The hundredth Letter is a Satyr against one *Bonofus* who had taken what St. Jerome had writ in general against all Vices, as particularly designed against himself, it is probably of the same time with the foregoing.

St. Jerome quibbles upon his Name, and plays upon his Nose, and tells him, That tho' his Name be lucky, yet upon that Account he has no Reason to value himself.]

St. Jerome. The hundred and first to *Pammachius*, Concerning the best Method of translating, is about the Translation, which he made two years before of *St. Epiphanius's* Letter to *John of Jerusalem*. He was accused of not having done it faithfully. To justify himself, he proves by the Examples of the best Translators both Ecclesiastical and Profane, that to translate well, one is not to follow the Words, or Terms, but the Sense and Conceptions of his Author. He saith, that this Treatise was composed two years after the Translation of *St. Epiphanius's* Letter, of the Year 303, which shews that it is of 395.

In the hundred and second to *Marcella*, he argues against those who accused him, of corrupting the Text of the Gospel, because he had corrected the Faults of the Latin Translation according to the Greek Original; and he reproveth those that found Fault with him, for blaming the Virgins frequenting Men's Company. This Letter was written likewise sometime after his Departure from *Rome*, in 385, or 386.

These are *St. Jerome's* Letters and Treatises contained in the Second Volume.

The third contains the Critical Letters and Works upon the Holy Scripture.

The first directed to *Paulinus*, is not upon that Subject only; for he exhorts him not only to the Reading of the Holy Scripture, but also to retire, and to vow Poverty. But the Principal Subject of that Letter is Precepts, and a Method which is to be observed both in reading and understanding the Holy Scripture. He shews at first that no Man ought to enter upon that Study, without a skilful Guide to shew him the way. He complains that all other Arts, and Sciences, are exercised by none but Men of that Profession, but that every one pretends to be skill'd in the understanding of the Scriptures.

To shew that Men are deceived, and that the Scripture is not so easily understood, as they imagine, he reckons up the several Books, and takes notice of the great difficulty of finding the true Sense and Spirit of them, and he draws up in short very curious Observations upon every Book of the Scripture, and upon the Character of their Authors.

The second Letter in Number one hundred and four to *Desiderius*, is a Preface to his Version of the *Pentateuch*. He sheweth how necessary, and withall how difficult it is to undertake it after the Translation of the LXX, and that this is defective.

The hundred and fifth Letter is a Preface to the Book of *Job*.

The hundred and sixth is a Preface to the Books of *Kings*, where he sets down the number of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, according to the *Jewish* Catalogue.

The hundred and seventh is a Preface to the *Chronicles* directed to *Chromatius*.

The hundred and eighth is another Preface to the *Chronicles*.

The hundred and ninth is a Preface to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

The hundred and tenth is the Preface to *Tobit*.

The hundred and eleventh to *Judith*.

The hundred and twelfth to *Esther*.

The hundred and thirteenth to *Job*.

The hundred and fourteenth is another Preface to *Job*.

The hundred and fifteenth is a Preface to the Books of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*.

The hundred and sixteenth is a particular Letter concerning his Translation of *Ecclesiastes*.

The hundred and seventeenth to *Isaiah*.

The hundred and eighteenth to *Jeremiah*.

The hundred and nineteenth to *Ezekiel*.

The hundred and twentieth to *Daniel*.

The hundred and twenty first to the twelve Minor Prophets.

The hundred and twenty second to *Joel*.

The hundred and twenty third is a Preface directed by *St. Jerome* to *Damasus* upon the new Translation of the four *Evangelists*.

The hundred and twenty fourth is a Letter from *Damasus* to *St. Jerome*, wherein he asketh him five Questions about the Holy Scripture. The first what is the meaning of those Words. *Genesis* Chap. 4. *Whoever slays Cain, Vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold*. The second, if all that God did was very good, as it is said in *Genesis* wherefore is mention made of clean and unclean Creatures? The third why God said to *Abraham*, that the Children of *Israel* should go out of *Egypt* in the fourth Generation; and yet it is said in *Exodus* that it was the fifth Generation which came out of *Egypt*. The fourth why *Abraham* received Circumcision as a Seal of Faith. And the fifth why *Isaac* blessed that Son whom he designed not to bless.

St. Jerome makes no answer to *Damasus* about the second and fourth Questions, because they were handled at Large by *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, *Origen* and *Didymus*: But he explaineth the rest. He saith to the first concerning those

Words of *Genesis*, *Whoever slays Cain Vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold*; That they signifie, that whosoever killeth *Cain*, shall undergo the seven sorts of Revenge, or Punishment wherewith he was threatened. He resolves the third, by observing that we are not to read in *Exodus*, that the Children of *Israel* went out of *Egypt* at the fifth Generation, as it is in the Translation of the seventy; but that they went out Armed, as it is in *Aquila's* Translation: Lastly he answereth the fifth, saying that *Isaac* did that good thing for the Family, in blessing *Jacob* by a particular Effect of God's Providence without knowing it: He cites afterwards a Passage out of *Hyppolytus*, which gives an Allegorical Sense to that Action, affirming that *Esa* was a Type of the People of the *Jews*, and *Jacob* that of the Church. He approves this Exposition, and so he easily answers *Damasus* his Question.

In the hundred and twenty fifth Letter to *Evagrius*, he examineth who *Melchisedeck* was: He rejects that Man's Opinion, who held that *Melchisedeck* was the Holy Spirit. As also *Origen's* and *Didymus's* who said that *Melchisedeck* was an Angel. He produces the Opinions of *Hyppolytus*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Ensebius*, and *Eustathius*, who believed him to have been a *Canaanite*, King of a City called *Salem*, and a Priest of the Lord: He likewise takes Notice of the *Jewish* Opinion that it was *Sem Noah's* Son, and he seems not to disapprove it. He observes that the City of *Salem*, was not *Jerusalem* as *Josephus* and most of the Ancients believed, but another City near *Scythopolis*, called, as he says, *Salem* even in his time.

The following Letter to *Fabiola*, is a moral Explication of the forty Encampings of the *Israelites*, from their going out of *Egypt* to the Land of Promise. He looks upon that Journey as a Representation of the way to Heaven, and to every Decamping he applies a moral Instruction. The like Reflections are made in the hundred and twenty eighth Letter upon the Habits, and Sacerdotal Ornaments of the Priests under the Old Law.

He shews in the hundred and twenty ninth, that what is said of the promised Land, is to be understood spiritually of eternal Glory, and as he makes use particularly of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* to prove his Assertion, so he affirms that tho' the Greek Churches will not own it no more than the *Revelations* of *St. John*, yet the *Latins* receive both, because they are quoted by the Ancients.

In the hundred and thirtieth to *Marcella*, he tells her what the *Ephod* and *Teraphim* were.

The hundred and thirty first Letter to *Rufinus*, contains an allegorical Exposition of the History of the two Women that were judged by *Solomon*, who were, as he pretends a Figure of the Church and of the *Synagogue*.

In the hundred and thirty second, he answers an Historical Difficulty about the years of *Solomon* and *Abaz*. It is said of *Solomon* that he began to reign at twelve years, that he reigned forty years, and that his Son *Roboam* succeeded him being forty one years old. It seems by that, that *Solomon* had a Son at eleven years: The same is said of King *Abaz*. He is said to have begun his Reign at twenty years of Age, that he reigned sixteen years, and that his Son *Hezekiah* succeeded him at the Age of twenty five, which also intimates that *Abaz* had him at eleven years of Age. This seems extraordinary and incredible, *St. Jerome* answers that it might possibly be, but that the difficulty might be solved thus, that the Reigns both of *Solomon* and of *Abaz*, may have had a double beginning: When they began to reign with their Fathers, and when they began to reign by themselves. This being supposed, the Answer is at Hand, when it is said that *Solomon* began to reign at twelve, and *Abaz* at twenty years of Age, is to be understood of the beginning of their Reign with their Fathers, whereas when it is said in another Place, that they died after having reigned, one forty, and the other sixteen years, that is to be understood of the Time when they began to reign alone. Whence it follows that they might then be of Age to have Children. He confesses at the latter end of this Letter that there are several Chronological Difficulties in the History of the Old Testament: Especially about the years of the Kings of *Israel* and of *Juda*, but he would have no Man trouble himself much to explain them.

The hundred and thirty third Letter to *Marcella* is a Critick upon the Commentary upon the *Canticles*, that was made by *Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*. He observes several Faults in that Author, which were mentioned in the second Volume of this *Bibliotheca*.

The hundred and thirty fourth to *Sophronius* containeth Notes upon the *Psalms*. He saith that some divide them into five Books, but that he comprehended all in one Volume, following therein the Authority of the *Jews* and the Apostles. He affirms that they are written by those whose Names are found at the beginning of every *Psalms*. He speaks afterwards of his Latin Translation of the *Psalms* and of *Sophronius's* Design to translate it into Greek.

The hundred and thirty fifth Letter to *Sumia* and *Fretella*, is a Critick upon those passages of the *Psalms*, where

the Greek of the *Septuagint*, and the Latin Version differ. St. Jerome layeth this down for a Rule, that when there is a Difference betwixt the Latin Copies of the New Testament, they ought to go to the Original: So likewise when there is any Difference between the Greek and the Latin of the Old Testament, to find out the truth, the Hebrew Text ought to be consulted. By this Rule he explains all those passages of the *Psalms* where the Greek of the Seventy, and the Version then in use did not agree.

In the hundred and thirty sixth to *Marcella*, he expounds the ten several Names given to God in the Hebrew Tongue.

In the hundred and thirty seventh to the same, he gives the Signification of the Terms *Halleluja*, *Amen*, *Maranatha*. *Halleluja*, according to him, signifies *praise the Lord*. *Amen* is a Word which signifies that Credit is given to a thing, desiring that it may be so; and which may be rendered, *So be it*. *Maranatha* is a Syriack Word, which St. Jerome translateth, *Our Lord comes*.

In the hundred and thirty eighth Epistle to the same, he shows the Meaning of the Hebrew *Selah*, which the Greeks translate *Diapsalma*, a Word very frequent in the *Psalms*. He saith that some have said that the *Diapsalma* was an Alteration of the Verse; and others, that it signified a Pause; others, a Change of the Tune: He is not of their mind, but saith with *Aquila*, that *Selah* signifies *always*.

The hundred and thirty ninth, to *Cyprian*, is an Exposition of the eighty ninth *Psalms* according to the Hebrew Text.

The hundred and fortieth to *Principiu*, is an Exposition of the forty fourth *Psalms*.

The hundred and forty first containeth certain Remarks to understand the hundred and twenty sixth *Psalms*.

The hundred and forty second, and hundred forty third, to *Damasus*, clears the History of *Uzziah*, speaks of the Seraphim, the *Holy, holy, holy*, and the rest of *Isaiah's* Vision described in the sixth Chapter of his Prophecy.

The hundred and forty fifth Letter to Pope *Damasus*, explains the meaning of the Word *Hosanna*, rejecting St. Hilary's Opinion, who thought that it signified *The Redemption of David's House*; as also that it signified *Glory*: to expound it he appeals to the Hebrew Text, and pretends, that *Hosanna* whereof they have made *Hosanna*, signifies *Save us Lord*.

The hundred and forty sixth to the same, is an allegorical Exposition of the Parable of the prodigal Son, whom he supposes to be a Figure of the *Gentiles* converted to the Faith.

In the hundred and forty seventh to *Amandus*, he gives a literal Explication of three passages of the New Testament, of these Words of Jesus Christ, *Matth. ch. 6. Take no thought for the morrow; sufficient unto the Day is the Evil thereof*. Of those of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 2. He that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body*; and of that other of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 15. where he saith, that all things are subject to the Son of God, and that he is subject to him who hath put all things under him*. At the latter end he moves the Question, whether a Woman having left her Husband because he was an Adulterer, or given to unnatural Lusts, may be married to another; and if, having done so, she might be admitted to the Communion? He answers, that she cannot marry without sinning, and ought not to be admitted to the Communion but after Penance, and having renounced the second Husband.

In the hundred and forty eighth, he resolves five Questions, which *Marcellus* put to him upon several passages of the New Testament. The first is, How St. Paul could say, *that eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of Man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him*. Since he says in another place, *that God hath revealed them by his Spirit*. St. Jerome answereth that in the former place St. Paul speaks of the things which the Eyes and Ears of Flesh may apprehend, and what may be comprehended by humane Understanding without Revelation. The second Question was about the Exposition which St. Jerome had given of the Parable of the Goats and of the Sheep, which are at the right, and at the left Hand of God; whereby he understood the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*, and not good and evil Men. Here St. Jerome refers to what he had said in his Books to *Jovinian*. The third Question was concerning those of whom the Apostle saith, that they shall be carried alive into the Air at the Day of Judgment to meet Jesus Christ. St. Jerome sticks not to say, that this is to be understood literally, and that such as shall be found alive then shall not die, but their Bodies shall become incorruptible and immortal. The fourth is about those Words of Jesus Christ to *Mary Magdalen*, *Touch me not*. This is the Sense of them according to St. Jerome, *You deserve not to fall down at my Feet and worship me, seeing*

you doubted of my Resurrection. It is more natural to expound them after this other manner, *Do not make haste to embrace and to hold me, I am not yet ascended into Heaven, I will abide for some time upon Earth, and you may do it at leisure*. The last Question is to know whether Christ being upon Earth after his Resurrection, was likewise in Heaven at the same time? St. Jerome answereth, that it is unquestionable that the Word of God was every where; but he does not answer the Question proposed precisely, which was not concerning the Divinity, but the Humanity of Jesus Christ.

In the hundred and forty ninth Letter he proposeth to himself one of the chiefest and most considerable Difficulties of the New Testament; namely what is the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and in what Sense it is unpardonable. But he doth not go to the bottom of the Question, shewing only by the bye, against *Novatians*, that it is not the Sin of Idolatry.

The hundred and fiftieth to *Hebidia*, and the hundred and fifty first, to *Algasia*, contain Solutions of three and twenty Difficulties about particular Passages of the New Testament, which these Ladies had put to St. Jerome. They are very curious Questions, and St. Jerome's Answers are very just and learned.

To these Works we ought to join the Treatises which are the latter end of the eighth Volume, which likewise are Critical Letters. Namely,

The Book of the Names of the Cities and Countries mentioned in the Bible, translated out of *Eusebius*.

An Exposition of the Hebrew Proper Names in the Old and New Testament.

The hundred and fifty first Epistle is an Explication of the Hebrew Alphabet, written whilst he was at Rome.

A Collection of Traditions, or rather Jewish Expositions upon *Genesis*; a most curious and useful Work for the right Understanding of the Text of the Scripture; where he takes Notice of all the Differences betwixt the Hebrew Text and the Translation of the *Septuagint*.

The hundred and fifty second Letter, to *Minerius* and *Alexandria*, upon these Words of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 15. We shall not all die, but but we shall be changed*: wherein he gives a particular Account of the different Expositions of this Place by the ancient Commentators. He quoteth *Theodorus* of *Perinthus*, *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, *Apollinaris*, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, and *Origen*. This Letter is of the year 406.

In the same place is the hundred and fifty third Letter to *Paulinus*, written about the same time; he answereth two Questions put to him. The first, how one could reconcile to Free-Will, what is said in *Genesis*, *that God hardened Pharaoh's heart*; and what St. Paul saith, *That it is neither of the Will, nor of the Endeavours of Men, but of God who maketh Man to act*. The second why St. Paul calleth the Children that are born of baptized Parents, *holy*, since they cannot be saved, but by receiving and preserving the Grace of Baptism. For the former, St. Jerome referreth him to what *Origen* saith upon that Subject in the Book of *Principles* newly translated by St. Jerome. And to the second, he answereth, with *Tertullian*, that the Children of Christians are called *holy*, because they are as it were Candidates for the Faith, and have not been defiled with Idolatry; adding, that the Scripture gives the Name of *holy* to things that are pure; and that in this Sense the Vessels of the Temple are said to be holy.

Lastly, There is in the same place the hundred fifty fourth Letter to *Desiderius* and *Serenilla*, whom he invites to come to *Bethlehem*. It is written after the Treatise of *Famous Men*, about the year 400.

We are to reckon likewise amongst St. Jerome's critical Works upon the Bible, the Corrections and Translations which he made of the Books of the Scripture. At first he corrected the Greek Text of the Seventy, and reformed the common Edition, by *Origen's Hexapla*. He made a new Translation (o) of them, wherein he mark'd by two Hooks, those passages of the *Septuagint* that were not in the Hebrew Text, and added the Version of what was in the Hebrew Text, which was not in the Translation of the LXX, noting those Additions with a Star, so that in this Translation one might see at once, both what was added, and what was wanting in the Version of the LXX. This Translation of St. Jerome's of the Books of the Prophets, is joyned to his Commentaries.

This was the first Labour of St. Jerome upon the Bible, which he undertook when he was but young in his first Retirement.

Afterwards having attained to a more perfect knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, he conceived that it would prove a considerable Service to the Church, if he set forth an entire Translation of his own from the Hebrew Text. Wherefore he fell upon that Work, and published a new Latin Version of all the Books, which the *Jews* own to be Ca-

(o) He made a New Translation.] He speaks of this Version as wholly his own in the eighty ninth Letter, to St. Augustine; yet it is likely, that he made use in several Books of the Scripture, of the ancient vulgar Translation, which he only corrected. It is certain that he made a new Translation of the *Psalms*,

as he says himself in this Epistle to *Sumia* and *Fretela*; He also translated anew the Book, of *Job*, as appears by the two Prefaces to that Book, and to those of *Solomon*, as it is observed in the Second Book of the Apology against *Rufinus*.

monical (p), and of the Books of *Judith* and *Tobit*, setting before the beginning of each Book the Prefaces already mentioned.

This new Translation of St. Jerome was but ill received in the Church at first. Men were very much pre-possessed in favour of the *Septuagint*, and St. Jerome's Enterprize was looked upon as a rash and dangerous Innovation: St. Augustine himself disliked it, and sent him word, as we have seen, that he would have done better if he had been contented with the Translation of the *Septuagint*, and not have gone about a new one, which would certainly cause some Scandal and Trouble in the Church. Rufinus and others of St. Jerome's Enemies, went yet further, and accused him of perverting the Scripture, and despising the Authority of the Apostles, by rejecting the LXX's Translation which they had made use of, to introduce a new one, borrowed, in some sort from the *Jews*. All these reproaches did not hinder St. Jerome from publishing his new Translation. He shews the injustice of his Accusers in most of his Prefaces. Sometimes he complains of the ingratitude of Persons in his Age, who instead of acknowledging the good Services he had done to the Church, reckoned it as a Crime in him: Sometimes he declares, That he did not undertake that new Translation to condemn the *Septuagint* which he commends, and approves, and which he corrected and translated in his Youth, and that his Design barely was, to do an useful Work. Sometimes he saith, that he was obliged to make a new Translation, because the *Septuagint* had been corrupted. But for the most part he affirms openly, that the main Reason which put him upon making a new Translation, was, the want of Exactness in that of the Seventy, and the small Conformity which it had with the Hebrew Text; which, he believes ought to be depended upon, as the true Original. And for this Reason, almost as often as he speaks of it, he gives it the Name of the *Hebrew Truth*. He alledgeth also political Reasons for his undertaking. The *Jews* accused us in their Disputes with us, that we did not faithfully quote the Holy Scripture, they continually urged that the Hebrew Text was not conformable to what was cited to them out of the Translation of the LXX. The Christians who were ignorant of the Hebrew, and besides had no Translation from the Hebrew, were extremely perplexed, and were forced, either to remain Speechless, or to have recourse to the *Rabbins*. He sheweth how necessary it was, that a Christian learned in the Hebrew Tongue, should make a Translation conformable to the Hebrew Text. St. Jerome had another Argument to recommend his Translation to the *Latins*, and that was point of Honour.

The *Greeks*, says he, boast that the *Latins* have the Holy Scripture only thro' their Channel; it is good to beat down their Pride, and to let them know, that the *Latins* have no need of them, but could go to the Fountain-head themselves. Interest and Convenience, were Considerations, that St. Jerome also made use of to bring his Translation into credit. There were a great many different Greek Translations; and several Editions of the Seventy quite different one from the other; It was impossible to compare them together without great pains, and much labour, and to have them without a great deal of Money. And after all, that Variety brought in great Confusion, and rendred the Scripture almost unintelligible, to those that did not understand the Hebrew Text. How necessary then was it to deliver the World out of that perplexity, by setting forth a Translation conformable to the Original, which should make all the rest almost useless.

How good soever these Reasons were in themselves, yet they were not strong enough to make St. Jerome's Translation welcome to the *Latins* at first; they kept for the most part to the ancient vulgar Version, being unwilling that any thing should be altered in it: But by little and little St. Jerome's got some credit; tho' the ancient vulgar was still in use; so that in St. Gregory's time both these Translations were followed, and this Father observes, that himself used sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Since that time St. Jerome's Translation got the upper hand, and was received and read publicly in the Churches of the *West*, excepting the Translation of the *Psalms*, and some Mixtures of the ancient vulgar Translation (q), some passages whereof have been preserved in the vulgar Latin.

(p) The Books which the *Jews* own to be Canonical.] He did not translate the Books that were not in the Canon of the *Hebrews*, except *Tobit*, and *Judith*; and so the Translations of the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Maccabees*, *Baruch*, and *Jeremiah's* Letter, and the Additions to the Books of *Hester* and *Daniel*, are not St. Jerome's.

(q) Excepting the Translation of the *Psalms*, and some mixtures of the ancient vulgar Translation.] It is certain that our vulgar is not the ancient Translation that was made from the *Septuagint*. It is certain also that it was made from the Hebrew but none of the Fathers understood Hebrew, besides St. Jerome, and so the Body of that Translation cannot be attributed to any Body else: Besides, the Translations of the Books of the Bible which are in his Commentaries, are almost wholly conformable to our vulgar. We find also in the other Books a great many of those

As for the New Testament, St. Jerome did not undertake to make a new Translation, but contented himself with comparing the old one with the Greek, and to correct the principal passages where it disagreed with the Text, as he said himself in the Preface of the Gospels to *Damasus*, in a Letter to St. *Augustine*, and in his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*. This Work was much better received than the new Version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and hardly any Body was offended at it, because the Greek Tongue being easily understood, it was not difficult to discover the Alterations that might be made in the Greek Text, which could not be done in the Hebrew which was understood by the *Jews* only.

St. Jerome's Commentaries upon the Scripture, have great Relation to his other Studies, and those Writings that we have hitherto spoken of. First of all he sets down the ancient vulgar Translation, and with it joyns commonly his New Translation: Secondly, He enquires after the Sense of the Hebrew Text exactly, and compares it with the several Greek Versions. He cites the other places of Scripture which have any Relation to that which he expoundeth. In making these Observations, he clears the literal Sense of the Scripture, and discovers the Prophecies, by shewing their Accomplishment. And in the last place, he adds mystical Explications, and short Allegories, which most commonly are only Etymologies, and Turns of Wit about Words. He confesseth, that very often, he barely translated some passages of *Origen's* Commentaries, and other Greek Authors without naming them: Wherefore he pretends, that the Errors and Contradictions in his Commentaries are not to be imputed to him; because he only related the Opinions of others without approving them: that if he condemned them not, yet he did not intend to defend them, but would spare the others Reputation: And lastly, that this Moderation should give his Enemies no occasion to calumniate as they did, and to accuse him of upholding such Errors, that he was so far from, and which he refused in other places.

These Remarks may give a General Idea of St. Jerome's Commentaries upon the Bible, especially upon the Books of the Prophets, wherein he followeth this method now described exactly and insists particularly upon the Exposition of the Historical Sense of the Prophecies. He divided his Commentaries into several Books, and intermixed here and there some Prefaces, in which he explains in general, the Subject of his Commentaries, and then answers the Calumnies that were raised against him.

The fourth Volume contains his Commentaries upon the four great Prophets namely eighteen Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, six upon *Jeremiah*, fourteen upon *Ezekiel*, and one upon *Daniel*.

The fifth Volume contains the Commentaries upon *Ecclesiastes* and the twelve minor Prophets.

In the sixth Volume are St. Jerome's Commentaries upon the Books of the New Testament, after these there is a Preface to *Damasus* upon the four *Evangelists*, a Canon, or a Table of the Harmony of the four *Evangelists*: four Books of Commentaries or Notes upon St. *Matthew's* Gospel; wherein he explains very clearly the Letter of the Gospel, only adding now and then some moral Reflections, but he doth not enlarge upon Allegories. He observeth very near the same method in his Commentaries upon St. *Paul's* Epistles to the *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Titus* and *Philemon* which are in the same Volume, with the Translation of *Didymus's* Book of the Holy Ghost.

These Commentaries were not written by St. Jerome in the same order as they are set down in this Edition. Those upon the New Testament were composed first, not long after he was returned from his Journey to *Rome*, towards the year 388. About the same time he writ his Commentaries upon *Ecclesiastes*, and undertook afterwards those upon the minor Prophets, beginning at *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*. These Works were completed before the year 392. The Commentaries upon the others held him till towards the year 400. Afterwards he wrote upon *Daniel*, and having done that he undertook the Commentary upon *Isaiah*, which was ended in 409; in 410. he composed that upon *Ezekiel*. The last of all is the Commentary upon *Jeremiah*, as it is observed in the Preface. If we

Alterations which St. Jerome professes to have made in his Translation. It is certain that the vulgar Translation of the *Psalms* is not St. Jerome's. It was not made after the Hebrew, but after the *Septuagint*, tho' it is in some places conformable to the Translations of *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*, and different from that of St. Jerome, which is yet extant among his Works. The Additions to the Books of *Hester*, and *Daniel*, are not of St. Jerome's Translation, no more than that of the Books that were not in the Jewish Canon. In short, in our vulgar Latin are many places, which are remains of the ancient Translation mingled with the new, for there are several places, agreeable to the Translation of the LXX, and differing from the Hebrew Text, as well as from the Observations, and Translation of St. Jerome, who scrupulously tyed himself to the Hebrew Truth.

add to these Works already mentioned, the Translation of *Origen's* two Homilies upon the *Canticles*, that are in the eighth Volume, of the nine Homilies upon *Isaiab*, of fourteen upon *Ezekiel*, and of fourteen upon *Jeremiah*, which are among *Origen's* Works, and the Version of *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, we have all the genuine Works of St. *Jerome*, the rest being spurious as we shall shew afterwards.

As for the *Chronicon* it should not be looked upon as a mere Translation of *Eusebius*, St. *Jerome* having added many things to it, as he says in his Preface, where he observes that what is there from *Ninus* and *Abraham*, to the taking of *Troy*, is a faithful Translation of the Greek: that from the taking of *Troy*, to the 20th. year of *Constantine*, he had added and altered many things, which he had collected out of *Suetonius* and other Latin Authors; and last of all, that he continued *Eusebius* his *Chronicon* from the 20th. year of *Constantine*, to the sixth Consulship of *Valens*, and the second of *Valentinian*, that is to the year 378. of the vulgar *Æra*.

We have lost a Commentary of St. *Jerome* upon the tenth *Psalms*, and the six following, divided into seven parts, which he mentions in his Catalogue. Notes upon all the *Psalms*, which he speaks of in the first Apology against *Rufinus*; and a Treatise upon the Book of *Job*, which he mentions in the Commentary upon the fifth Chapter of *Amos*. St. *Augustine* in his Treatise of Heresies to *Quodvultdeus*, saith, that he had heard that St. *Jerome* had composed a Treatise upon the same Subject, but that he could not find it. The same Saint speaks in the two hundred and sixtieth Epistle to *Oecumenus*, of a Treatise of St. *Jerome's* which *Refutius* had brought to *Oecumenus*, wherein he treated of the Resurrection. *Cassiodorus* names some other Works of this Father, as a Letter to *Antius*, where he saith, that he has explained great Difficulties: An Exposition upon *Solomon's* Judgment: Notes upon all the Prophets; and a Commentary upon the *Revelations*. *Trithemius* mentions a moral Commentary upon the four Gospels, and another upon the Canonical Epistles; but these Treatises are not extant: neither is it very certain, that they were St. *Jerome's*.

I have omitted some Books that are in this Volume now mentioned, because they are not St. *Jerome's* though they bear his Name; Here is the Catalogue of them, and a Critick upon them.

The Questions upon the Book of *Chronicles*, and the Books of *Kings*, are rejected by most of the Criticks, as being not St. *Jerome's*. First, because when St. *Jerome* makes a Catalogue of his Works, he speaks only of his Questions upon *Genesis*, but says nothing of his having written the like Work upon the *Chronicles*, or the *Kings*. 2. Because the Subject and the Style of these latter Questions seem different from that of the former. In his Questions upon *Genesis*, St. *Jerome* sets down often the Hebrew Words of the Text, and the Greek Terms of the Translations of which he examines the differences: but in these there is nothing like it. In the Questions upon *Genesis*, he seriously searcheth into the Sense of the Scripture, and makes solid and useful reflections: These on the contrary are full of useless trifling, and fabulous Remarks. Wherefore *Lyrannus* thinks they are unworthy of St. *Jerome*; and ascribes them to some newly converted Jew: For my part I would not affirm so positively, that they are not St. *Jerome's*. They were composed by a Man that understood Hebrew, who kept to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, who was acquainted with Jewish Traditions: all which Characters belong to St. *Jerome*: the Style of those Books is very like his, and no Man ought to wonder that in a Treatise of this Nature he hath followed some of the Jewish Fancies.

This will not hold of the small Treatise which contains the Explication of the Countries, and Towns spoken of in the *Acts*: it being evidently written by some other Author besides St. *Jerome* since he quotes this Father's Treatises when speaking of *Smirna*. It is among *Bede's* Works, who probably may be the Author of it.

The Commentary upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah* is a Collection by *Rabanus* of the Thoughts of several Fathers, and particularly of St. *Gregory*. It is among that Author's Works, and it is cited under his Name, by *Bonaventure*, in his Commentary upon the *Lamentations*.

The Commentary or Book of Annotations upon St. *Mark's* Gospel, is altogether unworthy of St. *Jerome*, both for the Style and for the Matter. The Author knew neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor spake very good Latin. He is guilty of ridiculous Errors, as when he saith, that *Pascha* signifies *Passage* in Latin, and that *Phase* signifies the Offering of a Victim, and when he remarks that *Nardus Pistica*, is as much as to say *Mystical*. He confounds *Mary Magdalen* with *Mary of Bethany*; an Opinion refuted by St. *Jerome* in his Commentary upon the Twenty sixth Chapter to St. *Matthew*, speaking of the Cross, he repeateth several Verses out of *Sedulius*, who writ long after St. *Jerome*.

The Commentaries upon the *Psalms* have not fewer Marks of their being Supposititious, for 1. The Author of them had no knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues. 2. His Method in expounding the Scripture is quite differ-

ent from St. *Jerome's*, for whereas St. *Jerome* keepeth to the Historical and Literal Sense, he uses only Moral and Mystical Expositions. 3. His Remarks are contrary to St. *Jerome's*; as when he expoundeth the hundred and fourth *Psalms*, he saith that *Cynomia* is a Dog-fly. But St. *Jerome* rejects that Notion, at the latter end of his Letter to *Sunia* and *Fretella*. Upon the eighty sixth *Psalms*, he observes that according to the Hebrew, it must be *Nunquid Sion, dicet Homo?* St. *Jerome* renders it, *Ad Sion, dicet Homo*. He denies that the eighty ninth *Psalms* is written by *Moses*, tho' St. *Jerome* ascribes it to him in his Commentary upon the thirteenth *Psalms*. He saith that a Passage of Scripture cited by St. *Paul* in the third Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, and St. *Jerome* shews that it is out of *Isaiab*. 4. This Author's Style is far from the Elegancy of St. *Jerome's*, nay it is very full of Faults, Repetitions, and Solecisms. 5. This Author's Commentary is made up of common Places, and moral Exhortations. 6. he quoteth St. *Encherius* upon the sixteenth *Psalms*. 7. It is manifest that these Commentaries are not Notes explaining the Letter of the Scripture; but Instructions, and Conferences (as appears by the Expositions of the eighty ninth, hundred and eleventh, and hundred and fiftieth *Psalms*) whose Conclusions are in the Form of an Homily; and by several expressions, discovering that the Author spake to others. And this has made it be believ'd, that they are Discourses of some Monk, who expounded the *Psalms* to his Brethren, by collecting the Expositions of some Commentators. Wherefore it is no Wonder to find in the Commentary upon the ninety third *Psalms* a passage which St. *Augustine* citeth in his Epistle to *Fortunatianus*, under St. *Jerome's* Name, and in the Commentary upon the fiftieth *Psalms*, another passage quoted under St. *Jerome's* Name by St. *Gregory*, in his Exposition of the fourth penitential *Psalms*.

The Commentary upon *Job*, having been made as appears by the conclusions at the request of *Victorius* an English Bishop, who lived in *Bede's* time, cannot be St. *Jerome's*, but very likely *Bede's* himself. Some attribute it to *Philip* a Priest and Monk, St. *Jerome's* Disciple, to whom *Gennadius* ascribes Commentaries upon *Job*. But this Commentary of *Philip's* is that which is attributed to *Bede*, and this is rather *Bede's*, being very like the Commentary upon the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, which is undoubtedly his, as *Trithemius* assures us: These Commentaries do very much differ from St. *Jerome's* both as to the Style, and the Matter: The Author citeth the Scripture according to our Vulgar Translation; he quotes St. *Augustine*, St. *Gregory*, and St. *Jerome*. In the Commentary upon the twenty fifth Chapter of *Job*, there is a passage cited by *Fausus Rhebenensis* under St. *Jerome's* Name: It is likely that the Author of that Work had taken it out of this Father.

The Commentaries, or Notes upon all St. *Paul's* Epistles are not St. *Jerome's*, but a *Pelagian* Author's, who openly teacheth his Errors in several places, and particularly upon the seventh Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*. It is certain, that *Pelagius* made a Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, which St. *Augustine* quoteth in several places of the third Book of *Merits, and Remission of Sins*. This same Commentary of *Pelagius* is likewise cited by *Marius Mercator*, and there are most of the Passages quoteth by both these Authors. Yet two or three are not there; which might give occasion of doubting, whether it were perfectly the same, if *Cassiodorus* had not informed us, that he struck some places out of it.

The Epistle to *Demetrias* the Virgin which is the first Book of St. *Jerome's* ninth Volume, belongs likewise to *Pelagius*, as St. *Augustine* assures us in his Book, of the *Grace of Jesus Christ*, where he refuteth the Errors therein contained,

The second Epistle of the same Volume is a Letter of St. *Augustine's* to *Juliana*, *Demetrias's* Mother, against the foregoing Letter.

The third directed to *Gerontius's* Daughters, is of the same Style with the first; and the Author seems to be of the same Opinions. He commendeth St. *Paulinus* as his Contemporary and his Friend.

The eighth Letter of the knowledge of God's Law, seems to belong to the same Author, and perhaps *Pelagius*, who was St. *Paulinus's* Friend and had written a Letter to him.

The fourth Letter to *Marcella*, the fifth to a banished Virgin, the ninth of the three *Vertues*, the twelfth of the Honour due to Parents are written in the same Style. *Marianus* thinks that the former belong to St. *Paulinus*. The sixth and seventh are of the same Author: In this last there is some Discourse of the Worship of Relicks, and of discovering the Bodies of St. *Gervasius*, and St. *Protasius* by St. *Ambrose*. Some ascribe both these Letters to *Maximus Taurinensis*.

The Tenth Letter of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, is written by some Latin Author who lived when the East was infected with the Errors of the *Eutychians*; as he observed himself long after the Death of St. *Jerome*, and *Saphronius*, to whom some have attributed this Letter. He that

St. Jerome. that writ it set it out under St. Jerome's Name, that what he saith of the Blessed Virgin Mary, might be more valued. And the better to colour his Cheat, he pretends to direct it to Paula and Eustochium. Altho' he enlargeth much upon the Commendations and Perogatives of the Virgin Mary, yet he saith that it was not certain, whether she was risen again, and her Body carried up into Heaven. This Treatise tho' supposititious, was inserted into the Offices of the Church by Paulus Diaconus, and Alcuinus, in Charlemaign's time: And since it hath made up part of the Lessons for the Feast of the Assumption, in the old Breviaries of France and Italy.

The eleventh is likewise upon the same Subject, and perhaps written by the same Author.

The Book of the Seven Ecclesiastical Orders, falsely supposed to be directed to Rusticus Bishop of Narbon, who lived at the same time with St. Leo, belongs to a Modern Author in comparison of St. Jerome who lived after Isidore of Seville, from whom he hath taken many things. Yet he is older than Micrologus, or than Bishop Hincmar, who quote this Work under St. Jerome's Name; which shews that this Author wrote about the seventh Century.

The fourteenth Letter is a Commendation of Virginity; where he describes the Danger of losing it, and the enormity of the Crime committed by a Virgin consecrated to God, when she violateth her Vows. This likewise is a Work of an Author younger than St. Jerome, as well as the thirteenth Letter, where some expressions which the Scripture makes use of after a Manner suitable to the Weakness of our Understanding, are explained. An ordinary skill may discover that none of these Pieces are St. Jerome's.

The Creed attributed to Damasus which is the fifteenth Piece of this Volume, is a Confession of Faith copied out, partly from that in St. Gregory Nazianzen, and in Vigilius Tapsensis, which we attributed to Gregory of Batina: but this was brought to the Form it now has, long after Damasus; for there is the Article that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son. Which was not in all the ancient Creeds.

The Explication of the Creed dedicated to Damasus, immediately after this Confession of Faith now spoken of, is that Confession of Faith which Pelagius sent to Pope Innocent, that is condemned by St. Augustine in his Book of the Grace of Jesus Christ, where he produces some Extracts out of it, which are word for word in this.

The eighteenth Tract is a third Confession of Faith, supposed to be directed to St. Cyril and composed by some Modern Author, as appears by his Method of expounding the Mysteries.

The following Treatise upon the Creed goes under Rufinus's Name, who without doubt is the true Author of it.

The Treatise to Praesidius is a Declamation composed by some mean Imitator of St. Jerome, who affects to speak of the Deaths of Valentinian and Gratian, as happening in his time, for I cannot believe that the trifles and impertinencies that occur in that Work are St. Jerome's: they are far more worthy of an Impostor.

The Treatise of the Circumcision to Therasia, is a more genuine and an antienter Monument.

The twenty first Epistle is a Letter of St. Augustine to Jovinianus, which was formerly the one hundred and nineteenth, and now the fifty fifth among this Father's Epistles.

The Author of the two following Treatises is not known, which are, the one a Declamation against a Virgin called Susanna, that was fallen into Sin; and the other a Reproof to Evagrius, for refusing to comfort a Churchman that had sinned.

The twenty fourth Letter is written by Paulinus.

The other Pieces in the first part of this Volume are mean, and flat Sermons upon divers Subjects.

The thirty sixth concerning the Observation of the Eves of Holidays is ascribed in the third Volume of F. Dacher's Spicilegium, to Nicetius Bishop of Trier, who lived about the year 535: there may be possibly several other Sermons of the same Author.

The fortieth and last, is a Letter upon the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which belongs to some Pelagian Author, and perhaps to Pelagius himself.

The second part of this Volume containeth certain Discourses very like St. Jerome's, though they bear the Names of their Authors. These are, a Letter of St. Paulinus to Sebastian the Hermite, the Translation of Pamphilus his Apology for Origen, a Treatise of Rufinus concerning the Fallification of Origen's Books, the Translation of Origen's Principles by Rufinus, with his Prologue, Rufinus his Apology to Pope Anastasius, this Pope's Letter to John of Jerusalem: both the Books of Rufinus against St. Jerome. Three Letters of St. Augustine to St. Jerome, which formerly were the twenty eighth, twenty ninth, and one hundred fifty seventh, amongst St. Augustine's, and now the one hundred sixty sixth, one hundred sixty seventh, and one hundred nintieth, and the Homily of the Pastors which

is in the Ninth Volume of the same Author. The Epistle attributed to Valerius addressed to Rufinus, which comes after these Treatises of St. Augustine, is the Work of some Impostor.

Gennadius his Book of Famous Men, is a continuation of St. Jerome's: but the Catalogue of some Ecclesiastical Authors, which is found also in this Volume, is a sad Piece, and so are two Letters going before it, and two others immediately following, falsely ascribed to St. Jerome and to Damasus.

The Rule for Monks is a Collection of Sentences and Precepts taken out of St. Jerome, composed by Lupus General of the Monks that stiled themselves of the Order of Hermits of St. Jerome, and approved by Pope Martin V.

The Dialogue, of the Origination of the Soul, betwixt St. Augustine and St. Jerome is the Fiction of some ignorant Person, who drew out of both these Fathers Works some Passages of his Dialogue.

It is not easy to guess who was the Author of the small Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; but it is easy to guess, that that he that composed it was well vers'd in the Doctrine of the Fathers: The same may be said of the Author that wrote the Homily upon the Parable of the importunate Neighbour who asked a Loaf of his Friend: Luk. chap. 11.

The third part of this Volume contains such Treatises as Marianus judged unworthy to be ranked among the Pieces of any Value. He might have joined to them those which he set down in the first and second Rank, whereof some are even more contemptible than those in the third.

He begins with three Epistles which some Impostor composed under St. Jerome's Name, But the Imposture is discovered by the Meanness of the Expressions, and the little Exactness in the Thoughts, which discover the Cheat. The first is a comforting Letter to Tyrasius upon the Death of his Daughter. The second an Exhortation to Oceanus, how Injuries are to be endured. The third to the same, concerning the Lives of Clergy-men. It is a strange thing that Baronius durst affirm this to be really St. Jerome's, it being manifest that the Style is very different from St. Jerome's; besides that he speaketh of St. Martin, whom he calleth Blessed, and of his Life composed by Sulpitius Severus. We have already given our Judgment of the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors that is inserted here, and of the precedent and following Letters.

The Rule for Nuns is written by some simple and unlearned Monk

The Letter of Chromatius and Heliodorus to St. Jerome, and the Answer under this Father's Name, upon the Virgin Mary's Life, are fabulous Fictions wholly unworthy of Credit.

Lastly, St. Jerome's Life, supposed to have been written by his Disciple Eusebius, St. Augustine's Letter to St. Cyril in St. Jerome's Commendation, and St. Cyril's to St. Augustine about his Miracles, are rejected by every Body, as miserable Pieces, full of Fables, Falsties and Ignorance. Can there be a grosser one than what the Pseudo-Cyril saith, that St. Jerome's Miracles convinced Silvanus the Heretick, who taught, That there were two Wills in Christ? as if either St. Cyril or St. Jerome had lived in the Time of the Monothelites, or had approved of those Hereticks Doctrines.

St. Jerome, doubtless, was the Learnedest of all the Fathers; he understood Languages very well, and was well skilled in Humanity and Philological Learning. He was well vers'd in Ecclesiastical and Prophane History, and very skilful in Philosophy. Poets, Historians, Orators, and the Greek and Latin Philosophers were equally familiar to him; he thoroughly understood them, and filled his Writings with their finest Strokes. His way of Writing is clear and lively. He affects not that lofty Eloquence of the Barr, which is supported by high Terms and a handsome Turn of a Period; but he excelleth in that other kind of Eloquence that is necessary for those that commit their Thoughts to Writing, which consists in the Nobleness of Expressions and Thoughts. His Discourse is enlivened by a wonderful Variety of lively and surprizing Turns, and adorned with an infinite number of different Colours, sometimes he brings in Flowers of Rhetorick; sometimes he dextrously employs Logical Subtilties. He often makes apt Allusions by the finest passages of the Poets, and constantly calleth to his Assistance the Thoughts and Maxims of the Philosophers. In a word, he collecteth the finest things in all Arts and Sciences, and adapts them so exactly to his Discourse, that they may seem to be there in their natural Place. So that this Style may be compared to those in-laid Works, where the Pieces are so artificially pieced together that they seem to have been made one for the other. Yet it must be confessed that he affecteth this way of Writing too much, and overchargeth his Discourse with Quotations. He gives a diverting and chearful Air to the roughest Questions, and explains the most intricate Difficulties with great Clearness. His Commentaries upon the Scripture are written in a Style very different from his other Works. These flowers, and

that Ornament before named, are banished from them, and the Text is explained with Simplicity and Clearness, as he says himself in several places: For he saith in his Questions to *Damasus*, *He that treateth of the Holy Scripture should not borrow Aristotle's subtle Reasonings, nor use Tully's Eloquence, or the Flowers of Quintilian to refresh his Reader with his Declamations. His Discourse should be plain and vulgar. It is not necessary that it should be composed with Care; it is sufficient that it expounds the Things, and discovers the Sense of the Scripture and clears its Obscurities. Let others be eloquent, and by that get Commendations and Applause; let them thunder out great Words in a plausible Harangue, for my part I am satisfied to speak so as I may be understood, and discoursing of the holy Scripture, I strive to imitate its Simplicity.* So much of his Style. His Genius was hot and vehement; he fell upon his Adversaries with fierceness, made them ridiculous by his Jest, trampled upon them with Terms of Contempt, and made them blush with Reproaches. Though he was very Learned, yet there is infinitely more liveliness and vehemency in his Exhortations and Polemical Works than Exactness and Solidity. He knew a great deal, but he never argued upon Principles which made him sometimes contradict himself. He often carries his Subject too far, being transported with his ordinary Heat, he commends, blames, condemns and approves of things according to the Impression which they make upon his Imagination. He is more moderate and just in his Commentaries, but not always exact, because he did not think enough, but contented himself with dictating to his *Amanuenses* (as he owns himself) either what he had read in other Mens Commentaries, or learned from the Jews. He often sets down the Expositions of different Commentators, without altering any thing, and without naming those from whom he took them: Nay, he introduced such Explications as he did not approve himself, though without refuting them; being persuaded that it was enough that he had given notice to his Reader, that in his Commentaries there were several Explications which he copied out of others. Thus he excused himself of some Errors that were imputed to him, because they were found in his Commentaries. This Advertisement may serve also to vindicate him from several Errors and Contradictions which may be found in his Commentaries. In this manner he justifieth himself against *Rufinus*, who upbraided him for teaching in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *Origen's* Opinions of the Resurrection, the Præ-existence of Souls, and of the Deliverance of Devils and Damned Men. He does not deny that these Opinions are in his Commentaries; but he asserts, that they are set down in *Origen's* Name, and not in his own; and consequently, that they ought not to be imputed to him. It is an extraordinary thing however, that having produced these Opinions of *Origen* without declaring against them, he should afterwards look upon them as criminal in *Origen*, and condemn them as very dangerous Errors. But what may seem yet more strange, is, that himself hath uttered something like it in his Commentary upon the 66th. Chapter of *Isaiah*; where he really acknowledges, that the Punishments of Devils, Infidels, and impious Men, that know not God, are never to end; but he saith, that as for Sinners and impious Men that are Christians, whose Works are to be tried and purified by the Fire, the Judge's Sentence will be moderate, and temper'd with Clemency. I know this place is understood of Purgatory and Venial Sins; but *St. Jerome's* Words seem to imply something more, since the name of Impious Christians cannot be given to those who are guilty of Venial Sins only, and deserve no more than Purgatory. Several such things may be found in the Commentary upon the 4th. Chapter of *Amos*, in the first Book against the *Pelagians*; and in the Commentary upon the Prophet *Nahum*, where he says, That God granted Pardon to those that perished in the Flood, as well as to the *Sodomites*, *Egyptians*, and other Sinners, who were punished in this World for their Crimes; according to this Rule of the Prophet, that God will not punish twice for the same Sin. Several other particular Opinions of *Origen*, are to be met with in this Father's Commentaries, which he seems to approve of. He teaches in his Treatise of the Prodigal Son, that the Angels may sin. Upon the Epistle to *Titus*, he affirms that they were before the Creation of the World. Upon the Prophet *Micah*, that they shall be present at the last Judgment. Upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that Christ died for them. Upon *Ecclesiastes* that the Sun and the Stars have Souls; and many other Notions of this kind which he rejected himself when he refuted *Origen*.

In *St. Jerome's* Commentaries there are also several Opinions that favour of Jewish Superstitions, or the too great credulity of the first Christians: As when he asserteth in the Commentaries upon the Prophets, *Daniel* and *Micah*, that the World shall last but one thousand years; or, when he saith in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk*, that God's particular Providence extends only to Men; and that all other Creatures are governed by a general Providence

without God's having a distinct knowledge of each Event: Or, when by too much scrupulosity he condemns all Oaths, as he doth in his Commentary upon the 5th. of *St. Matthew*, and upon the 2d. Chapter of *Zachary*: Or, when he forbids Christians to pay Tribute to Heathen Princes, upon *St. Matthew*, Chap. the 7th. Or, when he pretends that the Name of Father is to be given to no Man, in the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, l. 2. But if he is too scrupulous in these places, in others he seems to be a little too free; as, when in his Commentary upon *Jonas*, he advises and approves the Action of such as kill themselves to preserve their Chastity. Perhaps some Persons will not think him less to blame in his Commentary upon the 23d. of *St. Matthew*, where he disapproves the Action of some devout Women, who, in imitation of the *Pharisees*, bound about their Necks, Books of the Gospel, or Crosses, or other Marks of Devotion*. Lastly, He sometimes giveth Allegorical Senses to things which are to be understood literally; as, when in the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he saith, that *Jacob's* Wrestling with the Angel, is not to be understood literally of a corporeal and visible Combat, but mystically of an invisible and spiritual Fight: Yet he is angry that Men should say that Hell-fire is not a real Fire, and that the Scripture makes use of that Word by a Metaphor; or, that what is said of the Earthly Paradise, is not to be understood Literally, but Allegorically. These are some of the Faults that have been taken notice of in *St. Jerome's* Commentaries, and which crept in by too great Precipitation with which he wrote them.

[* If some Persons will think *St. Jerome* to blame, others, upon much better grounds, will commend him for disapproving Practices that are so very superstitious, and that cannot any manner of way tend to the advancement of solid Piety and Holiness.]

His Polemical Treatises are written with more care. But as he indulges his ordinary heat too much, so he falleth into those Extreams for which he hath been often blamed. As for Example; when he disputeth with *Helvidius*, he commendeth Virginity to that excess, that it was thought, he designed to condemn Matrimony; and his Book having scandalized many, himself was obliged to apologize for it, and moderate the Terms which he had used before. When he undertakes to abate the pride of Deacons, who would make themselves equal with Priests; he so exalteth the Dignity of the latter, that he seems not to think them inferior to Bishops. He discourseth after such a manner of Virginity, as would almost persuade Men that it is necessary to lead that sort of Life to be saved. Labour, Fastings, Austerities, with other Mortifications, Solitude and Pilgrimages, make up the Subject of almost all his Advices and Exhortations. His Delight was to write and hear of the Lives of Monks and Hermits, and he easily believed whatsoever was told him upon that Subject, though never so extraordinary.

Most of *St. Jerome's* Writings being either Critical or Moral, there is very little Dogmatical concerning the main Points of Christianity to be met with in them: Besides, he flourished in a time wherein the Disputes concerning the Trinity and Incarnation were over: the *Arian* and *Apollinarian* Heresies having been rejected, and those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* not being yet risen. The *Pelagian* Heresie broke out towards the latter end of this Father's Life, which he undertook to refute immediately, with as much Vigour, as he could have done in his earlier years. He shewed the Necessity of Christ's Help, and the Impossibility of living in this World without Sin; and free from Passions, against that Heretick: However, he doth not weaken the strength of Free-will, which consisted, in his Opinion, in a free Choice, either to follow or to reject God's Call. He went no further into the Nature of Grace, or other Difficulties about Original Sin and Predestination. He seems to think that God hath predestinated or reprobated Men, because of his eternal Fore-knowledge of the Good or Evil they should do. This he teacheth in his Apology against *Rufinus*, by opposing *Origen's* Principle, which grounded Predestination or Reprobation upon past Merits. He saith upon the 121st. Psalm, that the Prayer of Jesus Christ did not always obtain what he desired.

I shall conclude these Remarks with some Passages of *St. Jerome*, that express his Thoughts upon the Sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance. You ask (saith he in his Letter to *Hedibia*, Quest. 2.) how those words of our Saviour in *St. Matthew* are to be understood: I say unto you, that henceforth I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom. Some grounding their Opinion upon these words, have invented a fabulous Reign of a thousand years; wherein, they pretend, that Jesus Christ shall reign corporeally, and drink of a sort of new Wine, whereof he has not drunk from the time of his Passion, to the end of the World. But not to trouble our selves about such Fables: Let us acknowledge, that the Bread which our Saviour broke, and gave to his Disciples, is the Body of the same Saviour. If then the Bread that came down from Heaven is the Lord's Body,

St. Jerome. Body, and if the Wine which he gave to his Disciples is his Blood, let us reject those Jewish Fables, and go up with the Lord into that great and high Room [which is the Church;] let us receive at his hand the Cup, which is the New Covenant. Moses gave us not the true Bread, but our Lord Jesus Christ did; he invites us to the Feast, and is himself our Meat; he eats with us, and we eat him. We drink his Blood, we daily tread in the Sacrifices, the Grapes that are red with his Blood. He tells us again upon the same Subject, in his Commentary upon the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, That Jesus Christ the Son of God hath given his Blood to redeem us, but that this Blood of Jesus Christ may be taken, either for his Spiritual and Divine Flesh; whereof he saith himself, My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed: Or for his Flesh, that was crucified, and his Blood that was spilt in his Passion with the Soldier's Lance. The Author of the Book of the Body and Blood of Christ, that goes under Bertram's Name, quotes this last passage, which doth not prove, as some pretend, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is not really in the Eucharist, but only that it is not there after a visible, passible, and corruptible manner, as it was upon the Cross. The Comparison, added by St. Jerome, of the Flesh of the Saints, explains his meaning. There may be found (saith he) a variety of Flesh and Blood in the Saints; so that the Flesh which shall one Day see the Salvation of God, shall be different from the Flesh that shall be incapable of possessing his Kingdom. Thus, as the Flesh of Saints, in the next Life, is the same Flesh, though impassible and incorruptible; so the same Flesh of Christ, which was corruptible, and capable of suffering upon the Cross, is impassible and incorruptible in the Eucharist. There is another passage, the Exposition whereof is much controverted in the Commentary upon the twenty-sixth Chapter of St. Matthew, where he saith, That the Lord having celebrated the Old Passover, which was a Figure of the New, passed to the true Sacrament of the Passover, that as formerly Melchisedeck, High-priest of the Almighty God, offering Bread and Wine, drew out before-hand the Figure of this Mystery; so Jesus Christ, to fulfil the same, should represent the Truth of his Body and Blood. These last Words are variously rendered: The Protestants will have the Word *representare* to signify only to represent. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, maintains, that *representare* implies as much as to make present. This latter Sense is confirmed by the following Words: The fatted Calf which is offered, to obtain the Salvation of Repentance, is the Saviour himself, whose Flesh we daily eat, and whose Blood we daily drink. The Reader, who is one of the Faithful, understands as well as I do, what this nourishment is, which filling us with its abundance, makes us put forth outwardly Praises and holy Thanksgivings. This sacred Feast is daily celebrated; The Father receiveth his Son every Day, Jesus Christ is continually offered upon the Altars. In the Epistle to Pope Damasus, he saith, that there is as much difference betwixt the Loaves they offered to God in the Old Law, and the Body of Jesus Christ, in the Eucharist, as betwixt the Shadow and the Body, betwixt the Image and the Truth, and betwixt the Types and the things they represent. Lastly, In the Epistle to Heliodorus, speaking of Priests, he saith, that they make the Body of Jesus Christ with their sacred Mouth: *Qui Christi corpus sacro ore consecrant*. In his Commentary upon Zephaniah, he seems to doubt whether wicked Priests consecrate it: But 'tis probable, that he speaks thus rather to terrifie them, than to establish a Proposition, whose Consequences would prove very dangerous.

I add an excellent Passage of this Father concerning the Sacrament of Penance, taken out of his Commentary upon these Words of the 16th. Chapter of St. Matthew: *Whosoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whosoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*. Some (saith he) Priests and Bishops of the New Law, understanding not the Sense of these words, do imitate the pride of the Pharisees, by ascribing to themselves, a power to condemn the Innocent, and to absolve the Guilty. But God doth not so much consider the Sentence of the Priest, as the Life of the Penitent: And as the Levites did not cleanse the Lepers, but only separated those that were cleansed from those that were not, by the knowledge which they had of the Leprosie: Even so the Bishop, or the Priest, doth not bind those that are innocent, and loose the guilty; but having heard the difference of Sins, he knows whom to bind, and whom to loose, in the discharge of his Ministry. In this place, we may take notice, 1. Of the Custom of declaring Sins to the Priest. 2. The Power which Priests had to absolve. 3. The use Priests

[* After what has been already said of St. Jerome, one can hardly esteem him a Person, upon whose Authority Points of Doctrine

or Matters of Discipline can safely be established. He may however give the Sense of the Church in his own time, in Matters wherein he personally was not concerned, in which we have Reason to think that he gives a faithful Account of things: and therefore since we have no Cause to disbelieve what he says of the Eucharist, and of (what the Church of Rome calls the Sacrament of) Penance: but, on the contrary, may reasonably suppose, that he spake the Sense of the Church. The Passages themselves are to be examined. Of those concerning the Eucharist, we are to consider, 1. That he keeps himself to the Language of the New Testament in his answer to Hedibia's Question, and only confutes the *Millennaries*, but says nothing of the *Modus* of the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. 2. That his Interpretation of those Words in St. John, *My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed*, of the Spiritual and Divine Flesh of Jesus Christ, shews that he understood them Allegorically; for he distinguishes that from the Flesh of Jesus Christ, which suffered upon the Cross: Now there is equal Reason to believe, that what our Saviour says in the 6th. Chapter of St. John, concerning Eating his Flesh, and Drinking his Blood, is literally to be understood, as what he says in the Institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist: And if one is Allegorically to be interpreted, then they are both. 3. That the Mysteries of Religion were as nicely examined in that Age, as in any since Jesus Christ declared it to the World; and when every thing else that was Mysterious was controverted, this single Article of the Real Presence, as defined by the Council of Trent, which is contrary to that Reason, that the other Disputes concerning the Trinity and the Divine Decrees are properly above, was never debated. This is so strange (if we suppose the Doctrine of the Church of Rome to have been then received) that it is incredible; especially when we consider, 4. That the generality of the Fathers, at that time, interpreted every thing in Scripture Allegorically, to which they could not assign a convenient literal Sense. This the People were used to: This was St. Jerome's practice very often; and he had learnt it of Origen, whom he seems sincerely to have followed, till he quarrelled with Rufinus: So that we have great Reason to think; that Men so accustomed to Allegories, as the Teachers and the People were in this Age, would not be at a Loss to interpret our Blessed Saviour's meaning in any of his Words, which literally interpreted, would contradict and do Violence to that Reason by which they were capacitated to understand any part of his Law.

The Passage produced in favour of *Auricular Confession* proves nothing less; St. Jerome says, that after the Priest had heard the difference of Sins, he knew whom to bind and whom to loose; that is very true; but that is no Reason for Men to reveal all their Sins to the Priest; because the Church, in that Age, put Men under Penance only for publick Sins; those that had committed private ones of such a Nature, as would, if discovered, have made them unfit to come to the Sacrament, were exhorted to put themselves under a voluntary Penance; and if they did so, they were obliged to declare why they did it, that so the time of their Penance might be regulated; but this seems to have been left to themselves, which makes it quite another thing from the practice of the Church of Rome.]

St. Jerome's Works were published by Erasmus, and printed in six Volumes at Basil, from the Year 1516, to the Year 1526. In 1530, they were again printed at Lyons by Gryphius, and at Basil by Froben, in 1553. The first Edition of Marianus was at Rome, by Manutius, in the Year 1565, 1571, and 1572. The second at Paris, by Nivelle, in 1579. The third at Antwerp, in 1579. The fourth at Paris, with Gravius his Notes, in 1609. The fifth is of 1624, at Paris. The last was printed in 1643. These are the Collections of all this Father's Works. There are several of them printed by themselves, as the Letters in Octavo, printed at Rome by Manutius in 1566, at Antwerp in 1568, with Gravius's Notes, and at Mentz in 1470, at Venice in 1476, at Paris in 1583, at Dillingen in 1565, at Louvain in 1573. The Book of Famous Men, at Louvain and Helmstad in 1611, at Colen in 1580, at Lyons in 1617, at Antwerp in 1639. The Epistles to Theophilus at Paris in 1546, and 1585. The Book of Virginitie at Rome in 1562. The Treatise of Hebrew Names at Wirtemberg in 1626. I say nothing of the Editions of the *Chronicon*, because they were mentioned in the Account of Eusebius his Works.

[Dr. Cave mentions an Edition of St. Jerome's Works at Frankfurt in 1684, in 12 Volumes in folio, with all the Scholia, Censures, Index's, and Collections of all sorts that had been printed, till that time, upon St. Jerome; which are all comprized in the three last Volumes.]

The *Benedictines* of the Congregation of St. Maur will soon undertake a new Edition of St. Jerome. There is Reason to hope that it will not be inferior either in Beauty or Exactness to those of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, which are almost compleated by the Labours of those Illustrious Monks, who make so good use both of their Time and Watchings, to enrich the Church with such glorious Works.

RUFINUS.

Rufinus.

Rufinus, Sir-named by some *Torannus* or, *Tyrannius* (a), a Priest of *Aquileia* (b), was famous in St. Jerome's time and after he had been one of his best Friends (c), he proved afterwards one of his greatest Enemies. He embraced a Monastick Life (d), and was baptized in a Monastery about the Year 370. He went out of *Rome* with *Melania* in 372 to go into *Egypt* (e), to visit the Monks in the Desert or *Nitria*; they came out of *Egypt* into *Palestina*, and dwelt 25 Years in *Jerusalem*, where the House of that famous Widow was the Resort and Harbour of all the Pilgrims that came to visit the Holy Places. She received them with Joy, and kept them at her own Charges and gave great Gifts to the Church of *Jerusalem*. All this time *Rufinus* spent his Life in the Study and Exercises of Piety. Because he understood the Greek and Latin Tongues very well, he undertook to read and translate the Works of Greek Authors, and especially of *Origen*: He conceived so High an Esteem for that Author, that he undertook his Defence against all Accusers. This made him fall out with St. Jerome, who took the contrary side: However, they were reconciled before *Rufinus* (f) left *Palestina* to return to *Rome*. But this Peace did not last long. *Rufinus* and *Melania* having tarried 25 Years in the East, resolved to go back to *Rome*: They took Shipping in the Year 397; and having passed by *Nola*, where they were very well received by St. Paulinus, Bishop of that place they came to *Rome*. Sometime after *Rufinus* published the Translation of the first Book of the Apology for *Origen*, which went under *Pamphilus*'s Name, with a Letter to shew that *Origen*'s Works had been falsified, and a Translation of the Books of *Principles* with a Preface that offended St. Jerome. This Saint wrote immediately his Apology against *Rufinus*, against which *Rufinus* composed two Books of Invectives. This Controverſie made a great noise in *Rome*, where both these famous Antagonists were in great credit, and had many Advocates. *Rufinus* kept himself quiet as long as Pope *Syriscus* lived, and received a Letter of Communion from this Pope; with which he retired into *Aquileia*. But after his Death, *Anastafius*, that succeeded him, cited *Rufinus* to appear before him; but he not appearing, only excusing himself by an Apology, was condemned without Mercy; so that he could not preserve his Dignity of Presbyter in *Aquileia*, where he abode till the *Visigoths* spoiled *Italy* in 409, when he was forced to retire into *Sicily*, where he died in the Year 410 (g).

Rufinus wrote two sorts of Books, Translations of Greek Authors, and Books of his own making.

The Greek Translations are the greatest and most considerable part of his Labours; for, as *Gennadius* says, he gave the *Latin* a great many of the Greek Books. The Catalogue of them is this:

The twenty Books of *Jewish* Antiquities, by *Flavius Josephus*.

The seven Books of the *Jewish* War.

Two Books against *Apion* of the same Author.

(a) *Sir-named Torannus or Tyrannius.*] This Sir-name was given him by a certain Author that speaketh of Ecclesiastical Writers, whose Book is immediately after ther Treatise of *Ididionus* of *Toledo* in *Miraeus*'s *Bibliotheca*. He is commonly called *Torannus*; but the Original of that Name is not known.

(b) *Priest of Aquileia.*] *Gennadius*, *Palladius*, and all the rest of the Ancients say that he was of *Aquileia*, a City of *Italy*; yea, himself seems, to declare it plainly in his Apology: yet *Marius Mercator* calleth him a *Syrian*. *Garnerius* is of opinion, That that *Rufinus* spoken of by *Marius Mercator*, and whom he supposes to have been Author of the *Pelagian* Heresie in *Rome*, is not the same with him of whom we write now; but his Arguments are very weak, and in all probability he is the same *Rufinus* Father *Gerberon* thinks, on the contrary, that *Marius Mercator* speaks indeed of our *Rufinus*; but he affirms, that *Rufinus* was not born in *Aquileia*, but only a Priest and an Inhabitant of that Town. He quotes two passages of St. Jerome to prove it, but they are not convincing. It is more natural to say that *Marius Mercator* called *Rufinus*, a *Syrian*, because he dwelt long in *Syria*, and came from thence, when he sowed the *Pelagian* Doctrine in *Rome*.

(c) *One of his best Friends.*] St. Jerome commends him in the 5th. Epistle to *Florentius*, and recommends him as a Man whom he particularly esteemed. His 4th. Epistle to *Rufinus* shews the same.

(d) *He embraced a Monastick Life.*] He saith in his first Invective, that thirty years before he was baptized in a Monastery by *Chromatius*, *Jovinian* and *Eusebius*. This Writing is of 399, or 400.

(e) *To go into Egypt, &c.*] *Palladius* relateth these Circumstances of the Lives of *Rufinus* and *Melania*, in his *Historia Lausiaca*. Chap. 32. and 33. He saith, that they abode 27 Years in the East, but St. Paulinus reckons but 25: And this Epocha agreeth best with the other circumstances of their Journey.

(f) *Yet they were reconciled.*] St. Epiphanius in his Letter charges *Rufinus* with *Origen*'s Errors, and reckons him among the Followers of *John* of *Jerusalem*, and among St. Jerome's

Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History, reduced into nine Books, and translated with great Liberty (h). The Books of Recognitions (i), attributed to St. Clement with a Preface.

The Sentences (k) of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, which he had falsely ascribed to Pope *Sixtus* the second of that Name.

The Book of *Origen*'s Principles; 17 Homilies of the same Author upon *Genesis*; 12 Homilies upon *Exodus*; 16 Homilies upon *Leviticus*; 28 Homilies upon *Numbers*; 26 Homilies upon *Joshua*; 9 Homilies upon the Book of *Judges*; the first Homily upon the Book of *Kings*; 9 Homilies upon the *Psalms*, and Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; and a Letter of *Origen*'s, wherein he complains of his Books having been corrupted.

The first Book of *Pamphilus*'s Apology for *Origen*.

The Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen: The Ascetical Rules of St. Basil, and some other Treatises of both these Fathers of the Church.

The Sentences of *Evagrius Ponticus*; and some other Treatises of this Author. He translated besides if we believe *Gennadius*, a Treatise of *Pamphilus*'s against the Mathematicians *:

And St. Jerome observes that he had published an *Arian*'s Book under the Name of *Theophilus* the Martyr; but neither of these Books are extant.

* By Mathematicians, they meant Judicial Astrologers; as also did most of the ancient Romans, who were for the most part very

ignorant of that part of Learning, till towards the Fall of their Empire, when *Apuleius*, *Boethius* and *Cassiodorus* translated some of the Elementary Books of the *Grecians*, into *Latin*.]

Rufinus gave himself a great deal of Liberty in his Translations, and kept more to the Sense which he judged ought to be given to Authors, than to their Words. In a word, his Translations are Paraphrases, rather than literal and faithful Versions. He hath used much Freedom, particularly in *Eusebius*'s History, and in *Origen*'s Treatises, where he hath changed, added and struck out many things, as he acknowledgeth himself. But if these Translations be not sincere, they are eloquent enough, and they have that clearness, which makes them pleasing to the Reader.

The Works of *Rufinus*'s own Composition, are these.

Two Books of Ecclesiastical History, which he hath added to the Translation of *Eusebius* his Books; wherein he continues the History of the Church, to the Death of *Theodosius* the Emperor, these Books are dedicated to *Chromatius*, of *Aquileia*, and were written at the same time that *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, walled *Italy*. They were translated into Greek by *Gelasius* of *Casarea*. They are pretty well written, but there are many Historical Faults (l).

A Discourse to prove, that *Origen*'s Books have been falsified; published at *Rome* in 397, with the Translation of *Origen*'s Book of Principles, and of *Pamphilus*'s Apology.

Enemies. St. Jerome says the same in the 66th. Letter to *Rufinus*, as soon as he had published his Translation of the Books of Principles, *Scias nos reconciliatas inimicitias purè colere*.

(g) *Where he died, &c.*] St. Jerome in his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*, speaks of *Rufinus* as one already dead: It is certain that *Rufinus* retired into *Sicily* after *Rome* was taken, as he says himself in his Letter to *Ursacius*, set forth by *Valesius*.

(h) *Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History reduced into Nine Books, and translated with great Liberty.*] He hath passed over almost all *Eusebius* his Ninth Book, and hath made but one of the Eighth and Ninth. In the Seventh he hath added a Relation of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus his Miracles, which is not in *Eusebius*; and in the Ninth, an Harangue of *Lucian* the Martyr. There is some alteration in the Order of the Chapters in the Sixth and Seventh Books. There are several faults in his Translations; he makes *Zacharias*, spoken of in St. Luke, to have been a Martyr at *Lyons*; he confounds St. *Biblias* with St. *Blandina*, &c.

(i) *The Books of Recognitions.*] *Bellarmino* believes that this Translation is falsely attributed to *Rufinus*; but *Gennadius* owns it to be his.

(k) *The Sentences of Sixtus the Pythagorean.*] St. Jerome upbraids him with that Fraud in several places. Ep. ad Ctesiph. in c. 18. Ezek. & in c. 12. *Jeremie*.

(l) *There are many Historical Faults.*] These are some of them. He supposes that *Athanasius* hid himself for six Years after he was condemned by the Council of *Tyre*. He perverts the Order of Time in the History of St. *Athanasius*. He sheweth but little favour to St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil. He saith that St. Hilary was excommunicated, which is false: And he confounds the Time, when he says, That St. Hilary was banished after the Council of *Milan*. There are several other faults of the same nature; notwithstanding which, it is a very usefull Work, because he is the first that has unfolded and put in Order the History of that time.

Rufinus.

Rufinus.

Two Books against St. Jerome's Apology, intituled *Invektives*.

In the former to justify his Doctrine against the Accusations of St. Jerome, he produces that Creed, and that Doctrine which he had learned at *Aquileia* above thirty years before, from *Chromatius*, *Jovinian* and *Eusebius*; he observeth, that in his Church they did not only profess in their Creed to believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, *carnis Resurrectionem*; but that they added, *of this Flesh, hujus carnis Resurrectionem*. 'To the end, saith he, that making the Sign of the Cross upon our Brother, as is usually done at the end of the Creed, we may make a publick Profession, that we believe the Resurrection of the same Flesh which we now touch.' He uses this Confession for his Justification against St. Jerome, from the accusation of being in an Error in the Point of the Resurrection of the Flesh, and of not believing that Man should rise again with his whole Flesh. He affirms, that he is wrongfully accused of that Error; for his Opinion is, that the whole Body shall rise again with its Members; but that it shall be glorious and immortal, and shall be no more subject to Corruption, and other infirmities of mortal and corruptible Flesh.

After this he answers what was objected against him, that he entertained Heretical Opinions concerning the Trinity. He shews that his Doctrine in that Point cannot be suspected of Error: That if through inadvertency he hath let pass in the Translation of *Origen's* Principles, any passage wherein he seems to say that the Son sees not the Father, and that the Holy Ghost sees not the Son, he should not for all that be accused of Error, since in so many places he professes the contrary: That if they had charitably warned him of it, he would have either blotted out or altered it, as he had done the others, which he found to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Trinity. He complains also, that *Paulinianus* had poisoned the Translation of that place, making him say, that it was neither Impious nor absurd to say that the Son sees not the Father; whereas he had only said, That he would afterwards give a Reason of the Sense in which it might be said, That the Person of the Father was invisible.

After that he repelleth all St. Jerome's reproachful Allegations, declaring that St. Jerome himself had formerly commended *Origen*, translated his Works, and that in his Commentaries there were the same Errors concerning the Nature of the Flesh, when risen again; the Præ-existence of Souls, and the end of the Torments of the Devils, and the Damned; for which Reason he found Fault that *Origen's* Books were translated. This he sheweth by long Extracts out of different Commentaries of this Father.

The Second Book of *Rufinus's* Invektives is concerning the personal Reproaches which he utters against St. Jerome. First he charges him with tearing the Reputation of Christians of all States and Conditions, in his Book of *Virginity*, and with blaming their Manners at such a rate, that *Pagans* and *Apostates* enquire diligently after that Book, to make use of it against the Church. Secondly, he accuses him of Perjury, because after a solemn Oath to read the Books of Prophane Authors no more, he ceased not to read and make use of them in his Works: Particularly he takes notice of a passage in his Treatise of *Virginity*, wherein he pretends that St. Jerome spake of God after an irreverent manner. He laughs at St. Jerome, for boasting that he was *Dydimus's* Disciple, for having had one Month's Conversation with him. He jests upon him for taking as his Teachers, *Porphyry* the Philosopher, and *Barrabas* the Jew. He quoteth several places of his Writings, to prove, that he not only commended the Erudition and Learning of *Origen*, but that he approved his Doctrine also. He acculeth him of striking out of his *Chronicon*, what he had said before in favour of *Melania*. He reproveth him for the low Esteem he had of the Septuagint. He finds fault with his contemptuous rejecting the Story of their 70 Cells. He blames him for not owning the History of *Susanna* for Canonical. Lastly, he makes it criminal in St. Jerome, to translate the Bible a-new, This Invektive is written with much address and vehemence. He composed it in the year 399.

Sometime after he writ his Apology to Pope *Anastasius*, wherein having expounded his Belief of the Trinity, the Resurrection, the last Judgment, and the Torment of Eternal Fire for the Devils, in a very Catholick Manner; he declares that he was uncertain of the Origination of Souls, having observed that Ecclesiastical Authors were not agreed upon that Subject; That some, with *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, believed that they were formed with the Bodies; That others, as *Origen*, were of Opinion, that they were created with the World, and that God infused them into Bodies and Lastly, that others affirmed that God both created and placed them in the Bodies at the same time; and so, not knowing which of these Opinions was the truest, he remitted the decision to God, not being able to be positive concerning any more than what the Church teaches, that God is the Creator of Souls and Bodies.

Having thus given an account of his Doctrine, he justifies himself of the Objections made against him for translating *Origen's* Books. He saith, that it is very plain,

that it was Envy only that made them condemn that Undertaking; that if there is any thing displeasing in the Author, the Translator is not to be charged therewith, who has barely delivered the Sense of the Author. That he had prevented the Inconveniency that might have happened, by striking out the Errors, which he conceived to have been added in *Origen's* Books; that he had given notice of it in his Preface; so that they were much to blame to accuse and calumniate him upon that Subject: 'For, saith he, when will Simplicity and Innocency be secured against Envy and Slandering, if they be not upon this occasion? I neither justify nor approve *Origen*, but I translated him, and so did many others before me; I am the last, and that at the request of my Friends.' If such a Translation is not acceptable, be it so, I will translate no more. He concludes, by assuring the Pope, that he neither has nor ever had any other Sentiments than these he hath now declared, and which are those of the Churches of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Aquileia*; telling him withall, that such as through Envy or Jealousie against their Brethren, do occasion Scandals and Divisions, shall give an account at the Judgment-seat of God.

The Exposition of the Creed directed to *Laurentius*, which is found amongst the Works of St. *Cyprian*, and of St. *Jerome*, is likewise *Rufinus's* Work. *Gennadius* who was one of the most Zealous Defenders of this Author, saith he hath done extremely well in this Piece, and that all other Expositions of the Creed are not to be compared with it; and indeed it would be hard to find a more compleat Treatise upon the Creed than this.

He observes in the beginning, the Difficulty of that Undertaking, because it was very dangerous to speak of Mysteries; That some famous Authors had already written, but very succinctly upon that Subject: That *Photinus* had chosen that way to establish his Heresie: But his Design was to expound the Creed with Simplicity, by keeping to the very Terms of the Scripture, so to supply what had been omitted by those that writ before him. Then he declares that the Apostles had Conference together to compose the Creed, before they divided, that so they might teach all whom they should convert by the same common Creed; That it is called *Symbolum*, either because it is the Result of a Conference betwixt several Persons, or because it is the Mark of distinction, whereby Christians are known. Afterwards he examines all the Articles, and observes the several ways of repeating them in different Churches. He clears their Sense in a very plain manner, and confirms it by the most apposite passages in the Holy Scripture. In explaining the Articles of the Catholick Church, he gives a Catalogue of the Canonical Books, of the Old and New Testament, and admits into the Canon of the Old Testament, none but the Books owned by the *Hebrews*: But he says, that there are other Books read in Churches, which are not made use of to confirm Articles of Faith, and he calls them Ecclesiastical Books. These Books in the Old Testament are; *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Maccabees*, and in the New Testament, the Book of *Hermas*, and St. *Peter's* Judgment. He observes further upon the same Article, that there is but one Church; And in few Words he condemns most of the Sects that have separated from it; he enlarges much upon the last Article concerning the Resurrection of the Body, observing again in this place, that the Church of *Aquileia* had added, *of this Body*, and that they made the Sign of the Cross in the Conclusion of the Creed.

The Exposition of *Jacob's* Blessing is the first Book that is printed under *Rufinus's* Name, in the Collection of his Works. This Treatise was written at *Paulinus's* request; which made *Isidore* to attribute it to *Paulinus*, tho' it be composed by *Rufinus*, as *Gennadius* assures us: It is divided into two Books. In the first he explains *Judah's* Blessing, and in the second, that of the rest of *Jacob's* Children. He particularly keeps to the Historical Sense, without neglecting either the Mystical or the Moral: He shews, That this Patriarch's Prophecies are fulfilled, either in the Church, or in the Jewish Tribes.

He follows the same method in his Commentaries upon the Prophets *Hosea*, *Joel* and *Amos*. These Commentaries are clear and neat: He expounds his Text after an elegant but natural way without entangling himself with Allegories, hard Questions, or long Digressions. He tells us in the Preface, that he had made some Commentaries upon *Solomon's* Books, and that he designed to do the like upon all the lesser Prophets. He desires the Reader to take Notice, That he made use of the last Translation which is conformable to the Hebrew Text, but that he had but little Help from other Men's Works in his Commentaries. 'For saith he, the *Latins* seem to have been agreed to write nothing upon the Minor Prophets. Some *Greek* and *Syrian* Authors indeed have endeavoured to expound their Prophecies; and I confess I have read upon those Books some Commentaries of St. *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*; but, his Custom was, he composed them rather for Exhortations to his Auditors, than for Expositions of the Scripture Text. *Origen* after his peculiar Way, entertained his Readers with delightful Allegories, but takes no pains to

Rufinus. give the Historical Sense; which is the only thing that is solid. St. Jerome, a Man of vast Parts, and thoroughly learned, hath written Commentaries upon those Prophets, but he so much insisted upon the Jewish Traditions, that he took no pains to find out the Sense of the Prophecies by their Events. So that his Commentaries are wholly made up, either of Origen's Allegories, or of Jewish Traditions. This is Rufinus his Judgment of others; and it must be confessed, that he hath avoided what he reproves in the Commentaries of others, and that his is more useful for the understanding of the Historical Sense of the Prophecies. It is strange that Gennadius should make no mention of those Commentaries; but the Style and the Circumstances sufficiently discover them to be composed by Rufinus: Though some have doubted it.

We have only now to speak of the Commentaries upon the Seventy five first Psalms, which were printed by themselves at Lyons, in the year 1570. But they cannot belong to Rufinus, because there are whole Periods taken out of St. Augustine's Commentaries upon the Psalms (m), and out of St. Gregory's Morals. Gennadius speaks of several Letters of Piety written by Rufinus, among which he gives the first place to those that are written to Proba, but they are not now extant.

It must be acknowledged, that Rufinus, tho' very ill used by St. Jerome, was one of the ablest Men of his time: Perhaps he had not so much Learning as St. Jerome, but his Temper was better and less violent. He doth not write so good Latin, but his Style is more even. It cannot be denied, but that the Latin Church is obliged to him for the knowledge of the most considerable among the Greek Au-

thors; and particularly of Church-History. Tho' he was accused of divers Errors, yet he was convicted of none, and he justified himself sufficiently of the reproachful Objections made against him. He defended Origen, but that was by rejecting the Errors father'd upon him. The only thing he may be thought to have been guilty of, not upon the Score of his own Writings, but by the Testimony of the Authors that have spoken of him, is that he was Pelagius's Tutor. But perhaps the Disciples Errors may have been imputed to the Master, tho' he never taught them. However it cannot be said, that he divided from the Church upon that occasion, or that these Errors were obstinately maintained by him. And so, in my Opinion, it is very unjust for modern Writers, to blemish the Memory of him, and use him, as if he had been one of the greatest Hereticks in the World. We should not mind all the Accusations where-with St. Jerome loaded him in the heat of their Quarrel: but rather imitate the Modesty of Pope Gelasius, who gives him the Character of an Holy Man; *Rufinus vir religiosus*. Tho' he confesses, that St. Jerome was in the right when he reproved him, for what he said concerning Man's Free Will.

The Works of this Author have been collected into one Volume in Folio, and printed at Paris by Sonnius in 1580. They forgot to insert the two Invectives, and the Apology to Pope Anastasius, with the Letter concerning the falsifying of Origen's Books, which are in the last Volume of St. Jerome's Works. His Translations are in the ancient Latin Editions of those Greek Authors, which were made publick before new Translations were made.

(m) There are whole Periods taken out of St. Augustine's Commentaries upon the Psalms. This is particularly remarkable upon the 1st. Psal. ver. 1. Psal. 3d. ver. 1. Psal. 4th. ver. 1. Upon the ninth Psalm there is a whole Period which beginneth,

Prima Persecutio, taken almost word for word out of St. Augustine's Commentary upon the third Psalm. The Author says, that he lived in a time, when no Heresies appeared, which shews that this is the Work of a new Compiler.

SOPHRONIUS.

Sophronius. Sophronius a Man of great Erudition, says his Friend St. Jerome, in his Book of Famous Men, writ when he was little more than a Child, the Praise of Bethlehem, and not long ago composed an excellent Treatise of the Ruin of Serapis: He translated also into Greek, my Treatise of Virginitie to Eustochium, and the Life of Hilarion the Hermite: He likewise turned into Greek the Latin Translation of the Psalms, and Prophets,

which I made from the Hebrew Text. The Greek Translation of the Book of Famous Men, is also attributed to him. There is another Sophronius Bishop of Jerusalem, who lived under the Emperor Heraclius about the year 636, to whom is ascribed a small Treatise of the Labours and Travels of St. Peter, and of St. Paul: It is a miserable Business not worth mentioning.

SEVERUS SULPICIUS.

Severus Sulpicius. Severus Sulpicius, (a) Priest of Agen (b), famous for the Nobility of his Extraction, the Fineness of his Parts, and the Holiness of his Life, was eminent in the times of St. Jerome, and Rufinus, he was St. Martin's Disciple, whose Life he writ; He was an intimate Friend of Paulinus Bishop of Nola, to whom he writ several Letters. This Man speaking of Severus's Conversion in one of his Letters, saith, that it was altogether extraordinary and miraculous; 'Because he had at once shaken off the Yoke of Sin, and broken the Bands of Flesh and Blood, in the flower of his Age; and at a time when he was famous at the Bar, when neither Riches, nor a Licence to enjoy Pleasures after Marriage, nor his Youth could turn him out of the Way of Vertue, to ingage in the broad and easie Path of worldly Men: that he despised Wealth and Glory to follow Jesus Christ, and preferred the Preaching of Fisher-men, before all the Pieces of Ciceronian Eloquence, and all the Books of fine Learning: However, he shewed his Eloquence in the Writings which he composed after his Conversion.

The chief of these Works is his sacred History divided into two Books, which contains an Abridgment of what remarkable things happened in the History of the Jews, and of the Church, from the Creation of the World, to the Consulship of Stilico, and Aurelianus, that is, to the Year of Jesus Christ 400, written with great Skill. He wrote also St. Martin's Life, three Letters concerning the Death, and Vertues of that Saint, and three Dialogues betwixt Gallus and Posthumianus, whereof the first is concerning the

Miracles of the Eastern Monks, and the two others about St. Martin's Vertues. Gennadius saith, that he writ some pious Letters besides to his Sister, two Letters to St. Paulinus, that were common in his time, not to speak of several others, which were not published because they were intermixt with Domestick Affairs. F. Dachery in the fifth Volume of his Spicilegium, hath published us five Letters of Severus Sulpicius to his Sister, and Baluzius hath likewise published two in the first Volume of his Miscellanea. The others are not yet published.

Gennadius affirms, that Sulpicius Severus towards the latter end of his Life, was surprized by the Pelagians, but that afterwards having acknowledged the Error, which he was fallen into, by too great a Desire of speaking, he kept Silence all the rest of his days, that he might repair his Fault. Guibertus Abbot of Gemblours, seems to question the matter of Fact. But Gennadius his Testimony is not to be questioned in such a matter: Sulpicius Severus lived till towards the year 420.

This Author is eloquent, his Writings are pure and polished, he writ with great Brevity, and great Clearness, wherein he excelled Sallust whom he imitated. His is the best written Historical Abridgment that we have, and yet he is not very exact, but commits Faults against the Truth of History, especially of the Ecclesiastical. He is very credulous of Miracles, and approves the Dreams of the Ancients about the Reign of a thousand years, about Anti-Christ, whom he thought to be Nero, about the time of the World's end, and about the Sons of Men that had to do

(a) Severus Sulpicius.] Gennadius saith, that Sulpicius was his Sirname; and St. Gregory of Tours, lib. de vit. St. Mart. c. 1. & l. 10. Hist. Franc. c. 31. calleth him as we do Severus Sulpicius: but in his Letters he calls himself Sulpicius Severus. But sometimes the Sirname is put before the Proper Name. Most of the Ancients call him only Sulpicius. [Sulpicius was the Name of his Family; the Emperor Galba was of the Sulpician Family: Severus was his Cognomen, as Cicero to Tully, and Crispus to Sallust; so that in Strictness his Name is Sulpicius Severus, not Severus Sulpicius; his Prænomen, which went always first, is not known: In Gennadius's time, the Roman way of naming Persons

was almost wholly out of use, excepting some few of the Descendants of the Old Roman Families; and therefore one is not strictly to take those words Cognomento Sulpicius, as if Severus were the Name of the Family and not Sulpicius.

(b) Priest of Agen.] He saith in the first Dialogue c. 20. that he was of Aquitain, and in his History l. 2. He calleth Phabadius Bishop of Agen his Bishop. They were mistaken who confounded him with one Sulpicius Bishop of Bourges, who lived above 190 years afterwards under King Gontran. All the Ancients allow to this Sulpicius no other Quality, besides that of Priest.]

with

with the Women. He passes over the Church History from Jesus Christ, to the fourth Century, very lightly; he saith very little of the *Arians*, but he enlargeth much upon the *Priscillianists*, and from him we learn more of them than from all the Authors besides.

The Life of St. *Martin* is written with the same Purity as his History; but in a more diffuse and agreeable manner. The Dialogues are composed with so much Art and Exactness, that one can never be weary of reading them, and particularly the first, where *Posthumianus* relates several Particulars of the *Eastern Monks*. He speaks there of the Troubles that were in *Egypt*, and *Palestine*, about *Origen's* Books, and makes a most wise and moderate Judgment of them, and tho' he does not wholly excuse *Origen*; Yet he does not approve of that Severity, which the Bishop of *Alexandria* exercised against those that defended him. He bewails the Misfortune of the Church to be disturbed with things of so small Importance. He commends St. *Jerome* without entirely applauding his Conduct. He quotes a Jest

of a good Priest of the Coast of *Africa*, who refused to take Money offered him by *Posthumianus*, saying, *That Gold did rather destroy the Church than edifie it.*

The Works of *Sulpicius Severus*, which *Lazius* had published full of Faults, were revised and corrected by *Giselinus*, who Printed them with his own Notes, and with *Galesinius's* at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1574. *Sigonius* made a new Edition of them with new Notes, Printed at *Bononia* in 1581, and at *Frankfort* in 1593. The History was printed with *Drusius's* at *Franker* in 1607. There is an Edition by *Elzevir* at *Amsterdam* in 1635. And we have him entire with the Notes of several learned Men, Printed at *Amsterdam*, by *Hornius* his care in 1647 and 1654. These are the principal Editions of *Sulpicius Severus*, to say nothing of the Collections, into which his Works have been inserted.

In speaking of *Sulpicius Severus* who writ St. *Martin's* Life, it is worth observing that a Creed is ascribed to this Saint, but it is very uncertain, whether he be the Author of it, tho' it is very ancient.

Saint PAULINUS.

Saint *PAULINUS*, called also *Pontius*, and *Meropius*, descended from an illustrious Family of *Roman* Senators, was born at *Bordeaux* about the Year 453. He was directed in his Studies by the famous *Ausonius*; he studied with so much Assiduity the best of the Latin Authors, that he got a Style very like theirs. He advanced afterwards to the most considerable Offices of the Empire. *Ausonius* says that *Paulinus* was Consul along with him, but his Name being not found in the *Fasti consulares*, it is probable that he obtained that Dignity only in the Room of some other Person, who died in that Office, and perhaps in the Year 378, after the Death of *Valens*. He married *Therasia* a rich Woman, by whom he got a great Estate, the happiness that a Person so powerful and rich as he was, might have enjoyed, was much disturbed by abundance of Business, which made him recollect himself, and resolve to be converted. And to retire into *Spain* with his Wife *Therasia*, who had contributed much to make him take this Resolution. He was baptized by *Delphinus* Bishop of *Bordeaux* some time before his Retreat, in the Year 389. He dwelt four years in *Spain*, where he embraced voluntary Poverty, selling his Goods by degrees to give them to the Poor. The Inhabitants of *Barcelona*, where he dwelt conceived such Esteem for him, that they caused him to be ordained Priest upon *Christmas-day*, tho' he thought not of it. St. *Paulinus* perceiving that he could not overcome the People's Resolution, after a long resistance, yielded to be ordained, upon condition that he should not be obliged to remain in *Barcelona*, because his Design was to withdraw to *Nola*. This Ordination was performed in 393, and the next Year, he left *Spain* to go into *Italy*. In his way he saw St. *Ambrose* at *Florence*, who shewed him some Marks of Respect: at *Rome* he was kindly received both by Persons of Quality, and by the People: but Pope *Siricius*, and the Clergy were jealous of him, which made him leave that Town quickly, and repair to *Nola*, where he dwelt in a Country House half a League from the Town; having lived there Sixteen Years with his Wife *Therasia*, in the Study and Exercises of a Monastical Life, he was chosen and ordained Bishop of *Nola* in 409. The beginning of his Promotion was disturbed by the Incursions of the *Goths*, who took the City of *Nola*; this Assault being over, he enjoy'd his Bishoprick peaceably to his dying day, in the Year 431. We read in St. *Gregory's* Dialogues, that he yielded himself to be a Captive in *Africa* voluntarily, to deliver a Widows's Son that was taken by the *Vandals*; but this Action which did not agree, either with the Circumstances, or the time of St. *Paulinus's* Life, is looked upon by the Learned as a Fable, as several others are, which may be found in St. *Gregory's* Dialogues.

There was a new Edition lately made of this Father's Poems and Letters, wherein they are set very exactly in a Chronological Order.

The first Letter is written by *Paulinus* to *Sulpicius Severus*, sometime after he was ordained a Priest; there he exhorteth *Sulpicius Severus* to continue in that sort of Life, which he had embraced, without being disturbed at the Discourses of the Men of the World that blamed him. He invites him to come to him at *Barcelona*, and acquaints him after what manner he was ordained Priest. 'Upon *Christmas-day*, saith he, the People obliged me to receive the Order of Priesthood, against my Will: not that I have any Aversion to that Dignity; on the contrary, I could wish to have began at the Porter's Order to come into the Clergy: but as my Design looked another way, so I was surpris'd and established at that new Order of the Divine Providence. I submitted my self to Christ's Yoke, and am now engaged in a Ministry beyond my Merit and my Strength..... I can hardly yet comprehend the heavy weight of that Dignity: I tremble when

I consider the Importance of that Office, being conscious to my self of my own weakness: but he that giveth Wisdom to the Simple, and causeth suckling Babes to sing his Praises, is able to accomplish his Work in me, to give me his Grace, and make me worthy, whom he has called when I was unworthy.' He addeth, that he took Orders upon this condition, that he should not be tyed to the Church of *Barcelona*, so that he consecrated himself to the Holy Ministry, without being bound to the Service of any particular Church. He invites him at last not to put off his Journey, but to come to him before *Easter*.

The second Letter to *Amandus* a Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Bordeaux* is written likewise concerning that Ordination, at the same time with the first. He intreats him to give him Advice and necessary Instructions, for the worthy discharging of his Ministry.

The third to *Alypius* Bishop in *Africa*, was written immediately after his Arrival at *Nola*, in the Autumn of the Year 394. He commends there St. *Augustine's* Books which *Alypius* had sent him; he sends him *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, and tells him, that he was very desirous to know the Particulars of his Life: and at the latter end of the Letter, he says, that he sent him a Loaf as a token of their Union, and a Figure of the Trinity, adding, that he shall make an Eulogy, of that Bread when he receives it, that is, that in receiving it he shall bless it, as he says in the following Letter to St. *Augustine*. It was the Custom of that time, especially with St. *Paulinus* thus to send Bread as a mark of Union: See the 1st. 4th. 45th. and 46th. Letters. St. *Augustine* in the 34th. Letter speaks likewise of a Loaf, which he sent to *Paulinus*, and makes use of the same expression; *The Bread*, saith he, *which we send unto you, shall be made a Subject of Blessing, by the Charity wherewith you shall receive it.* UBERIOR BENEDICTIO FIET DILECTIONE ACCIPIENTIS VESTRÆ BENIGNITATIS.

The fourth is written to St. *Augustine*; he commends his five Books against the *Manichees* which *Alypius* had sent him: It is full of Expressions, to shew how greatly he esteemed St. *Augustine*, of whom he craves Advice for his Behaviour: both these Letters were written in Autumn, in the Year 394, as appears by the sixth. St. *Augustine* answers this last by the 27th. Letter of the last Edition, which is there in the *Italic* Letter.

St. *Paulinus's* fifth Letter is directed to *Sulpicius Severus*, wherein he returns him Thanks for the Testimonies of Love that he had received from him: He exalts his Conversion; and comparing it with his own, shews that it was more surprizing and wonderfull. There he also speaks of his Distemper, and of the Envy which the *Roman* Clergy bore to all Men, of any Reputation either for their Holiness or their Piety: and alledgeth this as a Reason of his withdrawing far from *Rome*; He opposes Pope *Siricius's* his proud Behaviour towards him, *Papæ urbici superba duritia*, to that Charity where with both the Bishops and Clergy of *Campania*, had entertained him by their frequent Visits, and to that of the *African* Bishops, who had sent on purpose to know how he did.

The sixth Letter is written to St. *Augustine* in the Year 395, wherein he expresseth how impatient he was to receive some Letters from him.

The following Letter is an Answer of St. *Augustine's* which is the thirty first of his Letters, written in 396. He sends *Paulinus* word of his Promotion to be a Bishop.

Paulinus having received this Letter, acquaints *Romanianus* by the seventh, with his great Joy for that News.

In the eighth he exhorteth *Licentius Romanianus* his Son, in Prose and in Verse, to leave the World and give himself to God. These Letters are of the Year 396.

Paulinus. In the eleventh of the following Year, as is supposed, he urges *Severus Sulpicius* to come to see him.

The twelfth to *Amandus* is one of the most excellent of all *St. Paulinus* his Letters. There he very elegantly explains the Degrees of Man's Fall, and of the Redemption by Jesus Christ, observing that God had preserved Holiness in the Posterity of *Seth*; that in the time of the Flood, the Spirit of Holiness rested in one only righteous Man, who was then the Redeemer of Mankind, and a Type of the Redemption through Christ: That after the Flood Men returning to Corruption, God chose *Abraham* to be the Father of the Faithful, of whom should come the everlasting King, and that at last all Mankind being so corrupted with Vice, that hardly any Remedy could be hoped for; the same Lord who formed Man, came to restore him by the same power by which he had created him: that he made himself Man to be a Mediator betwixt God and Men: That he was humble, and had chosen the vile things in this World to confound the proud, the learned and the mighty things of the Age: and at last he died and rose again, to destroy Death in us, and restore Immortality. These are the main Points explained very exactly by *St. Paulinus* in that Letter. At the latter end he takes notice that there is both Humility, and laudable Pride. *That Pride, saith he, is to be approved, which makes us despise the World, and neglect whatsoever seemeth great, handsome and pleasing to the Eyes of Men, apply our selves only to Heavenly Things, and stoop to nothing but God's Commandments, &c. On the other side, that that Humility is to be condemned, which hath not Faith for its Foundation, but only such a Littleness of Mind as serves for lying, and is an Enemy to truth, which makes us lose our Liberty, and become the Slaves of Vice; which mingles Wine with Water, that is, to say, which weakens the pure truth, by a base Complacency.* MENDACII FAMULA VERITATIS INIMICA MISCENS AQUA VINUM, ID EST, VERITATIS MERUM AQUOSO ADULATIONIS ENERVANS.

The thirteenth is a Letter of Consolation to *Pammachius* upon the Death of *Paulina* his Wife in 397, wherein having exhorted him to stop his Tears, and moderate his Sorrow, he commends his great Charity to the poor of the City of *Rome*.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth to *Delphinus*, and *Amandus*, *St. Paulinus* testifies his joy for *Delphinus*'s Recovery, who had been dangerously Sick, giving him Thanks for the Service he had done to *Basilus* the Priest. In the first upon occasion of *Delphinus* his Sickness, he saith, that the Afflictions of the Righteous are profitable. 1. For the Exercise of their Vertue. 2. To keep them from Pride. 3. To imprint in them the Fear of God's Justice, which will grievously punish the Impious, since it deals so severely with the Righteous.

The sixteenth Letter to *Jovius*, is an Excellent Discourse of Providence. It is placed in 399.

In the seventeenth to *Severus Sulpicius*, he complains that he came not to see him, neither met him at *Rome*, whether he was gone to celebrate the Feast of the Apostles *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*; He exhorts him to come into that Country, to honour *St. Felix* the Martyr. This Letter was written by *St. Paulinus* at the latter end of the Year 399, after a Recovery from Sickness.

The eighteenth is written to *Victricius* Bishop of *Roïen*, he sent it by *Paschasius* his Deacon whom he found at *Rome*, and had brought to *Nola*. Having excused himself for detaining him so long, he makes a Panegyrick upon *Victricius*, describing the Torments which he had suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ. This Letter is of the same Date with the foregoing.

The three following to *Delphinus* Bishop of *Bordeaux*, were sent in the Year 400, by *Cardamas* an Exorcist, who came to visit him from that Bishop.

In the first, he shews his Gratitude for the Love which that Bishop had for him: He owns himself to be one of that Bishop's planting, praying him that he would cultivate the same Plant by his Prayers, and water it with his Counsels. In the second, he gives him notice of the tokens of Love and Respect that had been shewed him by *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Veneris* Bishop of *Milan*. At last having commended *Cardamas*, he expounds the beginning of *St. John's* Gospel.

In the twenty second to *Severus*, He describeth the Luxury, and Effeminateness of the Men of the World, and exalteth the Frugality of the Monks, in very elegant and proper Words.

Here is a very pleasant Letter from *Severus* to *Paulinus*, wherein he recommends a Cook to him, affirming that he was very fit for him, knowing exactly well how to dress a Dish of Beans, and Lettices, and one that would destroy as many Pot-herbs as any Man he ever saw.

St. Paulinus made this Cook called *Victor* welcome, being so highly commended, and *Paulinus* was so well pleased with him, that he makes his Panegyrick in the twenty third Letter commending him, because he cut his Hair perfectly well. He speaks of the use of Hair, and from thence takes op-

portunity to give an Allegorical Exposition of the Histories of *Sampson* and *Mary Magdalen*.

Sulpicius Severus had written *St. Paulinus* a Letter wherein he commended that Saint, for distributing his Estate to the Poor. *St. Paulinus* answers him, that it is but a small thing to renounce this World's wealth, except one also denies himself; and that a Man may quit the Goods of this World heartily, without parting with them altogether. He treateth afterwards of the Conditions of the Evangelical Poverty, and the dangers and temptations that attend a Spiritual Life. Both these Letters are supposed to have been written about the latter end of the Year 400.

The twenty fifth Letter is addressed to a Person of Quality, whom he exhorts to quit the World, and advises him not to defer his Conversion.

In the twenty sixth Letter he praises a Monk named *Sebastian*, and a Deacon named *Benedictus*, upon their having worthily discharged their Duties. These two Letters are in the ninth Tome of *St. Jerome's* Works, among those falsely attributed to him. They seem to have been written in the Year 401.

The twenty seventh Letter to *Severus Sulpicius* contains nothing considerable.

The twenty eighth directed to the same, is something more usefull; there are several passages of Scripture applied to Jesus Christ with much wit and dexterity. He writes, that he sent to him by *Victor*, (whom he commends again in this place,) his Panegyrick of *Theodosius* the Emperor, and his Verses in commendation of *St. Felix* the Martyr: Both these Letters are believed to be of the Year 401.

By the twenty ninth, he thanks *Severus* for a Suit of Camel's Hair which he had sent him; judging, that he thereby intended to let him understand the Need he had of Penance, and that in exchange he sent him a Suit of Lamb's Wool which *Melania* had given him; whereupon he takes occasion to commend that famous Widow, who lately passed through *Nola*. If this Letter was written in the same Year that *Melania* returned from *Jerusalem*, as he that writ the Notes upon it supposes, then it is of the Year 397, and not of 402, as he affirms: But there is no Proof that it is of the same Year.

Sulpicius Severus had desired to have *St. Paulinus's* Picture. The Saint refuses to give it, and calls his request a Piece of Folly: And this puts him upon discoursing in the thirtieth Letter of the inward and outward Man; it is thought to be of 402. There he draws a wonderful Picture of Man's Heart; this is one excellent passage of it, much admired of *St. Augustine* in his 186th. Epistle. *How should I dare give you my Picture, that am altogether like the Earthly Man, and by my Actions represent the Carnal Man? Shame presseth me on every side. I am ashamed, to have my Picture drawn, as I am, and I dare not have it made otherwise. I hate what I am, and I am not what I would be. But what will it avail me, wretched Man, to hate Vice, and love Vertue, since I am what I hate, and my laziness hinders me from endeavouring to do what I love? I find my self at variance with my self, and am torn by an intestine War. The Flesh fights against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. The Law of the Body opposes the Law of the Spirit. Woe is me, because I have not taken away the taste of the poisoned Tree, by that of the saving Cross. The poison communicated to all Men from our first Parent by his Sin, abideth yet in me.*

About the same time *Severus* asked *St. Paulinus* to send him some Ashes of the Martyrs, to consecrate a Church: *St. Paulinus* having none, sent him a Bit of the true Cross, which *Melania* had brought from *Jerusalem*, with a Design to send it to *Bassula*, *Severus* his Mother-in-Law. This precious Relick was locked up in a Golden Box. Upon Occasion of this Present, he writes the History of the Invention of the Holy Cross. He says that *Adrianus* the Emperor caused a Temple to *Jupiter* to be built in the place where Christ suffered, and one to *Adonis* in *Bethlehem* to blot out the Memory, both of Christ's Birth and Passion: that these Temples stood till the time of *Constantine*: that the Empress *Helena* destroyed the Temples and Idols of false Deities, and erected Churches in those places; and that in one of them the Prints of Christ's Feet when he ascended up to Heaven were visible upon the Sand. That after this the Empress, desirous to find out where the Cross of Christ lay, sent for Christians and Jews, to learn of them the Place where it might have been hid, and that when she was shewed the Place, she caused the Ground to be opened, and contrary to all mens Expectation, having dug deep, they found three Crosses planted in the Ground, as formerly; that the Joy of finding what they sought after, was much abated by the Difficulty of discovering which of the three was the Cross of Christ, but that in this uncertainty it came into the Empress's Mind to bring thither a dead Corps; being perswaded that Jesus Christ would manifest by the Resurrection of that Man which of these three Crosses was his. The thing being immediately done, the Body which had been laid upon the two others (of the Thieves)

Paulinus. to no purpose, returned to Life as soon as the Cross of Christ touched him. He adds, that this Cross does not diminish though Chips are constantly cut off from it.

In the Thirty second Letter to *Severus*, there are Verses concerning a Picture which *Severus Sulpicius* had placed in a Church of his own Building which represented St. *Martin* and St. *Paulinus*. The latter out of Humility saith, that St. *Martin* represented innocent Persons; but he represented Sinners. He likewise makes a Description in Verse, of the Church which he was building at *Nola*; and writ Inscriptions for both Churches. Here is a Description of the Churches that were built at that time. Both these Letters are of the Year 403. or thereabouts.

The following Letter to *Alethius*, hath nothing worth taking notice of: but they have joyned with it a Treatise directed to the same *Alethius*, which is one of the most Excellent Pieces in Antiquity, concerning Alms-deeds. It is intituled, of *Ecclesiastical Treasure*; because he shews there, that the greatest Treasure that a Man can get, and the best Gain that he can make, is to give Alms: It is Lending to God, who payeth great Use for it, and who gave Wealth to the Rich upon no other account than that they might communicate to the Poor; as he hath made the Poor and Destitute, that the Rich might not want Opportunity of exercising Mercy and Charity. This small Treatise is full of such Notions, about the Excellency and Necessity of Alms. It is believed that this Treatise was sent to *Alethius*, by *Victor*, with the foregoing Letter in 403.

In the thirty fifth, and thirty sixth Letters to *Delphinus* and *Amandus*, he recommends to their Prayers the Soul of his Brother, whom he had formerly baptized, desiring them not to forget it. *Delphinus* being dead in 404. as appears by St. *Paulinus's* twenty seventh Poem. The Date of this Letter cannot be set backward.

Victricius Bishop of *Rouen*, having been at *Rome*, and *Paulinus* not being able to see him, this Saint writ him the thirty seventh Letter to tell him that his Sins must needs have been the Cause of his being deprived of that Happiness: and there he commends the Faith and Watchfulness of that Bishop: This Letter was written after *Victricius's* Journey into *Italy*, in the Year 404.

In the thirty eighth to *Aper*, St. *Paulinus* exalts that Man's Conversion, exhorting him to rejoyce rather than be sad, because the World hates and despises that sort of Life which he had embraced; charging him to serve God with the same Zeal that he had served the World. This Letter is supposed to be of the Year 404.

Aper, and his Wife *Amanda*, having declared to St. *Paulinus*, that they were obliged to take care of their Estate, because of the Lands belonging to their Children; he answereth them, that they ought to be persuaded that the Divine Providence had left them that care for the Exercise of their Vertue. He saith further, that a Man may advance towards perfection by the Exercise of Country-Business, and learn to improve his Soul by the manner of tilling Ground. Here one may find an excellent Comparison of Agriculture, with the Spiritual Life, and an ingenious Allegory upon those four kinds of Beasts that eat up the Fruits of the Earth, spoken of by the Prophet *Joel*, which he applies to the Passions of the Soul.

In the fortieth Letter St. *Paulinus* answereth very modestly to the Letter sent him by *Sanctus* and *Amandus*; he treateth there of the great need he had to bewail his Sins, and applies to this Subject what is in the hundred and first Psalm, concerning the Pelican, the Owl, and the Sparrow.

The forty first, to *Sanctus*, is a Treatise of Christian Watchfulness, upon the Parable of the ten Virgins.

In the forty second, to *Florentius* Bishop of *Cahors*, he thanketh this Bishop for the Honour he had done him in writing to him, assuring him of his Friendship; he commendeth him and desireth his Prayers. That Letter is full of Noble Expressions, to extoll the Dignity and Merits of Jesus Christ. *Jesus Christ*, saith he, is that Rock containing that Spring of living Water, which we happily find not far from us, when we are very thirsty in this World: This is it that refreshes us, and keeps us from being consumed by the Heat of Lust. This is the Rock upon which standeth that House that shall never fall. This is the Rock, which having opened at the Side cast out Water and Blood, to make us taste of two wholesome Fountains, the Water of Grace, and the Blood, of the Sacrament, which proves at the same time both the Spring and the Price of our Salvation. These Letters are of the year 405.

The forty third is written to *Desiderius*, who desired an Exposition of the Benediction of the Patriarchs; he answers that he is better able to expound them himself, than him, of whom he desireth the Exposition. He only gives by the bye, an Explication of the Parable of the withered Fig-Tree. He sent this Letter in 406. by *Victor*, lately recovered of a long and dangerous sickness. He gave him likewise two Notes which he had written long before, with a Letter to *Severus*, not now extant, *Desiderius* his Request gave him Occasion to require it of *Rufinus*, who gave him that Satisfaction. The Letters he writ upon that Subject are a-

mong *Rufinus's* Works, and among these the forty sixth and forty seventh, were written in 408.

In the forty fourth he admires the Spirit of Unction and Piety which he finds in *Aper's* Letters. Then he commends the Vertues of his Wife, and wishes that her Children may be well brought up.

In the forty fifth, to St. *Augustine*, St. *Paulinus*, returns him Thanks for the Book that *Quintus* had given him at *Rome*, as from him. Afterwards he commends *Melania*, then in Affliction for the loss of her only Son: Upon Occasion of whose Death, he discourseth of the Felicity which the Saints shall enjoy after the Resurrection. He observes that all their Employment shall be then to praise God everlastingly, and to give him continual Thanks. This Letter was put into the Hands of *Quintus*, an African Deacon, who came into *Italy* in the Year 408. St. *Paulinus's* Letter is of the 20th. of May following, as he observes in the Body of the Letter.

The forty eighth Letter is a Fragment of an Epistle, quoted by St. *Gregory of Tours*, in which St. *Paulinus* opposes to the Disorders and Impieties of the Age, the Sanctity and Religion of some Bishops, as of *Exuperius* of *Tolouse*, of *Simplicius* of *Vienna*, of *Amandus* of *Bordeaux*, of *Diongenianus* of *Albi*, of *Dinamius* of *Angoulesme*, of *Verecundus* of *Clermont*, of *Alethius* of *Cahors*, and of *Pegasius* of *Perigueux*. Since those times there have been some Ages wherein the Manners of the Laity might have been opposed to the Disorders of Church-men.

The forty ninth Letter to *Macarius* contains the History of a Pilot Catechumen, who happening to be alone in a Ship loaded with Corn, which a Storm had blown off the Port of *Sardinia*, was saved miraculously by St. *Felix* the Martyr's Protection: and having been several Days at Sea, at last came safe to Land upon the Coasts of *Abruzzo*. This Letter may be called St. *Paulinus's* Master-piece. It were difficult to make a more agreeable Description, and a more natural Draught, than this which he makes, of all the Circumstances of that Story. He concludes from thence, that undoubtedly the Saints succour us in time of need. He was a Bishop when he writ it; and so it could not be before the Year 410.

In the fiftieth to St. *Augustine*, St. *Paulinus* proposes to him several Difficulties upon several places of the Scripture, to which St. *Augustine* answereth by the hundred and forty ninth, written in 414. since St. *Paulinus's* Letter was written some time before. The Date of the fifty first to *Encheirus* is not known; for he was yet in the Monastery of *Lerins*, out of which he did not withdraw till 426. It is a Letter of Christian Compliments, such as are all those of St. *Paulinus*.

There remains only the Passion of St. *Genesius*, Martyr of *Arles*, which bears St. *Paulinus* his Name, and is sufficiently like his Style, though some have doubted whether he was the Author of it.

After these Letters are thirty two Pieces of Poetry; fifteen of them are concerning St. *Felix* the Martyr, and others upon different Subjects, upon which I need not enlarge.

We have not his Epitome, in Verse, of a Book of the History of the Kings, commended by *Ausonius*; nor his Panegyrick upon *Theodosius* the Emperor, spoken of in St. *Jerome*, cp. 13. in *Cassiodorus* l. 2. *Instit. divin.* in *Gennadius* and *Trithemius*, and mentioned by St. *Paulinus* in his twenty eighth Letter. We have lost likewise some of his Letters to his Friends, which are mentioned in those that we have, and all those which he writ to his Sister concerning the Contempt of the World, reckoned by *Gennadius* among this Father's Works. The same Author speaks likewise of a Treatise of Repentance, and of the Praise of Martyrs, which he affirms to be the chiefest of his Works, and an Office of the Sacrament. As to the Collection of Hymns mentioned likewise by him, that perhaps did not differ from the Hymns we have in Honour of St. *Felix*. St. *Augustine* witnesseth in the thirty first Letter, that St. *Paulinus* was writing something against the Pagans. St. *Gregory of Tours* citeth a Letter, not now extant, which mentions the Relicks of St. *Gervasius* and St. *Probasius*. Lastly, St. *Paulinus* tells us in his forty sixth Epistle, that he had translated some of the Works of St. *Clemens Romanus*. It is likely, that while he was Bishop he made some Sermons, but whether they were not collected, or whether they have been lost, certain it is that we have none of them.

The Letter to *Marcella* is written in St. *Paulinus's* Style, but it doth not well agree with the History of that famous Widow; for the Author of that Letter writes to her as to a Person newly converted: whereas it is certain that she was converted long before St. *Paulinus*. It may be that the Lady to whom it is directed was another of the same Name.

The Letter to *Celancia*, attributed likewise to St. *Paulinus*, is of a Style not very different from his, yet not altogether the same, and he turns the Scripture after another manner. It is certainly of an ancient Author, who lived before Paganism was utterly destroyed, and after the Reign of *Jovian*.

Paulinus. The Poem, whereby the Author exhorts his Wife to consecrate her self to God, is more elegant and better written than those of St. *Paulinus*. It does not agree to him, because at the time when it was written, the West was all in a Confusion, that is, in the year 407. It was not necessary that he should exhort his Wife to be converted, and to lead a Christian Life, seeing she had lived so a long time. Four Manuscripts ascribe that Poem to *Prosper*.

The Poem, immediately following, is a Paraphrase upon what St. *Bernard* hath written in honour of the Name of *Jesus*, and so is far younger than St. *Paulinus*, though it seems to many to be ancient. It is not necessary to observe, that the Life of St. *Ambrose* is written by another *Paulinus*.

The six Books of St. *Martin's* Life, ascribed to St. *Paulinus*, cannot be his, because in the second he is cited as a third Person, and he that wrote them mentions *Perpetuus*, sixth Bishop of *Tours* after St. *Martin*, who was not ordained till towards the latter end of the fifth Century, long after the Death of St. *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*. There is in the Rules of *Benedictus Anianensis* an Answer to this Question; *What ought to be the Monks' Penance*, which is attributed to *Paulinus*, but though it be eloquent, yet it is not believed to have been written by the Bishop of *Nola*.

The Writings of St. *Paulinus* are composed with a great deal of Art and Elegance, his way of speaking is close and clear, his Terms are pure and choice, his Discourse sententious and lively: He excites the Attention of his Readers and keeps them awake. He passes insensibly from one thing to another, all hangs well together, one Sentence depending upon the other, and the end of one Thought is the beginning of the next. St. *Jerome* advised him, upon his Conversion, to learn the Holy Scripture and to make use of it. He made great use of that Counsel; for after that he had made it so familiar to him, that in all his Discourses he inserts a vast Number of Passages of Scripture, and adapts them to his Subject, by giving them often a Sense very different from their natural one. They are as so many precious Stones, set in, and so curiously wrought that they raise the Discourse and give it a new Lustre. Yet it must be confessed that he doth it too often, and that his Allusions and Allegories are sometimes too far fetch'd. He turns things agreeably and finely: His Letters are pleasant and cheerful, they move, and they divert, rather than instruct. It is hard to judge, saith St. *Augustine*, whether they have more Sweetness or Fire, more Fruitfulness or Light. They soften and give Heat at the same time, they strengthen and mollify. Yet it must be owned that his Notions are not always solid and exact; and often please because of a false Lustre. He often plays with Words, and uses several Childish Allegories. He is excellent in his Draughts and Descriptions. He doth not penetrate into Dogmatical Matters, nor carry Points of Morality very far, but only points at

them superficially. All his Writings are short, but they are many, and all carefully composed. *Ausonius* highly commends his Poems, yet can they not pass for perfect in that kind, especially those which he made after his Conversion. He understood Greek but indifferently, and was very little conversant with History or the Sciences. He was esteemed, beloved, and caressed by all the great Men of that Age, of what Party soever they were, and he kept Correspondency with them without falling out with any. We may say, with Cardinal *Perron*, that he was the Delight of his time. He led a retired and very frugal Life, yet without great Austerity. He was the Admiration of his own Age by Reason of his voluntary Poverty, and his Bestowing his great Estate upon the Poor.

He was very pious, and had a very tender Conscience. One finds in all his Letters the Character of an humble, modest and meek Spirit, he was much affected with the Sense of his own Weakness, and the Necessity of God's Help. He had much Devotion for the Saints, was inclinable to believe miraculous Stories, and to reverence Relicks.

The first Edition of this Author's Works, was made at *Paris* by *Badus* in the year 1516. The second was printed at *Colen*, by the Care of *Gravins*. After that they were inserted into the *Orthodoxographia* and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *Rosweidus* caused them to be printed at *Antwerp* in 1622. but at last there was an Edition of them in *Quarto* at *Paris*. It is to be wished, that the Booksellers who printed it had taken as much care to have it upon good Paper and in a fair Character as he that took care of the Edition did to render it Correct and Useful. He hath divided it into two Volumes; in the former are the Letters and Poems, generally owned to belong to St. *Paulinus*, which are set down separately according to the Order of Time. He hath revised and corrected the Letters and Poems by several Manuscripts. He hath added some new Letters, some he hath divided into two, and in some places he hath made one of two.

The second Volume contains the doubtful Works, Notes upon the Epistles and Poems that are in the first Volume; the Testimonies both of Ancient and Modern Authors concerning St. *Paulinus*, with a new Account of this Saint's Life, very large, and taken out of his own Writings: seven Dissertations, whereof the two first are to justify the Chronological Order, wherein he hath set the Letters and Poems. The three following contain the Lives of *Sulpicius Severus*, *Alethius*, *Vidricius*, and *Aper*, to whom St. *Paulinus* writ most of his Letters. The sixth is concerning St. *Paulinus* his Works, which are either lost or dubious, or supposititious. The last contains an Examination of the History of St. *Paulinus* his Captivity. After this comes a Catalogue of various Readings, and several very useful Tables. There is a *French* Translation of St. *Paulinus*, his Letters preparing, which will be useful and diverting.

PELAGIUS.

Pelagius. **P**elagius, an English Monk, (a) *Rufinus's* Disciple, Head of the Heresy called by his Name, hath his place amongst the Ecclesiastical Authors, because of some Books that he hath written, of which we have spoken already. His Treatises are a Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles (b), attributed to St. *Jerome* (c). The Letter to *Demetrius* (d) and some others, in the last Volume of St. *Jerome's* Works. A Treatise concerning the power of Nature, refuted by St. *Augustine* in the *Book of Nature and of*

Grace. Several Books about Free-will; part whereof St. *Augustine* refuteth in the *Book of the Grace of Jesus Christ*; and a Confession of Faith, directed to Pope *Innocent*, (e) which is in St. *Jerome*, in St. *Augustine*, and in the second Volume of Councils of the last Edition, pag. 1563. This Author's Style is dry, flat, and barren. He was not learned, but he was a Man of good Sense: His Reflections are short and judicious.

(a) *Pelagius, an English Monk.* St. *Augustine*, Ep. 106. *Marius Mercator*, St. *Prosper* in his *Chronicon*, and in the Poem of ungrateful Men, calls him *Britonem*, or *Britannum*. St. *Augustine* in several places gives him the Quality of Monk. He was of the Monastery of *Bangor* in *England*, not in *Ireland*. He began to publish his Error in *Rome* towards the latter end of the fourth Century, if *Marius Mercator* may be believed.

(b) *A Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles.* St. *Augustine* and *Marius Mercator* speak of his Commentaries, and the latter observes that he composed them before the taking of *Rome*, which happened in the year 410.

(c) *Attributed to St. Jerome.* Some question whether this Commentary be the same which St. *Augustine* quoteth under *Pelagius* his Name. 1. Because that among St. *Ambrose's* Works there is also a *Pelagian* Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles. 2. Because all the passages cited by St. *Augustine* out of *Pelagius's* Commentaries are not to be found there, or at least they are not there in the same Terms. The former of these two Reasons is very weak, it being possible that a *Pelagian* Author might write Commentaries upon St. *Paul*, different from *Pelagius's*. The second would be of some weight, if in that Commentary attributed to St. *Jerome*, there were not most of the passages quoted by St. *Augustine*. For in the first place, St. *Augustine* in the 16th chapter of *Pelagius* his Acts, saith, that that Heretick had expounded these Words of the 9th chapter of the *Romans*, *Neque volentis, neque currentis est Dei*; by saying that

St. *Paul* spake thus by way of Interrogation, *Voce interrogantis et redarguentis*. This very Exposition, and these very Words are in the Commentary we are now speaking of. 2. St. *Augustine*, in the 3d. Book of the Merits of Sins, ch. 12. saith, that *Pelagius* expounding that place of the 7th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Sanctificatus est vir fidelis*, observes that there were several Examples of believing Women who had converted their unbelieving Husbands. The same remark is in this Commentary. 3. St. *Augustine*, in the same Book, Chap. 4. saith, that *Pelagius* tells us upon these Words, *Rom. 5. Quae est forma futuri*, that they may be understood several ways: the same thing is mentioned in this Commentary: But what puts the matter out of doubt, is that *Marius Mercator* in his Commentaries, cites a long Passage out of *Pelagius's* Commentaries, which is found intire in this. It is true that St. *Augustine* in the 3d. Book of the Merits of Sins, chap. 2. produces an Argument against Original Sin which is not in this Commentary, and that he quotes in the 3d. chap. a place taken notice of by *Marius Mercator*, which likewise is not in this Commentary ascribed to St. *Jerome*; but those places may possibly have been blotted out by some Catholics.

(d) *The Letter to Demetrius.* It is certainly *Pelagius's*. See what is said of it in the Account of St. *Jerome*.

(e) *The Confession of Faith directed to Pope Innocent.* This Confession of Faith was delivered to *Zosimus* Successor to *Innocent*, who sent it to the *African* Bishops.

COELESTIUS.

Coelestius, Pelagius's his Country-man and Disciple (a), was guilty of the same Errors; yea, he carried them farther, and maintained them with greater Boldness. He was of a subtle and cunning Temper (b). He included his whole Doctrine in six Propositions, which Hilary of Syracuse sent to St. Augustine, who refutes them in the eighty ninth Epistle. They are related likewise by Marius Mercator; and were condemned in

(a) Coelestius, Pelagius his Country-man and Disciple.] St. Jerome says that he was of Scotland or Ireland; that he was a Disciple of Pelagius, and afterwards Head of the Pelagians. Marius Mercator says that he was of a good Family, and born an Eunuch, and wanted no Learning.

the Synod of Palestine, where Pelagius himself was constrained to anathematize them. St. Augustine published, and withal answered eight Definitions, or Reasonings of this Author. He presented a kind of Confession of Faith to Pope Zosimus, out of which St. Augustine produces some Fragments in the fifth, sixth, and twenty third Chapters of the second Book of *Grace and Original Sin*.

(b) He was of a subtle and cunning Temper.] St. Jerome in his Letter to Cresciphon observes that his Disciples said that he went over the Thorns of Logick. He professeth to despise him much, and calleth him Ignorant Calumniator, in his Preface upon *Jeremy*. But St. Augustine, in his Book to Boniface, Chap. 3, takes notice that he had a great deal of Wit.

NICEAS.

The account which Gennadius gives of this Author, is this. 'Niceas, Bishop of some Town in Romanica, hath written after a plain and easy manner, six Books of Instructions for those that were preparing for Baptism. The first is concerning the Dispositions of the Catechumens, who desired to be baptized. The second of the Errors of the Gentiles. He observes that in his time they put into the number of the Gods one Melchidius, a House-keeper because of his Liberality; and

one Gadarius, a Peasant, because of his Strength. The third Book is of Faith in one only God. The fourth is against Calculating of Nativities. The fifth is concerning the Creed. The sixth concerning the Victim of the Paschal Lamb. The same Author writ a Letter to a Virgin that was fallen into Sin. Which Discourse may serve for an Exhortation to all those that commit Sin. This Author lived about the beginning of the fifth Century. And this is all that we know of him.

OLYMPIUS.

Olympius, a Bishop, and a Spaniard by Birth, hath written a Doctrinal Treatise against those that ascribe Sin to Nature, and not to Free-will: Where he shews, that not by Nature, but by Disobedience, Evil was mingled with our Nature. This Bi-

shop was present at the Council of Toledo in 405. St. Augustine commends him for a Man of great Repute, in the first Book against Julianus, Chap. 3d. and 7th. and he quoteth his Writings in the 2d. Chapter of the same Work.

BACHARIUS.

Bacharius, a Christian Philosopher, saith Gennadius, who was desirous wholly to disengage himself from the World, and to fix his Thoughts entirely upon God; and therefore often changed his Habitation that he might be the less in love with any. It is said that he writ several small Books. I have read but one, concerning Faith, directed to the Bishop of Rome, wherein he applauds himself for his way of living; affirming, that it was not the Fear of Men, that made him chuse a Pilgrim's Life, but that he might imitate Abraham when he left his Country, and parted with his Kindred. There

is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* a Letter of this Author's directed to a Bishop Januarius, written about a Monk, who had abused a Nun. The Bishop to whom he writes, would receive him no more, nor admit him to Penance: Bacharius telleth him, that such Severity is contrary to the Scripture, and exhorteth the Monk to quit the Nun whom he had abused, and do Penance. This is a learned Letter, and well written; there are many happy Applications of both the Ceremonies and the Histories of the Old Testament. *Ivo Carnutensis*, Epist. 64. mentions another Letter of this Author's upon Solomon's latter end.

SABBATIUS.

Sabbatius, a Bishop in Gaul, at the request of a Virgin that was consecrated to God, whose Name was Secunda, wrote a Book of Faith against Marcion, Valentinus, Aetius, and Eunomius; wherein he demonstrates both by Reason and Testimonies of Holy Scripture, that there is but one only God who made Heaven and Earth out of nothing: He proves also that Jesus Christ was very Man, having had a real Body, subject to the same infirmities with ours, to the necessity of Eating and Drinking, to Weariness, Sorrow, Sufferings and Death. He opposes

these Truths to the Errors of Marcion and Valentinus, who admitted two Principles, and affirmed that Jesus Christ had only the Similitude of Flesh: He sheweth against Aetius and Eunomius, that the Father and the Son are not two different Natures, nor two Divinities, but that they have but one and the same Essence; that the Son proceedeth from the Father, and yet is co-eternal with him. This is what Gennadius saith of this Author, whom he places among those who flourished in the beginning of the fifth Century.

ISAAC.

This Isaac is mentioned by none but Gennadius: He ranks him among the Authors that lived in the beginning of the fifth Century, and says, that he writ a Book of the Trinity and Incarnation; whose dark Reasonings and intricate Discourses shew that he owned three Persons in one and the same Divinity; yet so, as that each of them had something proper and peculiar, which the others had not: *Viz.* That it was peculiar to the Father to be without beginning, and to be the Original of the rest: That it was the Property of the Son to be begotten, and yet neither created nor posterior to him that begot him:

And Lastly, that the Property of the Holy Ghost was, that though he was neither created nor begotten, yet he proceeded from another: And, as to the Incarnation, he wrote so, as that it appeared that he owned two Natures in one and the same Person. Sirmondus published this Book from a Manuscript in Pitheus's Library, which tells us that this Author had been a Jew; for this Treatise is intituled of Isaac's Faith, who had been a Jew. It contains those things whereof Gennadius hath made an Extract: There are very subtil Reasonings upon the Mysteries of the Trinity and of the Incarnation.

PAULUS OROSIUS.

Paulus Orosius, a Spanish Priest of Tarracon, St. Augustine's Disciple flourished under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.

St. Augustine sent him into Palestine in the Year 415, to desire St. Jerome's Opinion concerning the Original of the Soul: He brought from thence St. Stephen's Relicks. The City of Rome having been taken in the Year 410, by Alarick King of the Goths, the Heathens willing to render the Christians odious accused them of being the Cause of that misfortune, and of all other calamities that oppressed the Roman Empire. To defend them against that reproach, Paulus, Orosius, at St. Augustine's request, undertook to write the History of the greatest Events that occurred from Jesus Christ to his own Time, to shew that great Calamities had happened from time to time in the World, and that the Roman Empire had never been so free as since the Nativity of Jesus Christ. This Work is intituled *Hormesta* in some Manuscripts, and is cited under that Name by some Author; the Original and Explication of which Title is very uncertain. It is a kind of Universal History, divided into Seven Books, which may be of some use. It is not ill written, but not exact. It has many Faults against History and against Chronology. He had not read the Greek Historians, and easily credited whatsoever might help his Subject, without examining whether it was well attested or not.

This Author hath written besides a small Treatise, intituled, *An Apology for Free-will against Pelagius*, which was printed with his History in the Colen Edition of the Year 1582. By a Mistake they inserted several Chapters of St. Augustine's Treatise of *Nature and Grace*, which were separated by Andreas Schottus in his Edition of it, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

There is also, among St. Augustine's Works, before the Treatise against the *Priscillianists* and *Origenists*, a Letter of Orosius to St. Augustine concerning those Hereticks.

Some upon the Credit of certain Manuscripts, ascribe to him a Commentary upon the Book of *Canticles* which is amongst Origen's Works; and a Treatise of *Illustrious Men*; but this was because they put Orosius's Name for Honorius's.

St. Augustine in his 166th. Letter, saith, that Orosius had great Liveliness of Spirit, a wonderful facility of speaking, and a fervent Zeal, *Vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio, flagrans studio*. His Style is close, and his Language pure enough.

Orosius's History, was printed at Paris 1506, by Petit; The *Apology for Free-will* was printed by it self at Louvain in 1558. The best Edition of both these Works, is that of Colen, of the Year 1582. The latter is found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and the former in the Collections of Historians.

LUCIANUS, AVITUS, EVODIUS, SEVERUS.

These four Authors are to be joyned with Orosius, because they writ concerning a particular Circumstance of his Life, that related to the Relicks of St. Stephen.

The first is a Grecian Priest, one Lucianus, who writ an History of the finding of St. Stephen's Relicks: His Book was translated into Latin by Avitus, a Spanish Priest, Orosius's Friend, the second of these Authors we are now speaking of. The third is Evodius, Bishop of Uzala, in Africa, one of the five that writ to Innocent the first, the 95th. Letter in St. Augustine; he wrote a small Treatise concerning the Miracles of St. Stephen's Relicks, which Orosius had brought into the West. He is likewise the Author of a small Treatise of *Faith*, or of the *Unity of the Trinity*, against the *Manichees*, which is in the Eighth Volume of St. Augustine's Works, as Sirmondus, proves upon the Credit of MSS. St. Augustine mentions Evodius's Book, touching St. Stephen's Miracles in the 8th. Chapt. l. 22. Of

the City of God; and Sigebert placeth Evodius amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers.

The last Author here named, is one Severus, a Bishop of the Island of Minorca, who wrote a Circular Letter of the Jew's Conversion in that Island; and of the Miracles wrought in that place by St. Stephen's Relicks, which Orosius left there.

Lucianus's Book and Avitus's Letter, are printed by Strius, upon the third day of August.

Both these Books, attributed to Evodius, are none of his, since they do not bear his Name as the Author, but only because they are directed to him. Baronius published Severus's Letter from a MS. in the Vatican Library. These Relations are so incredible, that were they not authorized by the Testimonies of St. Augustine and Gennadius, we should scarce give any credit to them. They are all at the end of the seventh Volume of the new Edition of St. Augustine.

MARCELLUS MEMORIALIS.

This Author wrote the Acts of the Conference held at Carthage, betwixt the Catholics and the Donatists, in the Year 411. Part of them were printed by Pa-

pirius Massonus, and printed with Optatus, and in the last Collection of the Councils; but Baluzius printed them more exactly in his new Collection of Councils.

EUSEBIUS.

This Eusebius is not much known. Gennadius doth not tell us whence he was, nor what he was; but only observes, that he writ a Treatise of the *Mystery of the Cross*, and of the *Constancy which the Apostles*, and par-

ticularly St. Peter, had, by virtue of the Cross. He places this Author among those that flourished in the beginning of the fifth Century.

URSINUS.

Ursinus the Monk wrote a Treatise against those who affirm, that Hereticks are to be re-baptized; wherein he teacheth, that those ought not to be baptized again, who were baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, or the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; though they that baptized them were in an Error, because it is enough to

have been baptized either in the Name of Christ, or in the Name of the Trinity, to give a right to receive the Imposition of hands from the Bishop. This Treatise is among St. Cyprian's Works; I am apt to believe that the Author of it is more ancient, than to agree to this place.

MACARIUS.

Gennadius mentions one Macarius a Monk, who writ a Treatise against Astrologers in Rome; wherein saith he, he sought the help of the Scripture, by the labours of those of the East. This Macarius is he, probably, to whom Rufinus addresses his Apology, and his Translation

of the Books of Origen's Principles; of whom St. Jerome saith in his Second Apology: *Had you not returned from the East, this able Man would yet have been among the Astrologers*. His Book is not extant.

HELIO-

HELIODORUS.

Heliodorus, a Priest of Antioch, wrote an excellent Book of *Virginity*, grounded upon Scripture-testi-

monies. *Gennadius*, Chap. 29.

Heliodorus.

PAULUS.

Paulus, a Bishop (saith the same *Gennadius*, Chap. 31.) wrote a small Treatise of *Repentance*; wherein he

maintains, that Sinners are not so to afflict themselves for their Sins, as to fall into despair.

Paulus.

HELVIDIUS and VIGILANTIUS.

Here are two Hereticks refuted by *St. Jerome*, reckoned by *Gennadius* amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers. *Helvidius*, saith he, Chap. 32. *Auxentius* his Disciple, an imitator of *Symmachus*, writ a Book that shows some Zeal for Religion, but an indiscreet one: His Style and Arguments are very intricate. He cites several passages of Scripture, whence he concludes, that the Virgin *Mary* having brought forth *Jesus Christ*, had other Children by *Joseph*, that were called the *Lord's Brethren*. *St. Jerome* confuted that Error, and writ a Treatise full of Testimonies out of the Scriptures against this Author.

Vigilantius, a Priest, Originally of *Gaul*, a Parish-priest, in the Diocess of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, hath written likewise some Treatises, whereby he shows his Zeal for Religion; and Vigilantius. but he was deceived with Ambition, and an Opinion of himself, because he had a fine Style. Not being well versed in the Scriptures, he made a very bad Exposition of *Daniel's* Visions, publishing several impertinent things, wherefore he is numbred amongst Hereticks. *St. Jerome* answered him likewise.

Helvidius and Vigilantius.

St. AUGUSTINE.

ST. AUGUSTINE was born at *Tagasta*, a City of *Numidia*, in the Reign of *Constantius*, the 13th. of November, in the Year 354. which had for Consuls the Emperour himself the seventh time, and *Gallus Caesar* the third. *St. Augustine's* Father, an ordinary Citizen of that Town, was called *Patricius*; and his Mother, a very vertuous Woman, was named *Monica*. This holy Woman took care to instill into her Son the Principles of the Christian Religion, and placed him among the *Catechumens*: so that falling dangerously sick, he earnestly desired to be Baptized; but the violence of the Distemper abating, it was put off to another time. His Father being yet Unbaptized, and wanting that Sense of Religion that his Mother had, intended only to promote his Son in the World; and though he was not very Rich, yet he spared nothing to instruct and give him Learning: He made him learn the Rudiments of Grammar at *Tagasta*; and then sent him to *Madaura*, to study Humanity-Learning. This Child had no Mind to study, and particularly hated the *Greek* Tongue; but his love for the Poets, made him first take a pleasure in it. At sixteen Years of Age, having gone through his Humanity-Course, his Father took him from *Madaura*, and sent him to *Carthage* to learn Rhetorick; but wanting a Fund for this necessary Expence for some time, *St. Augustine* tarried a whole Year at *Tagasta*; where Idleness disordered him. He went away at the latter end of the Year 371. for *Carthage*, where he applied himself to study Rhetorick, with much Application and Success. In the mean while his Father died, quickly after he was baptized. The reading of *Cicero's Hortensius*, inspir'd *St. Augustine* with a love of Wisdom: But not finding there the Name of *Jesus Christ*, which he had printed in his Heart from his Infancy, he betook himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture: But meeting not there with the flowers of profane Eloquence, he could not relish it, and so suffered himself to be led away by the *Manichees*. Being nineteen Years old, he returned to *Tagasta*; where he taught Grammar, and frequented the Barr. This Exercise having fitted him for some noble Employment, he went to *Carthage*, at the Age of twenty five, about the latter end of the Year 379. where he taught Rhetorick with Applause. He was still engaged in the *Manichean* Errors; but he began to be better informed, by a Conference which he had with *Faustus*, about the Year 383. The Insolence of the *Carthaginian* Scholars, made him resolve to go to *Rome*, though against his Mother's Will, who desired either to keep him there, or to go with him. Being come to *Rome*, he fell sick in the House of a *Manichee* where he lodged: Being recover'd, he got some Scholars about him; but finding that most part of them were so base, to go away without Paying, he sought to settle somewhere else. The Inhabitants of *Milan* having sent to *Symmachus*, the Praefect of the City, desiring that he would find a Rhetorick-Professor for them, *St. Augustine* procured himself to be Chosen for that Employment. Being in *Milan*, he was so wrought upon by *St. Ambrose's* Discourses that he resolved to be converted, and quit the Sect of the *Manichees*: He discovered this Design to his Mother, who who came to him to *Milan*. *Plato's* Books confirm'd him in his Resolution. His Conversation with *Simplicianus* and

Petilian did much further his Conversion; and the reading of *St. Paul's* Epistles brought this great Work to Perfection, in the 32d. year of his Age. Before the Vacation, in the year 386. He stay'd only a few Days, to make an end of his Publick Lectures; which he was to read before the Vacation: which no sooner came; but he withdrew to *Verecundus* his House; where he betook himself seriously to studying of the Truth, and to fit himself for Baptism; which he received at *Easter*, in the year 387. Having utterly renounced his Profession. Afterwards, He resolved to return into his own Country; and having tarried some time at *Rome*; he embark'd at *Ostia*, where his Mother died. However, he continued his Voyage, and arrived in *Africa* towards the end of the year 388. He went through *Carthage*, where he lodged in a Magistrate's House, named *Innocent*; who was miraculously cured, as he gives the Account, in the 8th. Chap. of the 22d. Book of *The City of God*. He went to dwell at *Tagasta*; where he abode three years, living in common with some of his Friends exercising himself by Fastings, Prayers, and other Works of Piety, and applying himself Day and Night to the Meditation of the Law of God. The Fame of his Piety was so great, that all that designed to embrace a Spiritual Life, addressed themselves to him: Among the rest, a Person of Quality in *Hippo*, who was willing to give up himself to God, desired to entertain him, and to bring him to that Town. *St. Augustine* did not find himself disposed to follow his Advice: yet God did not permit his Journey to prove in vain; for *Valerius*, Bishop of *Hippo*, having proposed to the People to chuse a Priest whom that Church stood in need of, he chose *St. Augustine*, when he did not think of it; and he Ordained him, against his Will, about the beginning of the year 391. *St. Augustine* immediately retir'd to prepare himself for the worthy discharging of the Sacerdotal Function; and begg'd of *Valerius* time till *Easter*: In which space, he established a Monastery, or Community of Persons that had all things common, renouncing the Property of any thing. *Valerius*, who designed that *St. Augustine* should preach in his room, permitted him to do it in his Presence, contrary to the Custom of the *African* Churches. This did not please some of his Brethren; but he excus'd it, by the Usage of the *Eastern* Churches, and the need he had that some Body should preach the Word of God in his place; because he being a *Greek*, could not do it so well in *Latin*. This Custom was found so reasonable, that several Bishops in *Africa* followed his Example; admitting Priests to preach in their Presence: yea they did *St. Augustine* the Honour to make him speak in a General Council of *Africa*, held at *Carthage*, in the year 393, where he expounded the *Creed*, in the Presence of the Bishops; who conceived so great an Esteem of his Learning, that they judged him worthy of a more excellent Dignity. But *Valerius* fearing lest a Person so necessary for the Government of his Diocess, should be taken away from him, resolved to make him his Co-adjutor; and accordingly, two years after, he caused him to be Ordained Bishop of *Hippo*, by *Megalinus*, Bishop of *Calama*, then Primate of *Numidia*, in the year 395. With much difficulty *St. Augustine* consented to that Ordination, though he did not

St. Augustine.

St. Augustine. then know, as he afterwards declar'd, that it was contrary to the Laws of the Church, and to a Canon of the Council of Nice, which forbids the Ordaining two Bishops in the same Church. I shall not now give any Account of what he did and wrote whilst he was Bishop, because that will come in, in the Abridgment of his Works: Neither will I enlarge upon the Praises which may be given him, nor upon his Holiness and his Vertues, which were known and admir'd by all the World, both before and after his Death. This is no part of my Design: besides, the Name only of St. Augustine, is the greatest Commendation that can be given him; and whatsoever may be said after that, can serve on-

ly to lessen the Opinion Men have conceived of his rare Merit, and his great Piety. He died as Holily as he had lived, the 28th. day of August, 430. aged Seventy six Years, with Grief to see his Country invaded by the Vandals; and the City, whereof he was Bishop, besieged for several Months

St. Augustine's Works make up several Volumes, where-in they are divided according to that order which was judged to be most natural. We shall follow that which is observed in the last Edition, set forth by the Benedictines of St. Germain's.

The First TOME of St. Augustine's Works.

Tome I. THE First Volume containeth the Works which he wrote before he was a Priest; with his *Retractions* and *Confessions*: which serve as *Prefaces* to his Works; because the first giveth an Account of his Writings; and is useful to understand the most difficult places of his Works: and the second discovers his Genius, and takes notice of the principal Circumstances of his Life.

The Book of *Retractions*, is a Critical Review of his Works. He tells you there the Title. and sets down the first Words of them: He gives a Catalogue according to the Time, and he observes upon what Occasion, and wherefore he writ them: He tells the Subject and the Design which he had in composing them: He clears those places which seem to be obscure: He softens those which he thinks are too hard, gives a good Sense to such as seem capable of having a bad one, and rectifies them where he thinks that he erred from the Truth. In one word; He confesseth ingenuously the Errors or Mistakes which he committed. The *Preface* to this Work is very humble: He says, that his Design is, to review his Works with the severity of a Censor, and to reprove his own Faults himself; following therein the Apostle's Advice, who saith, *That if we judge our selves, we should not be judged of the Lord.* That he is frighted with those Words of the Wise-man, *That it is difficult to avoid committing Faults in much speaking.* That he is not terrify'd with the great number of his Writings; since none can be said to write or speak too much, when he speaks and writes only things that are necessary: but he is afraid, lest there should be in his Writings many false things, or at least, unprofitable ones. That if now being Old, he thinketh not himself free from Error, it is impossible but that he must have committed Faults when he was Young, either in Speaking or in Writing; and so much the rather, because he was then obliged to speak often. That therefore he is resolved to judge himself, according to the Rules of Jesus Christ, his Master, whose Judgments he desires to avoid.

The Body of this Work is divided into two Books. In the former, he reviseth the Works which he writ before he was Bishop: And in the latter, he speaketh of those which he compos'd afterwards, to the Year 427. which is the time when he made his Book of *Retractions*. I need say no more at present, because in discoursing of each of them, I shall mention what St. Augustine hath observed in his *Retractions*.

His Confessions are an excellent Picture of his Life; he draweth himself with lively and natural shapes, representing his Infancy, his Youth, and Conversion, very critically. He discovers both his Vices, and his Vertues, shewing plainly the inward Bent of his Heart; with the several Motions wherewith he was agitated: As he speaks to God, so he often lifts up his Spirit towards him, and intermixes his Narration with Prayers, Instructions, and Reflections. He tells us himself, that he would have us view him in that Book, as in a Looking-Glass that represents him to the Life; and that his Design in the Writing of it, was to praise both the Justice, and the Mercy of God, with Respect to the Good and Evil which he had done, and to lift up his Heart, and Spirit to God. That this is the Effect that it produced in him when he compos'd it, and that which it produceth now, when he readeth it. Others (saith he) may have what Opinion of it they please; but I know that several Pious Persons have loved my Confessions very much, and do love them still. As indeed, all Spiritual Persons have ever since read that Work with Delight and Admiration. This Book is not full of whimsical Imaginations, and empty, obscure, useless Spiritualities, as most Works of this Nature are: It contains, on the contrary, excellent Prayers; sublime Notions of the Greatness, Wisdom, Goodness, and Providence of God; solid Reflections upon the Vanity, Weakness, and Corruption of Man; proper Remedies for his Misery, and Darkness; and most useful Instructions to further him in a spiritual Life. In one word, It may be said, that of all spiritual Books, there is none more sublime or stronger than this. Yet there are some Notions too Metaphysical, above the Reach of some

devout Men; and there appeareth too great an Affectation of Eloquence: there is, perhaps, too much Wit and Heat, and not enough of Meekness, and Simplicity.

St. Augustine's Confessions are divided into thirteen Books; whereof the ten first treat of his Actions, and the three last contain Reflections upon the beginning of *Genesis*. In the first Book, after an excellent Prayer to God, he describeth his Infancy, discovering the Sins he committed at that time, as well as the evil Inclinations that were in him. He represents, with all the beauty, and exactness imaginable, the things that are incident to Children; their Motions of Joy, and Sorrow, their Jealousie before they can speak, how hardly they learn to speak; their aversion to Study, their love of Play, and the fear of Chastisement. He charges himself with loving the Study of Fables, and Poetical Fictions; and hating the Principles of Grammar, and particularly the Greek Tongue, tho' these things were infinitely more profitable, than those Fables, whereof he discovers the danger. He says, that being fallen dangerously Sick, he desired to be baptized; but coming to have some Ease, they deferred it, fearing he might defile himself again with new Crimes: *Because (saith he) the Sins committed after Baptism, are greater, and more dangerous, than such as are committed before.*

In the second, he begins to describe the Disorders of his Youth; he says, that being returned to his Father's House at sixteen years of Age, he gave himself to Debauchery, notwithstanding his Mother's Admonitions; that he was guilty of Theft, by robbing an Apple-tree in a Neighbour's Orchard with his Companions, with several Reflections upon the Motives that put him upon that Action.

In the third he confesseth, that at *Carthage*, whither he was gone to finish his Studies; he was transported with the Fire of Lust. He laments the Love which he had for Stage-Plays and Publick Shows, and the Pleasure he found when they affected him at any time with Passion. He declares afterwards, that he read one of *Cicero's* Books, intitled *Hortensius*, that inspired him with the love of Wisdom; but not finding in that Book the Name of Jesus Christ, which remained engraven in his Heart, and which he had as it were suck'd in with his Milk, he applied himself to the Holy Scripture; but that having read it with a Spirit of Pride, he relished it not, because of the plainness of it's Style; and then he hearkened to the Dreams of the *Manichees*, who promised to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth. He refutes their Errors, and speaks with great tenderness of the Prayers which his Mother made, and the Tears that she shed for his Conversion.

He continued however nine years in that Heresie, being deceived, and endeavouring to deceive others. He taught Rhetorick at *Tagasta*. There he lost one of his intimate Friends, whose Death grieved him exceedingly; whereof he describeth the Excess in the fourth Book, where he says many fine things concerning true and counterfeit Friendship. There he mentions the Treatise of *Cornelius and Beatzey*, which he made at twenty five years of Age; and gives an Account how easily he came to understand *Aristotle's* Categories. And he shews the Unprofitableness of Learning.

In the fifth he describes the degrees by which he came to be delivered from the *Manichean* Heresie, how he discovered *Faustus* his Ignorance who was the Head of that Heresie. He adds, that having taught Rhetorick at *Carthage*, he went to *Rome* with a Design to follow there the same Profession; but having been disheartened by the unhandsome Usage of the Scholars, who refused to pay their Masters, he obtain'd of *Symmachus* the place of Rhetorick-Professor at *Milan*, where he heard St. Ambrose preach, who perfectly disabused him of the Errors of the *Manichees*, and made him resolve absolutely to quit that Sect, and become a *Catechumen*.

He goeth on in the sixth Book, to describe the Progress of his Conversion; which was much furthered by the Prayers and Admonitions of his Mother St. Monica, who came to find him at *Milan*, and contracted a strict Friendship with St. Ambrose. He observes, that this Holy Bishop kept her from carrying Meat to the Graves of the Martyrs, as she used to do in her own Country. He describeth the Manners of

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of two of his Friends, *Alypius* and *Nebrius*, and the Agitations that were caused in himself by the knowledge of his Miseries, and the design which he had to alter his course of Life.

In the seventh Book, he declares his Condition in the 31st year of his Age, how much he was yet in the dark as to the Nature of God, and the Spring of Evil: how he was perfectly weaned from Judicial Astrology, by hearing of the History of two Children that were born at the same moment of time, whose Lot proved quite different: And lastly, by what degrees he rid himself of his Prejudices, and came to the knowledge of God, though he had not as yet those Thoughts of Jesus Christ, which he ought to have had.

He declares, that he found the Divinity of the Word in the Books of the *Platonists*, but not his Incarnation: And afterwards comparing the Books of those Philosophers with the Books of the Holy Scripture, which he began to read, he observeth that the former had made him more knowing, but also more presumptuous. Whereas the others instructed him in true Humility, and in the way which Men ought to follow to obtain Salvation.

At last he comes in the eighth Book to the best Passage of his Life, to that which happened in the two and thirtieth year of his Age, which was his Conversion. First of all he was wrought upon by a Conference which he had with a Holy Old Man, *Simplicianus*, who related to him the Conversion of a famous Rhetorick-Professor named *Victorinus*. He was further moved by the Story which *Pozitianus* told him of another Conversion. And at last feeling himself agitated, and distracted, by several contrary Thoughts, he withdrew into a Garden, where he heard a Voice from Heaven, commanding him, to open *St. Paul's* Epistles; whereof he had no sooner read some Lines, but he found himself wholly converted, and freed from the Agitations which till then had troubled him: Nothing can be more noble than the Description which he makes in that Book, of the Combates and Agitations which that Man feels that is engaged in Vice, and hath formed a Design of being converted to God.

St. Augustine was no sooner converted, but he resolved to leave his Profession. The Vacation being come, he retired to the Country-House of one of his Friends called *Verecundus*, to prepare himself for Baptism, which he received at *Easter* with *Alypius*, and his Son *Adeodatus*, whom he had by a Concubine. This he relateth in the ninth Book, where he discourseth again of the Death of *Verecundus*, and *Nebrius*, and *Adeodatus*, which happened shortly after his Baptism; He speaketh likewise, of the Original of the Singing in the Church of *Milan*, that was established by *St. Ambrose*, when he was persecuted by *Justina* an *Arian* Princess; concerning the discovering of the Bodies of the Martyrs, *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius*, and of the Miracles done at the time of their Translation; of the Discourse he had with his Mother *St. Monica*, about the Felicities of the other Life, and of the Death of that holy Widow which happened at *Ostia*, when he was returning into *Africa*; of her Burial; of the Prayers that were made for her; and of the Sacrifice which was offered. He concludes this Book by recommending her to the Prayers of those that shall read his Confessions.

Having set forth in the foregoing Books what he was before his Conversion, he sheweth in the tenth what he was at the time of his writing. He finds that his Conscience gave an unquestionable Testimony of his Love to God. He explains the Reasons that oblige Men to love God, reckoning up all the Faculties of his Soul that can lead him to know God, especially Memory, whereof he makes a wonderful Description: He says, amongst other things, that it serves to teach us many things, which entered not into the Mind by the Senses, and that it may lift us up to God. He occasionally speaks of Happiness, and of the Idea that Men have of God; afterwards he examineth himself about the three main Passions of Man, the love of Pleasures, of Knowledge, and of Glory. He sincerely confesseth what was his disposition with respect to these Passions, prescribing at the same time excellent Rules, to keep our selves from them. Lastly, he discovers the Knowledge of the true Mediator, and of the Graces which he merited for us.

The three last Books are about less sensible Matters: He waves the History of his Life to speak of the Love which he had for the Sacred Books, and of the Knowledge that God had given him of them; which to show, he undertakes to explain the beginning of *Genesis*, upon which occasion he starts several very subtil Questions.

In the eleventh, he refuteth those that asked, what God was doing before he created the World, and how God on a sudden formed the Design of creating any thing; whereupon he enters into a long Discourse concerning the Nature of Time.

In the twelfth Book he treateth of the first Matter. He pretends that by the Heavens and the Earth, which God is said to have created in the beginning, we are to understand spiritual Substances, and the shapeless Matter of corporeal things; that the Scripture speaking of the Creation of those two sorts of Beings, makes no mention of Days; because

there is no time with respect to them. He affirms, that whatsoever he hath said concerning the World's Creation cannot be denied, though the beginning of *Genesis* were otherwise expounded, because these are undoubted Truths. He treateth here of the different Explications which may be made of the Holy Scripture, affirming, that there is sufficient Reason to believe, that the Canonical Authors foresaw all the Truths that might be drawn from their Words, and though they had not foreseen these Truths, yet the Holy Ghost foresaw them: Whence he seems to conclude, that we are not to reject any Sense that may be given to the Holy Scripture, provided it is conformable to the Truth.

At last, having admired the Goodness of God who standing in no Need of the Creatures, had given them not only a Being, but also all the Perfections of that Being; he discovereth in the last Book the Mystery of the Trinity in the first Words of *Genesis*, and even the Personal Property of the Holy Ghost; which gives him an admirable opportunity of describing the Actions of Charity in our selves. He concludes with a curious Allegory upon the beginning of *Genesis*, and finds in the Creation the System and Oeconomy of whatsoever God hath done for the Establishment of his Church, and the Sanctification of Men: the only End which he proposed to himself in all his Works.

St. Augustine placeth the Books of Confessions before those against *Faustus*, which were written about the Year 400, in his Retractions, from whence we may conclude, that these were both written about the same time.

After these two, which serve, as we have said, for a Preface to all *St. Augustine's* Works, you find in this first Volume, the Books that *St. Augustine* writ in his Youth, before he was a Priest, in the same order in which they were written.

The three Books against the *Academicks*, are the first after the Treatise of *Beauty and Comeliness*, which is lost. He composed them in the Year 386, in his solitude, when he prepared himself for Baptism. They are written in imitation of *Cicero*, in the Form of a Dialogue, and directed to *Romanianus* his Countryman, whom he adviseth to Study Philosophy. The Dispute beginneth betwixt *Licentius* Son to *Romanianus*, and *Trygetius*; after them *Alypius* and *St. Augustine* begin to speak.

Having observed in the first Book, that the good things of Fortune do not render Men happy, he exhorts *Romanianus* to the Study of Wisdom, whose sweetness he then tasted. He afterwards gives an Account of three Conferences which *Licentius* and *Trygetius* had had about Happiness. *Licentius* held with the *Academicks*, that to be happy it was enough to seek after the Truth; but *Trygetius* pretended, that it was necessary to know it perfectly, both being agreed, that Wisdom is that which makes Men happy, they begin to dispute about the definition of Wisdom. *Trygetius* gives several, all disapproved by *Licentius*, who asserts, that Wisdom consisted not only in Knowledge, but also in the Pursuit of the Truth, whereupon *St. Augustine* concludes, that since we cannot be happy without knowing and enquiring after the Truth, our only application should be to seek for it.

In the second Book, having again exhorted *Romanianus* to the Study of Philosophy, he sets down three other Conferences, wherein *Alypius* produces the several Opinions of both the Ancient and Modern *Academicks*. And because the latter said, that some things were probable, though the Truth was not known, they laughed at that Opinion, it being impossible, say they, to know whether a thing is like the Truth, without knowing the Truth itself. And this very thing obligeth Men to enquire the more carefully after likely and probable things, according to the Principles of the *Academicks*.

The third Book begins with Reflections upon Fortune. *St. Augustine* shews, that the Goods of Fortune are of no Use to get Wisdom: and that the Wise Man ought at least to know Wisdom, refuting withall, the Principles both of *Cicero*, and of the other *Academicks*, who affirmed, that we know nothing, and that nothing ought to be asserted. He blames the damnable Maxim of those who permitted Men to follow every thing that seemed probable, without being certain of any thing. He shews the dangerous Consequences of such Principles, and endeavours to prove that neither the ancient *Academicks*, nor *Cicero* himself, were of that Opinion.

These three Books are written with all imaginable Elegance and Purity: The Method and Reasonings are just: The Matter treated of is well cleared and made intelligible for all Men; it is beautified with agreeable suppositions and pleasant stories. It may be said, that these Dialogues are not much inferior to *Tully's* for Style, but much above them for the exactness and solidity of the Arguments and Notions. In his Retractions he findeth fault with several places in them, which seemed not to him sufficiently to favour of Christianity, but might be born with in a Philosophical Work.

The Book of a *Happy Life*, or, of *Felicity*, is a Work of the same Nature, written by *St. Augustine* at the same time, in the 33d. year of his Age. It is dedicated to *Mar-*

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lius Theodorus, whom he had known at Milan. In the beginning he makes a distinction of three sorts of Persons. Some to avoid the Troubles of this Life, fly into Harbour as soon as they come to the use of Reason, that they may live quietly. Others on the contrary, having been a while engaged in the Storms of this Life, carried away with Passions, Pleasures, or Glory, find themselves happily driven into Harbour by some Storm. The third sort are they, who in the midst of Storms and Tempests, have always had an Eye to some Star, with a design to return into Harbour. The most dangerous Rock to be feared in this Navigation, is that of Vain-Glory, which we meet with at the first setting out, and where it is difficult to avoid Shipwreck. These Reflections St. Augustine applies to himself, and saith, that at twenty five Years of Age, having conceived a strong Passion for Philosophy, by reading of *Tully's Hortensius*, he resolved to give up himself to that Study: but that having been some time wrap'd up with the dark Clouds of the Errors of the *Manichees*, which hid from him the Star that should have guided him: At last that Mist was dissipated. That the Academicks had long detain'd him in the midst of the Sea, in a continual Agitation; but he had now discover'd a lucky Star that shewed him the Truth, by the Discourses, both of St. Ambrose, and Theodorus, to whom he writeth, that the love both of Pleasure and of Glory, had for sometime detain'd him; but, in the end, he weigh'd all his Anchors to come into Port.

After this fair beginning, he acquaints Theodorus with a Discourse, which he supposeth to be held upon the 15th. of November, his Birth-day, with his Mother, his Brother, his Son, his Cousins, and his two Disciples, Trygetius and Licentius, who appeared already in the foregoing Dialogues. That they might enter upon the Matter the sooner, St. Augustine introduces them agreed in this Point, that Man being made up of Body, and Soul, the Soul is to be fed as well as the Body, because it hath equal need of Nourishment. After this he propounds the Subject of their Conference, saying, that since all Men desire to be happy, it is certain, that all that want what they would have, are not happy; but he asketh, whether they be happy that have what they desire? St. Augustine's Mother having answered, that they are happy, if that which they desire be good, *Si bona, inquit, velis & habeat, beatus est*: He replies immediately, that she had found out the greatest Secret in Philosophy; *Ipsam prorsus, mater, arcem Philosophiae tenuisti*. Upon these Principles, he shews, in the three Dialogues of this Book, That true Felicity consists in the Knowledge of God: For, in the first place, the Goods of Fortune cannot make us happy, since we cannot have them when we would. The Academicks cannot be happy in their enquiry after Truth, since they have not what they would find; but they that seek God are happy, because they no sooner seek to him, but he begins to shew them Mercy. All those whose Souls want any thing, are not happy: None but God can fill the Soul; therefore none but God can make us happy: None is happy without Wisdom; And can Wisdom be had without God? Is there any other Wisdom than that which cometh from him? Is he not Wisdom and Truth?

He concludes with exhorting those to whom he speaks, to seek after God, that they may come to the perfect knowledge of him, wherein consists the Sovereign Felicity of Life, and the true Happiness of the Soul. He corrects this Passage in his Retractions, observing that Man cannot be entirely and perfectly happy in this Life; because he cannot know God perfectly, till he comes to the other World.

St. Augustine treateth of Providence in his two Books of Order: shewing, that all good, and evil things come to pass, according to the Order of Divine Providence. These Books, are written Dialogue-wise: In the First, he discourses of Providence in general; in the second, he begins to enquire, what Order is; but immediately digresses to speak of the Love of Glory: And his Mother coming in, he puts an end to the Conference; shewing, that Women should not be forbidden to study Wisdom.

In the third Dialogue, which begins the second Book, St. Augustine clears several particular Difficulties, about the Order of Providence. He enquires what it is to be with God, and in God's Order; in what Sense a wise Man may be said to abide with God, and to be immoveable: He maintains, that foolish, and wicked Actions come in to the Order of Providence, because they have their Use for the Good of the Universe, and manifest God's Justice.

In the fourth Dialogue he proves, that God was always just, tho' there was no occasion for the exercise of his Justice before there were wicked Men: that Evil was introduced against God's Order, but that the Justice of God submitted it to its Orders. Having bandied these Metaphysical Questions, he enters, upon Morals; exhorting his Disciples to follow God's Order, both in their Behaviour, and in their Studies. He says, Men ought to live after the following Pattern. 'Tis necessary (saith he) for young Men to avoid Debauches, and Excess; to despise gay Cloths, and rich Attire; to be careful not to lose their time, either at Play, or unprofitable Recreati-

ons; not to be Idle, or Sleepy; to be free from Jealousie, Envy, and Ambition; in one word, not to suffer themselves to be transported by any violent Passion: they should be persuaded, that the love of Riches, is the worst Poyson that can infect their Hearts. They ought to do nothing, either with Cowardice, or with Rashness. If they are offended, let them refrain their Anger. They ought to correct all Vices, but to hate no Body; not to be too severe, nor too yielding. Let their Reproofs be always for a good End; and their Meekness never authorize Vice: Let them look upon all that are committed to their Charge, as their own: Let them serve others without Affectation of Dominion; and when they become Masters, let them still be willing to serve: Let them carefully avoid making Enemies; and if they have any, let them bear with them patiently; and endeavour to be quickly reconciled: In all their Business with others, and their whole Behaviour, let them observe that Maxim of the Law of Nature: *Do not that, to others, which you would not have done to you*. Let them not meddle with Publick Affairs, except they are very capable . . . and study to get Friends in what Employment soever they be; take a delight in serving those that deserve it, even when they least look for it: Let them live orderly, honour God, think of him and seek him by Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Having thus given Precepts for the Manners of Youth, he prescribeth Rules for their Studies. He saith, that Learning is got by Authority and Reason; and, that there is a two-fold Authority, that of God, and that of Men. These may deceive us; but God never affirmeth any thing but what is true. He treateth afterwards of Reason; and having given a Definition of it, he shews, that all Learning is nothing but Reason occupied in the consideration of different Objects. He draws up a Catalogue of all the Sciences, and gives a short Account, both of the Object and Use of each of them: From thence he passes to the Knowledge of the Soul, and of God; wherein he places true Wisdom, and concludes his Discourse with an Exhortation to Virtue.

His two Books of *Soliloquies*, were likewise written by St. Augustine in his Retirement, about the beginning of the Year 387. His Design is to grow more perfect in the Knowledge, both of God and his own Soul. To this End, after an excellent Prayer to God, he examines his Reason, and makes it return Answers. In the first Book he treateth particularly, of the necessary Dispositions in the Soul, to deserve the Knowledge of God. He teaches, that it arrives to that Knowledge by Faith, Hope, and Charity, and by turning away the Heart, and Thoughts from Earthly Things, to seek and love nothing but God: At the latter end, he falls upon the Question of the Immortality of the Soul, which he prosecutes in the Second Book. He concludes, that the Soul is Immortal, because it is the Habitation of Truth, which is Eternal: Which puts him upon making several Reflections, both upon Truth and Falshood. This last Volume is not compleat, as St. Augustine himself observes in his Retractions; where he corrects some faulty Expressions that he used at a time when he was not thoroughly instructed in Religion.

Sometime after the Books of *Soliloquies*, St. Augustine being returned to Milan writ the Book *Of the Immortality of the Soul: Which is* (saith he in his Retractions) *as a Memorial which I made to compleat my Soliloquies, that were imperfect: But I know not how it came to be Publick against my Will; so it is now amongst my Works. This Book* (addeth he) *is so dark in the beginning, both by reason of the Expressions, and the brevity of the Reasonings, that it wearieth the Reader; and requires so great an Attention, that I can scarce understand it my self with much Application*. The reading of it will discover, that it is rather Memoirs, than a finish'd Work. He has collected several, dry, barren Arguments, to prove the Immortality of the Soul.

These are some of his Principles. Knowledge is Eternal; wherefore the Soul, which is the Seat of Knowledge, is Immortal. Reason, and the Soul, are all one; but Reason is Immutable and Eternal. Matter cannot be annihilated, let it be divided never so much; yet it abideth. And, who can believe the Soul to be in a worse Condition? Nothing can create it self, and nothing can annihilate it self. Life is the Essence of the Soul; therefore it cannot be deprived of it. The Soul is not the Disposition of the Parts of the Body; seeing the more we endeavour to abstract it from Sense; the more easily we comprehend Things: Neither can it be changed into a Body; for were this Change possible, it must be either because the Soul is willing, or because it may be forced to it by the Body; but both these Notions are equally absurd. These are the Principles, whereupon St. Augustine enlargeth in this Treatise, and which he applies to his Purpose with great subtilty, and fineness. This Book is a convincing Evidence of his Skill in Logick.

The following Treatise is Intituled *Of the Quantity of the Soul*: It is placed here; because it treateth of the same Matter with the foregoing; for, according to the order of time, it ought to be placed after that *Of the Manners of the Church*, as St. Augustine observes in his Retractions. He gives

St. Augustine. Tome I. gives this Account of this Treatise Of the Quantity of the Soul. I writ whilst I was in that City (Rome) A Dialogue, wherein I raise several Questions concerning the Soul, viz. What is its Original; what its Nature; whether it is extended; why it was united with the Body; what alterations happen to it, either when it comes into, or goeth out of the Body. But, because I undertook to Examine with exactness and curiosity, whether it was extended; designing to shew, that it is not, after the manner of Bodies, tho' it is some great thing. This only Question hath given the Name to the whole Book; which therefore hath been intitled, Of the Quantity of the Soul. Evodius is the Person whom St. Augustine introduceth, speaking in this Dialogue; as he says in the 101st. Letter: and so it was a Mistake, to put in the common Editions, the Name of Adeodatus, which is not found in the Ancient Manuscripts; and with much Reason they have restor'd the Name of Evodius in the last Edition. This Man propounds to St. Augustine six Questions; the first, *Whence is the Soul?* and, *What is the Matter it is made of?* Evodius desiring to have both these Questions clear'd to him, he saith, *That the Habitation of the Soul is God, who created it.* As for the Nature thereof, he declares, that he can neither Name nor Explain it, because it hath nothing like Corporeal Beings; and that it is single in its kind. Evodius his second Question, is, *What is the Quality of the Soul?* St. Augustine answereth, *That it is like God.* The third Question proposed by Evodius, concerns the Quantity of the Soul: St. Augustine affirms, that the Soul hath no Quantity, if by Quantity be understood Corporeal Extension; but that it hath, if by that Term is meant spiritual Greatness, Strength, and Power. St. Augustine, here discusses the Question of the Soul's Extension with care; and shews, by several Reasons, that it hath no Corporeal Dimensions. He distinguishes Men's Souls from those of Beasts; and grants to the Latter, Sense without Reason: Afterwards, he reckons up the excellent Qualities of Man's Soul, which he reduces to seven Heads; whence he concludes, that of all Creatures, Man's Soul is that which comes nearest to the Nature of God. With this he endeth this Treatise, without meddling with the other three Questions proposed by Evodius, viz. The fourth, *Why the Soul was united with the Body.* The fifth, *What it is at the entrance into the Body:* And the sixth, *What becomes of it when it goes out of it.* This Treatise was composed by St. Augustine, in 388.

St. Augustine having left his Retirement, and being come back to Milan in the year 381 began to write Treatises upon the Sciences, as he tells us in his Retractions. He could finish none but a Treatise of Grammar; but he began several others of Logick, Rhetorick, Geometry, Arithmetick, and Philosophy. He did not know himself, what was become of these Discourses, when he composed his Retractions. At the same time he began, also, the six Books of Musick; which he compleated after his return into Africa, about the Year 389. In the first Book he speaks of Musick in general: In the second, of Syllables, and Feet: In the three following, he discourses of Measure, Harmony, and Verses: In the last he shews, that Musick ought to raise up the Mind, and Heart, to a Divine, and Heavenly Harmony.

St. Augustine's Discourse of a Master, was written about the Year 395. It is a Dialogue betwixt himself, and his Son Adeodatus; wherein he shews, that it is not by Men's Words that we receive Instruction, but from the Eternal Truth, viz. Jesus Christ the Word of God, who informeth us inwardly of all Truth.

The first of the three Books of Free-Will, was composed at Rome, in 387. and the two others in Africa, in 395. In the first, St. Augustine resolves that hard Question, touching the Original of Evil: And having explained what it is to do Evil, he shews, that all manner of Evil comes from the Free-Will, which readily followeth the Suggestions of Lust; adding, that our Will makes us either happy, or unhappy: That if we are not happy, though we desire to be so, it is because we will not live conformably to the Law of God; without which, it is impossible to be Happy.

In the second Book, the Difficulty alledged by Evodius why God hath left in Man a Liberty of Sinning, which is so prejudicial to him, hath started these three other Questions. How we are sure that there is a God? Doth all Good come from him? Is the Will free to do Good, as well as Evil? St. Augustine clears all these Difficulties, proving, that Free-Will was given for a good End; and that we received it of God; that there is a Being, more perfect than our Soul; that this Being is Truth it self, Goodness, Wisdom it self; that every good and perfect thing cometh from it; and that Free-Will is to be reckoned among the good Things. That there are three sorts of Goods: The greatest are the Vertues that make us live Well; the Ideas of Corporeal Objects, without which we cannot live Well, are the least, and the Powers of the Soul are the middle Ones: That the first cannot be abused; but both the second, and the last may be put to ill Uses: That Free-Will is of the Number of these middle Goods. When the Will adheres to the Sovereign Good, it renders Man Happy; but but when it departeth from that, to cleave to other Objects, then Man becometh Criminal, and so Unhappy. Wherefore neither the Will, nor the Objects it embraceth, are

Evil; but it is a Separation from God, that makes all Evil, and Sin but God is not the Author of this Separation. From whence then is this Principle of Aversion? This St. Augustine clears in the third Book. It is not Natural, since it is Guilty: It is Free, and Voluntary; and it is enough to say, that we may chuse, whether we will follow it, or no, to justify God's Justice: But, how can this Liberty agree with the Fore-knowledge of God? Nothing is more easie, according to St. Augustine, in this Place. We are Free when we do what we please: But Prescience doth not take away our Will; on the contrary, it supposes it, since it is a Knowledge of our Will. But are not the Creature's Faults to be imputed to the Creator? Why did he not make it impeccable? Had not Men been more perfect, if they had been created at first in the same condition with the Angels, and the glorified Saints that cannot be separated from the Love of God? But St. Augustine replies, doth it therefore follow, that because we may conceive a more Perfect State, therefore God was obliged to create us in that State? Should we not rather believe that he had his Reasons why he did not create us more Perfect? There are several sorts of Perfections. If the State of a Creature, that enjoyeth God, makes Sovereign Felicity; then the State of a Creature that is subject to Sin, which liveth in hope of recovering the Happiness which it lost, is also in God's Order, and exceedingly above that of a Creature that lies under the necessity of sinning eternally. The Condition of these last, is the worst of all; and yet God cannot be accused of Injustice, for giving a Being to Creatures which he knew would be eternally miserable: He is not the Cause of their Sin: That Being which he gave them, is still a Perfection; their Sins and their Misery contribute to the Perfection of the Universe, and to exalt the Justice of God by the Punishment of their Sins. What then is the Cause of Sins? there is none but the Will it self, which freely and knowingly inclineth to do Evil. For if Sin, could not be resisted, it were impossible to know or to avoid it; and then there would be no Sin. Wherefore then doth God punish Sins of Ignorance? How cometh it to pass that he blameth those Actions that are done out of Necessity? What mean those Words of the Apostle, *I do not the Good that I would, but the Evil that I would not?* All that, saith St. Augustine, is spoken of Men born since Man-kind was condemned to Death, because of the first Man's Sin. For were this Natural to Man, and not a Punishment of his Sin; it is certain, there would be no Sin of Ignorance nor Necessity: But when we speak here of Liberty, we speak of that which Man had when God created him.

Here St. Augustine answers the greatest Objection that can be urged against Original Sin: Though, say they, both Adam and Eve have sinned, yet what had we done, wretched Persons that we are, to be thus abandoned to Ignorance and to Lust? Must we therefore be deprived of the knowledge of the Precepts of Righteousness? and when we begin to know them, must we see our selves under a kind of Necessity not to keep them, by reason of the resistance of Lust? St. Augustine confesseth, that this Complaint were just, if Men were under an impossibility of overcoming their Ignorance and Lust. But God being present every where to call his Creature to his Service, to teach him what he ought to believe, to comfort him in his hopes; to confirm him in his Love, to help his Endeavours, and to hear his Prayers; Man cannot complain, That that is imputed to him which he is unavoidably ignorant of; but then that he must blame himself, if he neglects to seek after that which he knows not. It is none of his fault; that he cannot use his broken Members; but he is guilty if he despiseth the Physician that proffers to cure him: for none can be ignorant that Man may profitably seek for the Knowledge of what he knows not, and which he thinks to be necessary: And it is well enough known that Men ought humbly to acknowledge their Weakness, to obtain Help. In a word, If Men do that which is Evil out of Ignorance, or if it so happens, that they cannot do the Good which they would, there is Sin in that; because it is in consequence of the First Man's Sin committed with full Liberty. This first Sin deserved the following.

There remained yet a considerable Difficulty, Why the Innocent Soul becometh subject unto Sin by it's Union with the Body? To explain this, St. Augustine mentions four several Opinions concerning the Original of Souls. The first is, that the Soul is formed from the Parents. The second is, that God creates new ones at Mens Birth. The third is, that Souls being created beforehand, God causeth them to enter their respective Bodies. The fourth is, that they come down into the Bodies of their own accord: Now, he judging all these Opinions equally probable, and that it was as yet undecided, he endeavourerth to prove, that a Reason may be given for Original Sin, what Opinion soever one holds of the Original of the Soul.

He cometh at last to that particular Difficulty concerning the Children that die as soon as they are born. As for those that have received Baptism, though without knowledge, he saith, that it is Piously and Justly believed (for these are the Terms he makes Use of *Satis pie recteq; Creditur*)

St. Augustine. Tome I. *zur*) that the Faith of those who present the Child to be baptized, supplies for that of the Child: As to the Pain and Sorrow which they suffer, having not deserved them by their Sins, St. Augustine saith, that God hath his Ends in permitting their Sufferings, and that perhaps he will recompence them for these Sufferings, as the Church believeth of the holy Innocents killed by *Herod*, who are reckoned among the Martyrs; having thus salved these Difficulties, he makes other useleſs Queries concerning the Sin of *Adam*.

St. Augustine observes in his *Retractions*, that he designed nothing in these Books, but to oppose their Opinion, who deny the Original of Evil to be from Free-Will; pretending that if this were true, God must be the Author of it, introducing thereby an Eternal and Immutable Subsistence of Evil; that he did not enlarge upon it, nor treat of Predestination or Grace, whereby God prepares the Wills of Men, that they might make good Use of their Liberty. Yet, when there was occasion to speak of it, he says something by the bye, without making any Stop to defend it. Wherefore *Pelagius* and the *Pelagians*, alledged several Expressions in favour of Free-Will, which St. Augustine had used in his Books: But St. Augustine shews, that what he said of Free-Will, is consistent enough with his System of Grace, and that he established all the Principles of it: This he proves by Passages taken out of these Books, where he affirms, that every good thing comes from God, and that Man cannot be delivered from Ignorance, and the necessity of Sinning, but by God's help.

The two Books upon *Genesis* against the *Manichees*, were composed by St. Augustine after his return into *Africa*, about the Year 389. There he refuteth those impertinent Objections which the *Manichees* made concerning the three first Chapters of *Genesis*, by giving a reasonable Exposition of them. He insists most upon the literal Sense; but sometimes he goes out of the way, and only gives an Allegorical one. As St. Augustine designed to benefit all Men by this Book; and particularly, to inform the common People that were abused by the *Manichees*, so he writ it with all the clearness and simplicity he could: In his *Retractions*, he explaineth some Passages that were misconstrued by the *Pelagians*; especially two, one against the Necessity of Grace, and the other against Original Sin.

The Books of the *Manners of the Church, and of the Manichees*, were composed at *Rome* by St. Augustine, soon after his Baptism, about the Year 387. as himself witnesseth in his *Retractions*. It is very probable that he revised them after his return into *Africa*, seeing he mentions them in the first of those Treatises lately named. His Design was to confound the Insolence and Vanity of the *Manichees*, who gloried in a vain Temperance; and under that Pretence, exalted themselves above the Catholics: Wherefore in these two Books he shews the opposition of the true Christian's Manners, to those of the *Manichees*; proving how much the counterfeit Vertues which these made their boast of, were inferior to the real Vertue of Christ's Disciples.

In the Book of the *Manners of the Church*, he layeth down, as the first ground of Morality, that God alone is the Sovereign Good of our Souls; from which Truth, he infers, that all things must have respect to God, and that we are to love him above all things; and proves this first Principle of Christian Ethics by Testimonies of the Old and New Testament. He shews, that all the Vertues are but so many different Expressions of this Love; that Temperance is that Love, which keeps it self pure and uncorrupt for God: Fortitude, is a love that endureth all things with ease, for God's sake: Justice is a love that serveth God only, and by reason of that, procures Good to all Creatures that are subjected to him: Prudence is a love which has a Light, to distinguish that which may help to bring us to God, from that which may hinder us in that way; even the love of our Neighbour is not a Vertue, but so far as it relates to God. He alone that loveth God, is capable of loving himself and his Neighbour, as he ought to do. This Reflection giveth St. Augustine an Opportunity of speaking of the Duties of Society; and of what Christians owe one to another. Lastly, as Examples do often affect more than Precepts; so he produces several Precedents of virtuous Men in the Church; that he may raise a higher Notion of the Manners of the Catholics. He sets forth the Examples of Hermits, Monks, and Nuns, who have quite severed themselves from the World, to spend their Lives in constant Abstinence, and in Exercises of Piety. He adds the Example of several virtuous Ecclesiastics; and of many holy Prelates, who kept themselves pure in the midst of a corrupt Age; and of an infinite Number of Christians, that led most exemplary Lives. He concludes this Book, by shewing, that the Examples of Evil Catholics can be no pretence for Hereticks to separate from the Church; and that the Notions of the *Manichees* touching Marriage, are contrary to those of the Apostles.

He observeth much the same Method in his Book of the *Manners of the Manichees*: He begins it by refuting their Doctrine about the Nature and Original of Good and Evil: Afterwards he discovers their impious and superstitious Practices, in such a manner as renders them ridiculous and abo-

minable; and then gives a relation of the Disorders whereof the greatest part of that Sect hath been convicted.

The Book of *true Religion*, is the last of those which St. Augustine writ before he was a Priest; He therefore made it about the Year 390. There he shews both the Excellencies and the Duties of the true Religion; that the Christian Religion is the only true one: And he refutes the Errors of other Religions, and particularly of the *Manichees* concerning the two Natures. He speaks of Jesus Christ's Religion, in a lofty manner, as gives a very high Notion of it. I shall give an Analysis of his Principles. Religion is the only thing that can guide us to the Truth, to Vertue and Happiness. The Heathen Philosophers acknowledge the Falshood of the popular Religion, and yet approve the same by their outward Worship. Since the Establishment of Christianity, none can doubt but that it is the Religion which ought to be followed. *Plato* himself would have owned it, seeing that the loftiest Maxims of Philosophy, concerning the Divinity and the Necessity of purifying the Soul, whereof he despaired of persuading the People, are not only preached throughout the Earth, but also embraced and followed by an infinite number of Persons. The Philosophers must needs know God upon this occasion, and give place to him that did this Miracle. Neither Curiosity, nor Vain-glory ought to keep them from acknowledging the difference between the proud Conjectures of a few Philosophers, and the Publication of a Doctrine that cures the Soul and reforms the Errors of all Nations. Religion is not to be sought for either among the Philosophers, since they approve by their Actions, the same Worship which they condemn in their Writings; nor among the Hereticks who have no share in the Sacraments of the Church; nor among Schismatics, who have separated themselves from the Church; nor among the Jews, who expect from God none but Temporal and Transitory Rewards; but only in the Church universally dispersed throughout the Earth, which makes use of the Errors of others for its own Good. The Church makes use of the Pagans, as the Matter of her Works; Of Hereticks as a Proof of the Purity of her Doctrine; Of Schismatics, as a Mark of her Stability; and of the Jews, as an Evidence of her Excellency: and so she inviteth the Heathens, thrusts out Hereticks, forsakes Schismatics, goes before the Jews, and yet she openeth to all Entrance into the Mysteries, and a Door of Grace, either by forming the Faith of the former, or by reforming the Errors of the latter, or by causing the last to return into her Bosom, or admitting the others into the Society of her Children. As for carnal Christians she beareth with them for a time, as Straw which is serviceable to the Wheat upon the Floor; and because every one is either Straw or Wheat, according to the Motions of his Will, She suffers those that are in Sin or in Error till they are Accused, or till they undertake to defend their false Opinions with obstinate Animosity. But such as are cut off from the Church do either return by Penance, or being carried away by a mischievous Liberty they give up themselves to Vice; or they make a Schism, or frame an Heresie. Yea, very often God's Providence permits some virtuous Christians to be put out of the Communion of the Church by Tumults and Disturbances excited against them by carnal Persons: but this separation is not imputed unto them, and God notwithstanding crowneth them in secret, when they bear with that Injury patiently, without making a Schism from the Church, or setting up any new Heresie; Such Examples, saith St. Augustine, seem rare, but yet there are some, and more than can be believed. Having thus rejected the false Religions, he concludes, That we must hold to that of Christ, and to that Church which is Catholic; and which is so called, not only by her own Children, but also by her very Enemies: The first Ground of this Religion is History, and Prophecy, which discovers to us the Oeconomy that God's Providence hath made use of in process of times for the Salvation of Men. That after this Belief we ought to purifie our Hearts, to render them capable of knowing the Trinity, the Incarnation, and other Articles of the Creed. That Heresies serve to clear the Mysteries. After this, he discourseth of the Soul; shewing after what manner it becometh, as it were, Earthly and Carnal by loving the Body, and how it gets out of that Unhappy State, by turning to God and overcoming disorderly Affections by the Grace of God. He treateth of the Nature and Fall of Angels: He shews, that Sin must be voluntary; That Death, Weakness, and Pain, are Punishments, for Sin; and yet are not unprofitable, because they wean us from Corporeal Things. He resumes his Discourse of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and saith, that God's Bounty towards Men, never appeared so much as in that Mystery; That the Word of God of the same Substance and Co-eternal with the Father, vouchsafed to make himself Man like unto us, to deliver us from our Sins: That he hath used no force or violence to draw us to himself; that he hath manifested himself to God by Miracles, and Man by his Sufferings; that he hath appointed his Example for a Remedy against all the disorderly Passions of Men; that his Life is a continual Instruction, and his Resurrection, an Evidence that we may hope to be one day delivered from

from all sorts of Evils; that he hath taken off the Veil from the Figures of the Old-Law; That he hath abolished the Ceremonial Ordinances; with which the Jews were overlaid; That he hath instituted few Sacraments indeed, but very wholesome ones to preserve Society in his Church; that he hath perfected our Morals, by increasing the number of Precepts, but that at the same time he hath given Men strength to practise them. He treateth here of the Nature and Original of Evil, shewing that it is not a Corporeal Substance, but consists in a vicious adhesion of the Will to Corporeal Beings. He runsthrough the several Conditions of Men; and the means to find out Remedies for all their Distempers. He discovereth the Use that is to be made both of Authority and Reason to cure Man, and applieth both to take him off from the Creature. He hath several curious Speculations upon the Knowledge and the Affections of Men; and particularly he examines the three principal Passions, Pleasure, Ambition and Curiosity, and layeth down very profitable Precepts for Piety and Manners. He recommends the Reading of the Holy Scripture, distinguishing the several Explications, and giving some Rules for the understanding of it. The whole Work is concluded with an Exhortation to all Men to embrace the true Religion.

In his *Retractions* he maketh some Remarks upon this Treatise; most of them are of small Consequence; these are some of the most important. He had said, that Sin was so necessarily Voluntary, that an Action could not be Sin, if it was not Voluntary. He justifies this Assertion in his *Retractions*: but he adds that Sins committed through Ignorance or Lust, are in some sort Voluntary, because they cannot be committed without Will: and that even Original Sin is Voluntary, in this Sense, because it was the Will of the First Man, that made it Hereditary to all his Posterity. He observeth likewise, upon what he had said, that Jesus Christ had done nothing by Violence, but only used Counsels and Exhortations: That he did not then reflect upon the Actions of Jesus Christ, when he drove the Merchants out of the Temple with Scourges, that came thither to Buy and Sell; but saith he, that cannot be looked upon as a violent Action: *Sed quid hoc aut quantum est?* Upon what he had said, *That Miracles were ceased in his time, lest Men should still cleave to Sensible Things, and their Minds be too much accustomed to them*; he noteth that these Words are

not to be taken strictly, seeing that Miracles are still wrought in the Church, and that himself had seen some at Milan. The Rule, which is the last Piece of this Tome, is indeed St. Augustine's; but he wrote it for Nuns, and not for Monks. Somebody took it out of the 109th. Epistle, and fitted it for Men. This Alteration has been long made.

As they have placed by themselves, at the latter end of each Tome, those Pieces which are none of St. Augustine's, and yet have some relation to those contained in that Volume; so at the end of this, there are the Treatises of Grammar, Logick, Categories and Rhetorick, that were attributed to St. Augustine in the former Editions; perhaps, because he saith himself, in his *Retractions*, That he had began some Treatises upon those Sciences: But his Discourses were written in the Form of Dialogues, and like that of *Musick*; where he makes use of that Science, to raise up the Mind of Man to his Creator; but these are neither Dialogue-wise, nor fit to lift up Mens Minds towards God. The manner how they are written, and the methods observed in them are very different from those of St. Augustine. In a word there are in those Treatises several Observations unworthy of that Father, and contrary to his Opinions. The Discourse of *Grammar*, begins indeed with the same Words that St. Augustine hath noted in his *Retractions*; but they have been added, and are not to be found in the Manuscripts.

The Author of the Book of *Categories*, has a great Esteem for Aristotle's Philosophy; and saith that he could scarce understand his Book of *Categories* with *Themistius* his Help: Whereas St. Augustine, who had no great Esteem for Aristotle's Philosophy, assureth us that he understood his *Categories*, without Labour, and without a Tutor. The Name of *Adeodatus*, that was inserted into the printed Copies, is not found in the Manuscripts.

The *Monastick Rules*, which are at the latter end of this Volume, are rejected with Common Consent. The last, wherein St. Benedict's Rule is quoted, is, if we believe *Holstenius*, written by *Alredus Rievellensis*, an Abbot in England who flourished in the Twelfth Century; and indeed it is in the Catalogue of this Authors Works, published [by Bale,] in the Second Century of English Writers: part of it is among St. Anselm's Works.

The second TOME.

THE Second Tome of St. Augustine's Works, containeth his Letters; which do not only represent the Genius and Character of that holy Father, but contain also very important Points of Doctrine, Discipline and Morality. In the last Edition, they are placed according to the order of Time; for which Arguments are brought in a Preface. They are divided into *Four Classes*. The *First* contains those which he writ before he was Bishop, from the Year 386. to 395. In the *Second*, are those which he Writ from the Year 396. to the time when the Catholick Bishops had a Conference at *Carthage* with the *Donatists*; and the breaking out of the *Pelagian* Heresie in *Africa*, that is, to the Year 410. The *Third* comprehends those that were written from the Year 411. to the end of his Life, that is, to 430. And the *Fourth* contains those whereof the time is not justly known, though they were certainly written after he was made Bishop. There are two hundred and seventy in all. The *Benedictines* have taken away some Treatises, which were put among the Letters; and they have added those which he answered. And lastly, some are added that were not published before.

The thirteen or fourteen first are about Philosophical Matters that St. Augustine used to discourse about with his Friends when he was first Converted.

The first was written by St. Augustine to *Hermogenianus*, about the latter end of the Year 380. concerning the Books that he wrote against the Academicks. He tells him what his aim was in writing them, and asketh his Advice about what he had said concerning those Philosophers. About the latter end of the Third Book he commends the Academicks, and saith, that he was so far from Condemning them, that he had imitated them. He blameth the false Academicks, of his own time, and calleth them *stupid* who believed the Soul to be Corporeal. He concludes, with saying, that he flattered not himself with triumphing over the Academicks, as *Hermogenianus* said; but that he thought himself Happy, for being above despair of finding the Truth, which is the Food of the Soul; and that he had thereby broken that troublesome Chain which hindred him from fasting as one may say, to the Breasts of the true Philosophy.

In the second Letter, to *Zenobius*, he testifies his Sorrow for his being Absent, and his Impatience to see him again, that they might resolve a Question which he had begun to examine: This Letter was written the same time with the foregoing.

The third, to *Nebridius*, is about his Books of *Soliloquies*, composed in the beginning of the year 387. He speaketh there of his Happiness of having attained to the Knowledge

of some particular Truths, and particularly of those concerning our Nature; confessing withall, that he was Ignorant of many things. Among things unknown to Man, he proposeth these: Why the World is of such Bigness? or rather, how big it is? Why it is where it is, rather than any where else? He observes, that Bodies may be infinitely divided; and that there is no Quantity but may be both infinitely increased and diminished: That it is not so with numbers, which may be infinitely increased; but not diminished proportionably, seeing there is nothing below Unity. In the next directed to the same, and written about the same time, St. Augustine acquaints him with the progress that he had made in the knowledge of the Truth, during the time of his retirement. We have not the other Letters, which he writ at that time to *Nebridius*, as appears by the Ninth Book of *Confessions*.

The fifth and sixth, are Letters written in *Africa*, by *Nebridius*, to St. Augustine, about the end of the Year 388. or the beginning of 389. In the first, *Nebridius* pitieth St. Augustine, that he was interrupted in the Contemplation of the Truth by other Business. And in the second, he tells him his Notion, that Memory cannot act without Imagination; and, that the Imagination draws her Images of things from it self, and not from the Senses. St. Augustine resolves both these Questions. in the seventh Letter to the former, he answereth that we remember things which cannot be represented by Sensible Ideas: whence he concludes, that there is a Memory independent upon the Imagination. To the latter, that there are three sorts of Images or Phantoms, in our Imagination; that some are transmitted by the Senses, and these represent such things as we have seen and felt. That the second, that are formed by Imagination, represent such things as we never saw; and which perhaps, are not, but which we fantasie; or suppose to be, or to have been: And that the last arise from the Consideration of some Speculative Truths, as Numbers and Dimensions. That without doubt, the first sort do not proceed from Sense; but we must grant, that the second have their Original from Sense; since they represent nothing but what is true. That the last though they seem to spring from the Reasons and Principles of Sciences which lead not into Error, yet are false; because they represent Spiritual Things, as if they were Corporeal and extended. Whence he concludes that the Soul doth not imagine the things that it does not see, and that it doth not feel, but either by lessening or by increasing the Images of what it hath seen or felt.

The following Letters to the thirteenth, are directed to *Nebridius*, though the Years are not precisely known: it is certain, that they were written before St. Augustine

St. Augustine. Tome II. was Ordained, because *Nebrius* died before that time. In the eighth, *Nebrius* asketh St. *Augustine*, how *Demons* can make us Dream? St. *Augustine* answers him in the ninth, that they do it, by stirring those Parts of the Body which can make an Impression upon the Soul, after the same manner as Musical Instruments excite in us certain Thoughts, Passions and Affections. In the tenth, St. *Augustine* proposes to *Nebrius*, to live together retired: and he setteth forth the Advantages of Solitude. In the eleventh, he endeavours to explain that Question in Divinity, how the three Persons being inseparable, the Son alone was made Man? having diligently studied how to answer it, he tells *Nebrius*, that the understanding of Mysteries, is got only by Piety: that this is the surest way to compass it, and therefore that Men ought chiefly to give up themselves to the Practice thereof. He had also handled that Question in the twelfth Letter, but it is imperfect. In the thirteenth, he advises *Nebrius* not to think any longer, that the Soul hath another thinner Body, than that which we see, it being impossible to resolve that Question, since our Senses cannot discern such a Body, and Reason cannot discover any such thing to us.

In the fourteenth, he answers two other Questions proposed by *Nebrius*. The first, concerning the *Sun*; which is of small importance, and hath no difficulty; The second deserves more Reflection: *Nebrius* asks St. *Augustine*, Whether the Knowledge of God, includeth not only a general Idea of Mankind, but also an Idea of every Man in particular? St. *Augustine* answereth, that in the Creation, God had only a Prospect of the general Idea of Mankind; but yet that there is in God a particular Idea of every Man. He clears his Answer by this Example: the Idea of an Angle, is one single Notion, as well as that of a Square: so when I design to make an Angle, one only Idea offers it self; and yet when I go about to describe a Square, I must have in my Mind the Notion of four Angles joined together: Even so each Man was formed after the particular Idea of a Man; but in the Creation of People, it is no longer the particular Idea of one Man, but the general Idea of many seen and conceived all at once. This is refined Metaphysics.

The fifteenth Letter is written to *Romanianus*; to whom St. *Augustine* promiseth his Book of *The true Religion*, which he finished not long before he was Ordained Priest. Which proves, that this Letter was written about the year 390. He exhorts *Romanianus* to renounce the cares of the World, and to seek after solid and lasting Goods.

The sixteenth Letter, is a Discourse, written by *Maximus*, a Grammarian of *Madaura*, who disputeth against the Christian Religion. He owns, that there is but one Sovereign Being, and one only God; but pretends, that it is the same God whom the Heathen worship under several Names, which signify his several Attributes. He cannot endure, that in the Christian Religion, they should prefer Martyrs of obscure and strange Names, before those Immortal Gods whose Names are so famous. He desires of St. *Augustine* to let him know who that particular God is, whom the Christians suppose to be present in secret and retired places.

St. *Augustine* answereth this in the seventeenth Letter, discovering the Falshood of this Pagan's Raillery, by other Railleries that are more Spiritual. At the latter end of his Letter, he declares, That among Christians and Catholics the Dead are not adored: and, That no Divine Honours are done to any Creature, but only to God, who created all things. These Letters were written before the Worship of the Gods was prohibited by the Imperial-Law of the year 391. whilst St. *Augustine* was retir'd at *Tagasta*, near *Madaura*, and before he was a Priest, namely, about the Year 390.

It is believed, that the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth Letters, were written before St. *Augustine* was Ordained Priest; because he gives himself no Title in the Inscription, and because they seem more florid than those which he wrote after he was in Orders. The eighteenth is directed to *Cælestinus*. There he distinguishes Beings into three Natures: The first Moveable in Place and Time, and that's Body: The second Moveable in Time, but not in Place, and that is the Soul: And the third is Immoveable in Time and Place, and this is God. The first is incapable either of Happiness or Unhappiness: the Last is essentially Happy: the Middle Being is Unhappy when it cleaveth to the Beings of the first sort, but happy when it carries it self to the Supreme Being. In the nineteenth Letter, he exhorteth *Caius*, to whom he sendeth his Works, to continue in those good Dispositions of Mind wherein he left him. In the twentieth, he giveth *Antonius* Thanks for his Love, and for the good Opinion he had of him; with excellent Instructions, desiring the Conversion of his whole Family.

St. *Augustine* was Ordained Priest by *Valerius*, Bishop of *Hippo*, who being a Greek, and not able to speak Latin fluently enough to Preach to the People, cast his Eyes upon St. *Augustine* to Preach in his room. St. *Augustine* being sensible how hard it was to discharge the Duties of that

Station, intreateth *Valerius*, in the twenty first Letter, to let him withdraw for a time, that he might fit himself, by Study and Prayer, for the Employment which he had laid upon him. This Letter is very instructive for those that are to be promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities; It begins with this curious Reflection; That there is nothing more acceptable, especially at this time, than the Dignity of a Priest, a Bishop and a Deacon; nothing more pleasant and easie than the Exercise of these Offices, when Men will do things only of Course, and flatter others in their Disorders: But on the other side, That there is nothing more mischievous, pernicious and damnable before God: On the contrary, nothing is more glorious and happy in God's account: but at the same time, nothing more difficult, painful and dangerous, especially at this time, than the Exercise of those Functions, when Men resolve to discharge them according to the Rules of that holy Warfare which we profess to follow. He declareth, that though he wept very heartily on the Day of his Ordination, foreseeing the Dangers he was exposed unto; yet he did not then know his Weakness so well as he has done since.

He observes, that he was Ordained, when he thought to have taken some time to study the Scriptures. He begs time till Easter, to prepare himself for Preaching, by Study and Prayer. This Letter was written about the beginning of the Year 391.

The twenty second, to *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, was written the following year. St. *Augustine* laments the Feasts which they made in Church-yards, and at the Martyrs Graves, under pretence of Religion, desiring *Aurelius* to give Order about them. He observes, that of the three Vices condemned by St. *Paul*, in the Epistle to the Romans, namely, Drunkenness, Uncleaness and Discord, they seemed to punish but One in the Church, that was, Uncleaness: That the others were tolerated; yea they thought to honour the Martyrs by their Drunkenness: that this Abuse was never in the Churches of Italy, or else it had been reformed by the Care and Vigilancy of their Bishops; and that his Bishop wanted neither Zeal, nor Knowledge, to correct it in his Diocese but that this Disorder was so rooted, he thought that there was no hope to see it abolished, but by the authority of a Council. That if any particular Church was to do it, that of *Carthage* ought to begin. Yet, that such Abuses were not to be opposed by sharpness, roughness, or imperiousness; that Instructions were to be used, rather than Commands; and Counsels, rather than Threatnings: that if there be need of threatnings, they must be used in a lamenting manner, and only such as are found in Scripture; not to inspire them by Words, with the Fear of Ecclesiastical Power, but with a Dread of the Divine Vengeance. And since the People was persuaded, that these Feasts were not only to the Honour of the Martyrs, but also gave Ease to the Dead, he would have the Offerings, made in the Church for the Dead, to be done modestly, without Pomp and Affectation. He would not have them sold, but that the Money that was offered, should be immediately distributed to the Poor. Afterwards he reproves the Quarrels and Enmities betwixt the African Clergy.

The twenty third Letter was written by St. *Augustine*, during his being a Priest, but what year, is unknown. It is directed to a Donatist Bishop, called *Maximinus*, who had Re-baptiz'd a Deacon of the Church that was become a Donatist. St. *Augustine* having been informed, that this Bishop did not do Things like the other Donatists, prayeth him to let him know the Truth, and exhorts him, either to declare himself a Catholic, if he were not in that Point of the other Donatists Opinion; or to hold a Conference with him about his separation from the Catholic Church.

The 24th. and 25th. are two Letters of *Paulinus* to *Alypius*, and to St. *Augustine*, written in the Year 394.

The 26th. is a Letter from St. *Augustine*, to his old Disciple *Licentius*; wherein he exhorts him to despise the World, making Use of the Verses which *Licentius* had Dedicated to him. It was written after St. *Paulinus*, and St. *Augustine* were acquainted, about the Year 395.

The 27th. is an Answer from St. *Augustine*, to *Paulinus* written the same Year.

The 28th. to St. *Jerome*, was the beginning of their Quarrel. St. *Augustine* adviseth him rather to Translate into Latin the best of the Greek Authors, than to make a new Translation of the Scripture upon the Hebrew Text. He beginneth also the Dispute, about that Place, to the *Galatians*, which speaks of St. *Peter's* Dissembling; reproving St. *Jerome* for approving an officious Lye. This Letter was written in the Year 395.

The 29th. lately Published by the *Benedictines* from a Manuscript in the Library at St. *Crosse*, is directed to *Alypius*, then Bishop of *Tagasta*. There St. *Augustine* acquaints him, how he had at last compassed his Design of putting down, in the Church of *Hippo*, those Feasts that they were wont to make in the Church upon the Festival Days of the Martyrs: He repeats the Arguments that he used in his Sermons upon that Subject, that so *Alypius* might take the same Course to abolish the same Abuse in his own Church. St. *Augustine* was but Priest, when

when he writ this Letter, and *Alypius* was newly chosen Bishop; which shews that it was written in the Year 395.

The 30th. is a Letter of *Paulinus's*, written to St. Augustine before he was Bishop. These are all the Letters of the First Classe.

The Second Classe.

The Second Classe containeth the Letters written by St. Augustine, from the time of his being made Bishop, to the Conference at *Carthage*, before the breaking out of the Pelagian Heresie in *Africa*, that is, from the Year of our Lord 396, to 410.

The first of these Letters, which is the 31st. written at the beginning of the Year 396. shortly after his Ordination, is directed to *Paulinus*. He thanks him for his Second Letters; and takes notice, that he was ordained Coadjutor to *Valerius* in the Bishoprick of *Hippo*, and invites him to come over into *Africa*.

The 32d. is *Paulinus's* Answer.

The 33d. is to *Proculianus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Hippo*. St. Augustine being informed, that he designed to clear his Doubts by a Conference with him, offereth it to him, that they might agree, and put an end to the Schism. This Letter was written soon after he was made Bishop, *Valerius* being yet alive.

The 34th. was written, not long after the former: there he complaineth to *Eusebius*, that *Proculianus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Hippo*, to whom the foregoing Letter was directed, had admitted into his Sect, and Re-baptiz'd a young Man, that used to beat his Mother, and threaten'd to kill her; declaring, towards the end, that he was ready to converse amicably with him, about the pretended Reasons of their Separation.

This *Eusebius*, who in all Probability, was a Man of Note, that sided with the Donatists, having returned to St. Augustine this Answer, that he would be no Judge betwixt Bishops; this Saint writ to him again, by the 35th. Letter, that he might be on that occasion, where there was no need of Judging; but only to know, Whether it was by *Proculianus* his Order, that the young Man was Re-baptiz'd; and, whether he would enter upon a Conference; He complains likewise, that the same Bishop had received, and Re-baptized a Sub-Deacon of the Church of *Ispana*; who being accused of having an infamous Commerce with some Virgins that were consecrated to God, was gone over to the Donatists to avoid the Chastisement which he deserved; and ever since led a scandalous Life. St. Augustine takes notice, that he dealt not so with those that proffered to come into the Church: If they be found guilty of any Crime, they are not admitted, but upon Condition that they submit themselves to the Humiliation of Penance. He shews how abominable this Custom of the Donatists was, to persuade such as were to be chastised for their Disorders, to come over to them, and be Re-baptized. At last he tells *Eusebius*, that if, by this means, he doth not obtain an Answer from *Proculianus*, he will cause these things to be notified to him, formally by a publick Officer: He speaks, beside, of a Donatist Priest, who had been troublesome to one of the Church's Tenants; and of a Woman of that Party that had affronted him.

The thirty sixth Letter to *Casulanus*, concerning *Saturday's* Fast, seems to have been written before St. Ambrose's Death, of whom he speaketh, as holding still the See of *Milan*; whereby it appears, that it belongs to the Year 396. or 397. There he refuteth the Writing of a certain Roman, who had asserted, that all Men were obliged to fast on *Saturdays*, according to the Practice of the Church of *Rome*. St. Augustine lays down this Rule, that in those things, where the Scripture hath determined nothing certain, the Customs received among Christians, or settled by our Ancestors, are to be instead of a Law, and no Contests ought to be admitted about such Matters. Afterwards he examineth the Writing which *Casulanus* sent him, and shews, that it is made up of false Suppositions, and unconcluding Consequences. Having answered this Writing, he explains his own Notion, saying, that he finds indeed, that Fasting is enjoyn'd in the Gospel, and in the Writings of the Apostles: but that neither Jesus Christ, nor the Apostles, ever appointed the days wherein we should fast; nor the days in which we ought to forbear. That he thinks it more convenient not to fast upon the *Saturday*; and yet whether we fast or fast not, we ought to maintain Peace; and this Precept of the Apostle is to be observed, *Let not him that eateth, condemn him that eateth not; neither let him that eateth not, condemn him that eateth*. That there is no great Inconvenience in observing the *Saturday's* Fast, since the Church of *Rome* observes it as well as some other Churches: But it would prove a great Scandle to fast upon *Sundays*; especially, since the *Manichees* affect to command their Disciples to fast upon that Day: That notwithstanding, it were pardonable to fast upon *Sunday*, for those who are able to carry Fasting so far, as to be more than a week without eating, that so they may draw nearer to the Fast of forty Days. St. Augustine saith, that some have done it, and that he was inform'd, that a certain Person had continued fasting full

forty Days. This is hard to be believ'd, yet St. Augustine saith, that he heard it from credible Persons. Having refuted the Reasons of the *Manichees*, who affirming, that *Sunday* is to be kept as a Fast; he saith, that the Church observes Fasting upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*; because the Jews resolved upon *Wednesday* to put Christ to Death, and executed it upon *Friday*. That on *Saturday*, the Body of Jesus Christ having rested in the Grave, gave occasion to some to forbear Fasting on that day, to mark thereby the resting of Christ's Flesh; and that others fast upon it, because of that Humiliation of our Saviour: but that the former Celebrate that Fast once only, on the *Saturday* before *Easter*, to renew the Remembrance of the Disciple's Sorrow. All these Notions having but little Solidity, he concludes with an excellent Rule which St. Ambrose had taught him upon that Subject: For having asked his Opinion, concerning his Mother's Scruple, who being at *Milan*, doubted whether she ought to observe *Saturday's* Fast, according to the Custom of her own Church, or according to the Custom of the Church of *Milan*, that observed no Fast on that Day. This Holy Bishop answer'd him, *Let her do as I do. When I am here, I do not fast upon Saturdays; when I am at Rome, I fast upon that day, and so in what Church soever you are, keep to its Customs, if you mean to scandalize no Body, or to be scandalized at no Body*. But because he was then in *Africa*, and that among the Churches of the same Country, and even among the Christians of the same Church, some fasted upon *Saturdays*, and others not, St. Augustine saith, that we must conform our selves to those that bear Rule over the People; and so he adviseth him to whom he writeth, not to resist his Bishop in that Case, but to do as he did.

The thirty seventh Letter to *Simplicianus*, is a Preface to the Books that he Dedicated to that Bishop that were written in 397.

In the thirty eighth to *Prosperus*, St. Augustine being sick, recommends himself to his Prayers, and desires to know what Bishop succeeded in the Primacy of *Numidia*, after the Death of *Megalius* Bishop of *Calama*, who had been dead twenty Days. In the Council of *Carthage*, assembled in August, 397. *Crescentianus* wrote, that he was Primate of *Numidia*. Thus, the death of *Megalius* happening some time before, serves to fix the date of this Letter. There are two excellent Notions of Morality; the one of Patience, and the other against Anger. The former is this: *Thou I suffer, yet I am well, because I am as God would have me to be, for when we will not what he wills, 'tis we that are in the fault, and not he, who can neither do, nor permit any thing but what is just*. The latter is equally valuable: *It is incomparably better to shut the door of our Hearts against just Anger when it offers to come in, than to give it entrance, being uncertain whether we can turn it out again, when we find it growing from a Thread to a Beam*.

The thirty ninth Letter, is a Note from St. Jerome; who recommends *Prasidius*, and presents his Service to *Alypius*. It is written in the Year 397.

The fortieth from St. Augustine to St. Jerome, is about their Disagreement; concerning St. Peter's Action. St. Augustine also desires to know the Title of his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, and exhorts him to make a Collection of *Origen's* Errors, and of those of other Hereticks.

The forty first Letter written in *Alypius's* and St. Augustine's Name, to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, commending that Bishop for preferring the Good of the Church, before the Honour of the Episcopal Order; by permitting contrary to Custom, that Priests should Preach God's Word in his presence. This Letter was written within few Years after St. Augustine was a Bishop.

The forty second, is a Note from St. Augustine to St. Paulinus, never before Published, intreating him to write to him, and to send him his Book against the Gentiles. It is of the latter end of the Year 397.

The forty third, and forty fourth Letters to *Glorius Eleusius*, give an Account of a Conference; which St. Augustine held in the City of *Tubursica*, with some Donatists, in the Year 397, or 398. as it is proved in the Preface to the Letters. In the first, he produces the Judgments that were given against the Donatists; He justifies *Cæcilian's* Innocency, and shews, that those who condemned him, were suspected Judges; and that the Authors of the Donatist Schism, were guilty of the Crime which they charged upon others. He adds, that it was to no purpose to impute to the Church the pretended Crimes of the Dead; since the Church may tolerate wicked men, without ceasing to be a Church. That the Donatists themselves suffer among them very disorderly Persons; that *Maximianus* had caused *Primianus* to be condemned, as *Majorinus* had formerly procured a Sentence against *Cæcilian*, by Caballing and Intrigue: that the Sect of

the Donatists being limited within *Africa*, and having no Communion with the Churches that were dispersed throughout the World, cannot be the Catholick Church. In this Letter there is that Famous Sentence concerning the Authority of Councils. *Let us suppose, that Pope Miltiades, and the other Bishops, who gave Judgment with him, have not judged right, then we may have recourse to a Plenary Council of the whole Church, in which the Cause of the Donatists ought to be debated again, with those that judged it, and their Sentence reversed, if it shall be found that they have given wrong Judgment.*

The second Letter contains a particular Conference of St. *Augustine* with *Fortunius* a Donatist Bishop, which was spent in Reproaches on both sides, for the Villanies that were committed on both sides, without meddling with the main Question, of the Schism. St. *Augustine* requested, that the Dispute might be ended in a greater Assembly, and in what place they pleased, where Christians of all Parties might meet. In this Letter, there is an Account of a Letter of the false Council of *Sardica*, of Eastern Bishops; which *Fortunius* quoted, because it was directed to *Donatus*: St. *Augustine* not knowing the Story, was perplexed; but finding that St. *Athanasius* was condemned in that Letter, he did not mind it.

The forty fifth Letter, is a Note to *Paulinus*, written a Year after the foregoing, in 398.

The forty sixth, from *Publicola* to St. *Augustine*, contains several Cases of Conscience, which this Lord proposed concerning the Oath, whereby they obliged the Barbarians to swear by their Gods, that they would preserve the Fruits of the ground faithfully, which they would not otherwise have preserv'd, had they not been bound by that Oath: About the use of Meats, and other things offered to Idols; and concerning the killing of one that assaults, or robs us.

In the next, St. *Augustine* endeavours to decide the Questions proposed by *Publicola*, concerning those Matters. Upon the first he saith, That that Oath ought not to be required of the Barbarians, but that use may be made of them, after they have taken it; and he that uses their Service, hath no share in the Oath. That those that swear by false Gods, are doubly guilty, if they keep not their Oath, both of an abominable Oath, and of Perjury. As to things offered to Idols, he answereth *Publicola* upon several Particulars, as that there is no danger in making use of the Meats offered to them, when it is not known, and it is too nice a Scruple to forbear the use of those things which have been applyed to prophane uses, if it be not done with respect to that. To the Last Query he saith, that no Man ought to kill any Man, upon any Account whatsoever; except perhaps, says he, Soldiers, or such as are obliged to it by the Duties of some publick Office. But that we are not forbidden to secure our selves against the Violences of others, by making use of Walls, and, that if a Thief be killed or wounded with the Wall falling upon him, or he falling from the Wall, the thing is not to be imputed to him that built the Wall. This Letter was written before the Temples of Idols were quite demolished, in 399.

In the forty eighth Letter to *Eudoxius*, Abbot of a Monastery in the Island of *Capraria*, St. *Augustine* exhorteth both him and his Monks to make good use of the Quiet they enjoy'd, that so they might be ready to leave it whenever the Church should have need of them. This Letter is supposed to have been writ in the Year 398.

In the 49th. He asketh of *Honoratus* a Donatist Bishop, a Reason, why the Catholick Church, which ought to be Universal over the whole Earth, came to be limited to *Africa*, and was no where to be found but among the Donatists? the time of this Letter is not very certain.

The 50th. Letter to the Principal Persons of the Colony of *Suffetum*, is a Complaint upon the account of a Murder of 60 Christians whom they Massacred, because their *Hercules* was taken away; He jests upon them, promising to have another made for them: But he concludes with these upbraiding Words, *But do you also restore to us that great number of our Brethren, whose Lives you have taken away; for if we restore to you your Hercules, it is reasonable you should restore them to us.* *Baronius* thinketh that this Massacre happened upon occasion of an Edict made against Idolatry in 399. But the Translator of St. *Augustine's* Letters, affirms, that this is none of his, for two Reasons; First, Because he thinks it is Impertinent; Secondly, Because it is not written in St. *Augustine's* Style. I am much of his mind as to the second Point, but I cannot allow the first; for though this Letter does not seem to be grave enough for such a Subject, yet the Raillery is sharp, which sometimes is more effectual than a Pathetical Discourse. However it is ancient, and of St. *Augustine's* time.

In the 51st. Letter, St. *Augustine* objects to *Crispinus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Calama*, the Dissention between the Primianists, and the Maximianists, as an Answer to what the Donatists urged against the Church. It was written after the Death of *Optatus Gildonianus* in 399, and before that of *Prætextatus*, who died in 400, when St. *Augustine* wrote his Books against *Parmenianus*.

In the 52d. He exhorts *Severinus*, his Kinsman to forsake the Donatists, and to come into the Catholick Church. It may be of the same time with the foregoing.

The 53d. is written in St. *Augustine's* Name, and of two of his Colleagues, *Fortunatus* and *Alypius*, to *Generosus*, a Catholick of *Constantina*; and contains an Answer to a Letter written by a Donatist Priest to this Man, to seduce him; wherein he pretends to have received an Order by an Angel from Heaven, to oblige him to embrace the Donatist's Party.

St. *Augustine* proves in that Letter, that the Donatist's Party cannot be the true Church. 1. Because they have no Succession of Bishops from the Apostles. To prove this, he produces the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, from St. *Peter* to *Anastasius*. 2. He quoteth the Acts of *Minutius Felix*, which shew, that *Silvianus* the Predecessor of a Donatist Bishop of *Cirta* was a Traditor. 3. He urges all the Determinations that had been made against the Donatists. 4. He confesses, that there may be wicked Men in the Church, and urges against the Donatists the Dissentions between the Primianists, and the Maximianists.

The 54th. and 55th. Letters to *Januarinus*, are mentioned in St. *Augustine's* Retractions; where they are placed among the Books that were written about the Year 400: They contain several very useful Decisions about Church-Discipline: He layeth it down at first as a Principal Matter, that Jesus Christ, whose yoke is easie, his burthen light, hath instituted but few Sacraments; the observation whereof is as easie, as the Wonders which they represent to us, are Sublime. Such is Baptism, the Communion of his Body and Blood, and other things which the Scripture enjoyns us to observe, excepting those that belong to *Moses's* Law. But as to those that are observed by Tradition, being not written, if they be universally observed, we ought to look upon them as settled either by the Apostles themselves, or by General Councils, whose Authority is very great in the Church; as the Annual Celebration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ, and of the Coming of the Holy Ghost, and of other things of this Nature, which are generally observed through the whole Church. As to those that are variously observed in divers places, as Fasting upon *Saturdays*, which is practised in some places, and in others not, Communicating every Day, or only upon certain Days; Offering daily or only upon *Sundays* and *Saturdays*: there is a Liberty for those things, and for all others of the like Nature. And there is no better Rule for a Wise and Prudent Christian, than to follow what he seeth practised in the Church where he is. For what is clearly seen to be neither against Faith, nor Good Manners, ought to be indifferently received; and the Good of a Society requireth, that Men should hold to what they find established among those with whom they live. He gives an Account of what he had heard St. *Ambrose* say in that case; and having laid down this Rule as the Ground of all that he was to say, he speaks particularly of frequent Communion; that some believe, that it is good to Communicate daily; but to do it more worthily, certain Days are to be set apart, in which they live after a purer and more reserved manner: Others, on the contrary judge, that when Men are not Guilty of those Sins for which Penance is enjoined, and themselves forbidden to come to the Communion of the Body of Jesus Christ; that they ought to come daily to the Eucharist, as a Remedy to preserve them still. He reconcileth these two, by adding a third Advice; in which he exhorts them both to Peace, and leaves it to every one, to act according as he shall be guided by the light both of Faith and of Piety, since neither of them Prophane the Body of Christ; but on the contrary strive to honour it. He proposeth the Examples of *Zaccheus* and the Centurion, whereof the one presently received Jesus Christ with Joy into his House; and the other, judged not himself worthy, that he should come under his Roof.

Secondly, St. *Augustine* saith, that a Traveller ought to observe the Customs of the Place, where he is; and not require those of his own Country. Thus when a Man comes into a Country where they Fast upon *Thursdays* in *Lent*; he ought to Fast with them, though they Fast not in his Country; for fear of disturbing the Peace by unprofitable Disputes.

These Principles being laid down, he answereth *Januarinus* his Questions. The First is about the Hour of Offering upon the *Holy-Thursdays*, whether it should be done in the Morning or in the Evening? Or, Whether we ought to Fast and not to Offer till after Supper; because it is said, that it was after Supper that Jesus Christ took Bread; or whether we ought not to Sup till the Offering be over? St. *Augustine* answereth, that this is one of those things which are neither settled by Scripture, nor universally observed throughout the Church; and so every one is to follow the Custom of his own Church, there being nothing of either side inconsistent either with Faith or good Manners; and that alterations, though Useful in themselves, cause Disturbances: That Christ's Example is no Law in this case, otherwise the whole Church is in an Error to enjoyn the receiving the Eucharist Fasting, which the Apostles first received after Supper; but that since it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, out of Reverence to so great a Sacrament, that the Body of Jesus Christ should be received

ved into Christians Mouths before any other Meat: and therefore this Custom is observed throughout the World. And yet some others believing upon good Grounds, That for a more exact Commemoration of Christ's Death, it was convenient to offer and receive once a Year upon *Holy Thursday* after Eating, This Custom can no more be condemned, than that of Bathing upon that Day; neither are they to blame that Fast and Bath not; wherefore the Sacrifice is offered twice once in the Morning for these last, and once in the Evening for the first.

In the second Letter to *Januarius*, which is the 55th. *St. Augustine* goeth on to treat of the Ceremonies of the Church: Shewing, why *Easter* is always celebrated after the Fourteenth Day of the Moon in *March*; Why Christ would rise again the third Day, and the next Day after the Sabbath; what signifieth the Day of Christ's Crucifixion, and that in which his Body remained in the Grave, and that of his Resurrection; Why *Lent* is kept before the Resurrection; Why the Holy Ghost came down the fiftieth Day after the Resurrection, with many other things, whereof he gives Mytical Reasons, very edifying and very proper to shew how both our Saviour's Death and Resurrection ought to operate upon us.

He adds several things concerning the Ceremonies of the Church: he observes that *Lent* is kept throughout the whole Church, as well as the Solemnity of the Holy Days which were designed for those that were newly baptized: That the Custom of Singing *Hallelujah* from *Easter* to *Whitsuntide* is not general; because, though it is Sung every where at that time; yet in some Churches, it is Sung at other times also. As to the Praying, standing at the same time, he durst not affirm it to be an universal Custom. The Washing of Feet was not constantly used every where. He approves of Singing in the Church, though it was not universally established. He condemns those that introduce new Customs, if they are useless; and declares how much he is troubled to see those Wholsome Things, neglected which the Church prescribes; and that all is full of Human Institutions. He affirms that Endeavours should be used, to abolish all sorts of things, which are neither Expressed in Scripture, nor enjoyed by Councils, nor confirmed by the universal Practice of the Church; but are done after different manners, according to the difference of Places, though no Reason can be shewed why they were first established. For, saith he, though it doth not appear that they are contrary to the Faith, yet it is sufficient to make us reject them; That they are servile Customs and Burthens to our Holy Religion: And which from that Liberty, wherein God's Mercy hath Established it, prescribing but few Sacraments; the Design and Virtue whereof are clearly manifest, make it fall into a kind of Slavery, worse than that of the Jews. But as the Church enforces much Straw, so it is forced to tolerate many things, yet without doing or approving, yea, without palliating, what it finds to be contrary to Faith or Good Manners. He afterwards blameth those who through Superstition, abstain from certain Meats; and those who, that they may know what they have to do, will at all adventures open the Book the Gospel out of a Superstitious Custom. Lastly, he tells *Januarius*, That all Knowledge must have respect to Charity, which is the only End of all our Actions.

The 56th. and 57th. Letters were written to *Geler*, before the Conference at *Carthage*. He exhorts him to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and to forsake the Donatists.

In the 58th. He applauds *Pammachius*, a Senator, for causing his Vassals that were Donatists to return to the Church. It seems to have been written at the latter end of 401. and sent by the Legates of the Council of *Carthage*, the same Year.

The 59th. is an Answer to *Victorinus* a Bishop; who writ to him, to come to a Council which he was then calling. He saith, that he could not be there because he was indisposed; and besides he would not have gone otherwise, upon account of this Letter; because *Xantippus* Bishop of *Tago-fa*, pretended to the Primacy, which ought first to be determined. It appears by the 65th. Letter, that *Xantippus* was in the right, and that he was acknowledged Primate in 402. which shews that this Letter was written in 401. Now to understand this Letter, and all the rest of *St. Augustine's*, that speak of Primacy or Metropolitcal Rights, we are to observe, that this Right belonged not in *Africa* to the Dignity of the Towns, but to the Seniority of the Bishops.

In the 60th. *St. Augustine* acquaints *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, That *Donatus* and his Brother had left a Monastery against his Will; and that such Falls being ordinary to Men of that Profession, those do the Clergy an Injury, who admit Deserters from Monasteries into the Church again. That an ill Monk is so far from making a good Church-man, that on the contrary, it is hard to make a good Church-man of a good Monk; because, though there may be Purity enough on the one side, yet there is often want of Instruction on the other; or at least some other Imperfections which may make him unworthy of coming into the Church. Yet *Aurelius* had ordained *Donatus*, supposing that he had left the Monastery by *St. Augustine's* or-

der before, that Canon was made; whereby it was forbidden to ordain a Monk of another Diocese: Wherefore *St. Augustine* writes to *Donatus*, That he was at liberty, to do what he pleased, if he was not acted by a Spirit of Pride: But as to his Brother, who was the Cause of his Desertion, *St. Augustine* know, saith *St. Augustine*, what I think of it, but I have nothing to say to you as to that matter; for I dare not contradict the Opinions of so Wise and Charitable a Man as you are; and whom I ought to reverence so much. The Canon mentioned in that Letter, is that of the Council held the 13th. of September 401. and it is in the *African Code*, Chap. 80. which shews that the Letter was written soon after.

The 61st. is written to *Theodorus*, to assure the Donatist Clergy, That if they returned to the Church, they should be admitted to the same Rank and Dignity, which they held before in their own Party. *St. Augustine* promises it solemnly and with an Oath. He confesseth, that there was no Evil in the Donatists, but only their Separation from the Church: That their Baptism, their Ordination, their Vows and all their Sacraments were good; though unprofitable to them whilst they wanted Charity.

Both the following Letters directed to *Severus*, Bishop of *Milevis*, are written about a Clerk called *Timothy*, who had sworn, that he would never leave *Severus*, though he was of the Church of *Hippo*; and had performed the Office of Reader in that Diocese. *St. Augustine* pretends, That the Oath which this Priest had taken, being disapproved by his Bishop, and not received by him with whom he had sworn to abide did not oblige him, nor free him from the Obligation which he was under to remain in that Church to which he belonged. Yet he dealt very civilly with *Severus*; and though he caused *Timothy* to be ordained Sub-Deacon at *Susanna*, which belonged to the Diocese of *Hippo*, yet he sent him back to *Severus*, that he might have no occasion to complain of him. It was upon this occasion, probably, that a Canon was made in the Council of *Milevis*, of the 27th. of September, 402. whereby a Bishop is forbidden to detain a Clerk, who had performed the Office of a Reader in another Diocese.

In the 64th. Letter to *Quintianus*, he exhorts him not to be Impatient, because *Aurelius* deferred to give Judgment in his Cause; declaring that he could not admit him to his Communion before *Aurelius* had admitted him to his; advising him likewise, not to suffer the Apocryphal Books to be read in his Church; and Answers the Complaint that was made against *St. Augustine*, for receiving into his Monastery, Persons of another Diocese, against the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, that was held in the Year 401.

In the 65th. Letter, *St. Augustine* acquaints *Xantippus*, Primate of *Numidia*, That he had given Judgment against *Abundantius* the Priest, who was convicted of staying and eating upon a Fast-Day in the House of a Woman of ill Reputation. He saith farther, that he had admonished him, and assured him, that according to the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, in 401. He might, within the Year, have his Cause examined again: but he declares to *Xantippus*, that what Judgment soever might intervene in his behalf, yet he would never trust him with a Church in his Jurisdiction. It is observed in that Letter, that *Easter-Day* in that Year, wherein it was written, happened upon the 6th. of April, which is an infallible Proof, that this Letter was written in the Year 402.

In the 66th. *St. Augustine* upbraideth *Crispinus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Calama*, because he Re-baptized those of *Mappalia*, whom with Threatnings, he had forced to embrace his Communion. It appears by the second Book against *Petilianus*, written in 402, that this happened not long before that same Year.

The 67th. and 68th. are Letters which *St. Augustine*, and *St. Jerome* writ to one another in the Year 402.

In the 69th. both *Alipius*, and *St. Augustine*, exhort *Cassorius* to fill up the Bishoprick of *Vaga* or *Bagaia*, which was then vacant by the Demission of his Brother *Maximian*; who, for Quietness sake, being obliged to quit the Bishoprick, had generously done it, as appears likewise by a Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, in the Year 402. which is the 88th. in the *African Code*.

The 71st. 72d. 73d. 74th, and 75th. of *St. Augustine*, to *St. Jerome*, and of *St. Jerome*, to *St. Augustine*, are about that Dispute that was between them: Of which we gave an Account in the Abridgment of *St. Jerome's* Works.

The 76th. is an Exhortation, in the Church's Name, to all Donatists, which contains the most prevailing Motives to make them return to the Church. It was written after the Donatist Bishops had refused a Conference that was offered, in pursuance of the order of the general Council of *Africa*, in the year 403.

The 77th. and 78th. are concerning a Scandal that happened in the Church of *Hippo*. One *Spes*, of *St. Augustine's* Monastery, had been accused of Uncleanness, by *Boniface*, a Priest. This Man charged the Crime upon the Priest; affirming that he was the guilty Person. *St. Augustine* finding no Proof to Convict either of them, remitted the Judgment to God. But *Spes* desiring to come into the Clergy; and being denied by *St. Augustine*, insisted that if he might

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not be admitted, because he had been accused, neither was *Boniface* to continue in the order of Priesthood, *St. Augustine* thought fit to oblige them both, to go to the Grave of *St. Felix* of *Nola*, that God might be pleased to discover the Truth by some Miracle. Now he intended that this should be kept Secret: but the thing taking vent, *St. Augustine* wrote about it to the Clergy of *Hippo*, and to two private Men, that none ought to be disturbed at the Scandals happening in the Church; That no Man should be rashly Condemned; That there was no Proof against the Priest *Boniface*: So that he could neither be Condemned nor Degraded before Conviction; yet he proffers, till the thing be cleared, not to let the Name of *Boniface* be read with the Names of the other Priests if that be judged convenient; not to scandalize the Weak: and so much the rather, because it signified but little to *Boniface*, not to have his Name read in a Table that was Written with his Hand, if the Impurity of his Conscience did not cause it to be blotted out of the Book of Life.

The seventy ninth is directed to a Manichæan Priest, who is thought to be that *Felix* with whom *St. Augustine* had Conference in 404. whom he challenges to answer that Difficulty wherewith he had exercised another Manichee, called *Fortunatus*.

By the eightieth Letter, to *St. Paulinus*, he intreateth him to explain more clearly than he had done already. How it may be known what that is which God requireth of us, since we are always to prefer it before what we would our selves? This was written in the year 405,

The eighty first, is a Letter of Compliment, from *St. Jerome*, to *St. Augustine*, concerning the Dispute that was betwixt them. He exhorts him to give over such Questions, and to exercise himself about the Scriptures.

The eighty second, is the last of *St. Augustine's* Letters to *St. Jerome*, about their Contests. He insists especially upon what concerns the Exposition of the Epistle to the *Galatians*; having declared, 'that he valued none but Canonical Books so far as to believe that the Authors of them were never deceived: And as for other Authors, how holy soever they might be, he doth not think, that what they say is a Rule to him, because they believed it to be true; but that he dependeth no farther upon them, than the Reasons and Authorities of Canonical Books, which they lean upon, persuaded him that their Assertions are conformable to Truth.' Having laid down this Principle, he proves that *St. Paul* correcting of *St. Peter* was serious: because *St. Paul* saith it in his Epistle to the *Galatians*; at the beginning of which he declares that he *lies not*; and takes God to witness what he saith. He endeavours to answer *St. Jerome's* chief Reason, grounded upon this, that it is incredible that *St. Paul* would reprove in *St. Peter* what he did himself by shewing that the Circumstances were very different. He maintains that the Ceremonies of the Law being of themselves indifferent, neither good nor bad, the Use of them becomes good or bad, according to Times and Occasions: That they were necessary to the Jews, before Christ came: That they signified, that he being come, it was not convenient immediately to forbid them as Sacrilegious, and that it was sufficient to let them die, and go out of themselves; but that they were now neither to be looked upon nor practised, as necessary to Salvation: That *St. Peter's* Fearfulness having made him observe Legal Ceremonies, in such Circumstances as might have persuaded others that he believed them necessary, *St. Paul* was in the right, to accuse him of not walking uprightly, according to the Truth of the Gospel, and of obliging the Gentiles to Judaize; whereas *St. Paul* could not be reproached with the same Fault, since he had kept them only to shew that they were not to be condemned, as Criminal Superstitions: And yet, That it is not now permitted to observe these Ceremonies, under any pretence, or any purpose whatsoever, he does not examine the case of an officious Lye, and doth not decide whether it is permitted to tell a Lye at any time. He leaves to every Man to take what side he pleases, provided that this be believed and laid down as an unalterable Principle, that there is no Lye in the Authors of the Holy Scripture. He sets *St. Cyprian* and *St. Ambrose* against the Authors that *St. Jerome* had alledged to justify his Opinion; but chiefly he citeth *St. Paul* against them, who saith and declares at the beginning of his Epistle, that he *lies not*; and, that God is *Witness* of the Truth of what he affirms. He concludes his Argument with a Compliment, and Expressions of the high esteem and respect that he had for *St. Jerome*: he approves of his Translation of the Scripture, proposing withal some objections concerning the Correction of the Hebrew Text, representing the difficulty of having his new Translation publicly read to People, who were accustomed to that, from the Septuagint, which was authorized by the Apostles themselves, who made use of it.

The Argument of the eighty third Letter, as it is explained by the Translator, is this; The Men of *Thiana* having renounced the Donatists Schism, they wanted a Priest to govern them: One *Honoratus* was chosen, and for that purpose taken out of the Monastery at *Tagasta*, and was

Ordained Priest of *Thiana*. The Custom was, that those who enter'd into Monasteries, did begin with parting with all they had, for the benefit of the Poor, or of the Monastery it self: That if any offer'd to come in, that was not yet in a Condition to dispose of his Estate, they refused him not, provided he was sincerely resolved to execute the Order as soon as he could. *Honoratus* was in this Condition, and Owner of his Estate when he was Ordained Priest of *Thiana*. The Question was, who should have this Estate? The Men of *Thiana* pretended to have it by the Rule of those Times: That the Goods of such as were Ordained Priests of any Church, should be converted to the Use of that Church. *Alypius*, on the contrary, pretended, that *Honoratus's* Estate belonged to the Monastery of *Tagasta*; and was afraid, that if the Church of *Thiana* had it, and it were look'd upon as *Honoratus's* Estate, that Example would serve for a Pretext to those that should come into Monasteries, to defer the parting with their Estates; wherefore, his Opinion was, that at least they should divide it, and that the Church of *Thiana* should have but Half. *St. Augustine* tells him, that he was not of that mind, but desireth him to Sign the Letter which he had written to the Church of *Thiana*; whereby he utterly renounced all Pretensions upon *Honoratus's* Estate, and he proffers to return Half of it to the Monastery of *Tagasta*, when any considerable Donation should be conferred upon the Monastery of *Hippo*. This Letter is placed in the Year 405.

In the Eighty fourth Letter, he excuses himself towards *Novatus*, who is supposed to be the Bishop of *Sitifi*, that was present at the Conference in *Carthage*, for detaining *Lucillus* the Deacon, his Brother, because he understood and spake the Punick Language well; the use whereof being common at *Sitifi*, and not at *Hippo*, it was easie for *Novatus* to find a Church-man in those Parts, to Preach in that Tongue; whereas *St. Augustine* could not so readily meet with such a One in his Country. Thus is this Letter to be understood, as the Translator observeth, after a very Learned Man. It seems to belong to the same Year as the foregoing.

In the eighty fifth, *St. Augustine* reproves *Paul* of *Catagene*, for parting with his own Estate when he was made a Bishop, that he might abuse the Revenue of his Church, to live more at ease; telling him, that so long as he liveth thus, he will not communicate with him. In this Letter there is this excellent Advice; *Non est Episcopatus Artificium transigendæ vitæ fallacis*: 'Episcopacy ought not to be look'd upon as an Establishment, or a Means to procure the deceitful Pleasures of this Life.' This *Paul* being dead before the year 408. as is plain by the ninety sixth Letter, this Letter must have been written about the Year 405.

In the eighty sixth, he soliciteth *Cæcilian* Governour of *Numidia*, to restrain the *Donatists* about *Hippo*, as he had done in other Places under his Government. It was written after the Edict of *Honorius*, of the year 403. before *Cæcilianus* was created *Præfectus Prætorio*, in the Year 409.

In the eighty seventh Letter, that was written about the same time, *St. Augustine* presses *Emeritus*, a *Donatist* Bishop at *Cæsarea*, to tell the Reasons which made him separate from the Church; and refuteth those which he used to alledge.

The eighty eighth was written by *St. Augustine*, in the Name of the Clergy of *Hippo*, to *Januarius*, a *Donatist* Bishop, after the *Donatists* Deputies, that were sent in 406. to the Emperors, were rejected. It contains several Complaints against the Violences of some *Donatist* Clerks; and the authentick Acts of what happen'd in *Constantine's* time, concerning the business of the *Donatists*. About the end of the Letter, they propose a Conference.

The eighty ninth Letter, to *Festus*, is much upon the same Subject. *St. Augustine* begins, by justifying the Emperor's Edicts against the *Donatists*: Then he relates the Original of that Schism, and the Judgments whereby it was condemned. He proves, that the *Donatists* had no Grounds for their Separation, nor for Re-baptizing Catholics. Lastly, He giveth *Festus* notice, that the People about *Hippo* still persisted in the Schism, notwithstanding his Letters, and continued their Violences.

The ninetieth Letter is from an Heathen, one *Nectarius*, who interceded with *St. Augustine* for his Fellow-Citizens that dwelt at *Calama*, who had sacrificed to Idols, contrary to the Emperor's Inhibitions, and offered Violence to some Christians. The Reason that this Pagan uses to prevail with *St. Augustine*, is, That it is the Duty of a Bishop to do nothing but Good to Mankind: Not to meddle with their Affairs, unless it be to make them better, and to intercede with God to pardon their Faults. *Baronius* is of Opinion, that this Letter was written immediately after the Laws of 399. In the last Edition it is placed in the year 408. and what is said there of the Laws newly published, is apply'd to the Law of the 24th. of November, 407. directed to *Curtius*; which is the 19th. of the 10th. Title of the 16th. Book of the *Theodosian* Code.

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The next Letter is St. Augustine's Answer to Nestarius; whereby he exhorts him to turn Christian; promising, that though the Violences of those at Calama had proceeded very far, yet he would contribute, as much as the Interest of publick Security would permit, to have them treated gently. He owns and approves the Maxim which he alledged concerning Episcopal Meekness; yet he asserts, that there must be Examples: The most guilty cannot be spared: That Christians do not desire to see them punished out of Revenge, but Charity obligeth them to provide for the future; yet however, they do not desire the Death of those that abused them, they desire only their Conversion: And they are but little concerned for the Losses which they sustained, but they seek after their Souls. *This is* (saith he in the Conclusion of his Letter) *what we are seeking with the Price of our Blood: This is that Harvest which we would make plentiful at Calama; or at least, that what happened in that place, might not hinder us to make it any where else.*

In the ninety second, to Italica, a Lady, he comforts her upon the Death of her Husband; telling her, that God cannot be seen, either in this World or in the next, with bodily Eyes. This Letter is before the ninety ninth, directed to the same Lady, which is written in 408.

The ninety third, to Vincentius, a Donatist Bishop, containeth several Reasons to shew that Secular Authority, and the Severity of the Laws, may be used against Schismatics, to oblige them to return into the Church. One of the chiefest, is, the Usefulness and the good Effects which the terror of the Imperial Laws had produced, since they caused the Conversion of several whole Cities.

St. Augustine confesses, that this Reason affected him most; *That by such Examples his Colleagues brought him to their Opinions: That it was his Opinion formerly, That no Man ought to be forced: That Words only were to be used; for otherwise they could make none but counterfeit Catholics: But that having withstood all Reason, he finally yielded to Experience.* That the Laws had brought back those that continued in the Schism, only by Interest, Fear, Negligence, or other Considerations of the same Nature. Afterwards, he exhorts Vincentius to return to the Church; shewing, the true Church is that which is spread throughout the Earth. He Answers what the Donatists objected, to prove that it might be comprehended within a small number of Righteous Men; He shews, that it must necessarily be mix'd with both bad and good; and at last, declares against Re-baptizing. This Letter was written about the Year 408.

The 94th. Letter, is written by St. Paulinus Bishop of Nola; and the 95th. is St. Augustine's Answer to that of Paulinus. He discourseth of the Nature of Bodies after the Resurrection; and of that of Angels. It is uncertain whether they have Bodies: or whether they are pure Spirits. These Letters are of the Year 408.

The 96th. Letter, is an Excellent Example; shewing, how little Bishops in St. Augustine's time, were given to Interest. Paulus Bishop of Catagne, had bought an Estate in the Church's Name, with a Summ which he recovered; though he had surrendred his own Estate for what he owed to the Royal Treasure. Boniface his Successor, not willing to benefit himself by that Fraud, declared the thing as it was; chusing either to have nothing, or to receive the whole from the Emperor's Liberality, rather than keep a thing gotten by Fraud. St. Augustine writeth this Letter to Olympius, Surveyor of the Buildings, to obtain by his means this Gratification from the Emperor, in the behalf of Boniface. Olympius not being in that Employment before the Death of Stilico, which happen'd in August 408, this Letter cannot have been written till towards the latter end of that year. To the same Magistrate, and at the same time, was the following written; whereby he prayeth him to see the Laws maintained that were Published in Africa, in the time of Stilico his Predecessor; and to let the Church's Enemies know, that these Laws having been Enacted Freely by the Emperor himself, they were in full Force after Stilico's Death.

In the 98th. to Boniface, St. Augustine resolves a Question that was made to him by that Bishop, namely, How the Faith of Parents can serve for their Children that are admitted to Baptism, though the incredulity of Parents can be no Prejudice to their Children, when they offer them to Demons. St. Augustine answers, that it is most certain, that after a Child is born, he partakes no longer of other Men's Sins; but before, he is a Partaker of Adam's Sin, from which he is delivered by the Operation of the Holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Baptism. That Water represents outwardly, both the Myltery and Grace, but the Holy Spirit produces the Effect. That neither the Faith of Parents, nor yet of Godfathers is the Cause of this Grace; but the Prayer of the whole Church, that begets Christ in each Member. In which Sense, the Godfathers answer for the Child, that he believes, and resolves to live Christianly, because he receiveth the Sacrament of Faith, and of Conversion to God. He explains this last Notion by several Examples, and among the rest he alledgeth that of the Eucharist, saying, 'That as the Sacrament of Christ's Body,

is in some sort the Body of Christ; so the Sacrament of Faith, is Faith it self; and in this Sense it is said, that whoever hath the Sacrament of Faith, hath Faith it self.' This Comparison would not be very Just, if St. Augustine did not consider something else in the Eucharist, besides the external and sensible part.

The 99th. is written to the Lady Italica; on the occasion of the first Siege of Rome, by Alaricus in 408.

In the 100th. Letter, St. Augustine intreateth Donatus, Proconsul of Africa to restrain the Donatists; but not to punish them with Death. And having expressed himself with the most Pathetical Terms that can be used to oblige him to Meekness, he concludes with these curious Words: *It is a more troublesome than profitable Labour, to compel Men to forsake a great Evil, rather by Force, than by Instruction.* This Letter was written at the time when they published new Edicts against the Donatists in 408.

The 101st. Letter to Memorius a Bishop, was joyn'd to the Sixth Book of his Treatise of Musick, which St. Augustine sent by it self to that Bishop, because he could not find his other Books upon the same Subject, that Memorius desired. This Memorius was Father to Julianus, who writ afterwards against St. Augustine, who was now a Deacon. St. Augustine gives him great Commendations in that Letter.

The 102d. is placed in the Retractions, amongst the Books composed before the Year 411. There St. Augustine answereth Six Questions proposed by an Heathen to a Priest called Deogratias.

The first is, concerning the Resurrection; Whether that which is promised to us, shall be like that of Jesus Christ, or like that of Lazarus; And whether after the Resurrection, Men shall be Subject to the Infirmities and Necessities of the Flesh. St. Augustine answereth, that our Resurrection shall be like that of Jesus Christ, and that after the Resurrection, we shall be freed from all cares and inconveniences of corruptible Flesh.

The second Question is, if none can be Saved by Jesus Christ, what is become of those that died before his coming? What is become of so many Millions of Souls, against whom nothing can be objected, since Christ had not yet appeared among Men? Why did not the Saviour come sooner? Let it not be said, that the Jewish Law supplied that want; for there was already an infinite number of Men upon earth, when it was given, and yet it was neither known, nor practised but in a small corner of the World.

St. Augustine having shewed, that the Pagans were not less perplexed, with that Question, than the Christians, answers, that Jesus Christ being the Word of God, who Governed the World from the beginning, all those that knew him, and lived according to his Precepts, might be saved by the Faith which they had, that he was in God, and should come upon the Earth. He adds, *That Jesus Christ would not appear in the World, and cause his Doctrine to be Preached, but at such a Time, and in such Places, where he knew, that there were those who should believe in him; and that he foresaw, that in all other Places, or at any other Times, Men would be such as they have been, though the Gospel had been Preached to them.* This Notion was very favourable to the Semipelagians, and they failed not to make use of it; as appears by Hilary's Letter to St. Augustine. But this Father answered them in the ninth Chap. of the Book of the Predestination of the Saints; *That he did make use of the Word Fore-knowledge only, because he thought it was sufficient to convince the Infidelity of the Pagans who made this Objection; and therefore he omitted to speak of that which is hid within God's Counsels of the Motives of that Dispensation: And so when he said, that Jesus Christ would not shew himself, nor cause his Doctrine to be Preached but in those places, and at such a time, he knew those Persons liv'd, who should believe in him: It is as if he had said, that Jesus Christ did not shew himself unto Men; nor suffer his Doctrine to be Preached, but in those places and at that time, when he knew, that those should live who were Elected before the Creation.* He expounds again in the same place, what he had said in this Letter: *That the Christian Religion never failed of being Preached to those that were worthy; and, that if it failed any, it was because they were not worthy of it.* Saying, that he had not declared his Opinion concerning that which renders Men worthy, whether it is the Grace of Jesus Christ, or their own Will.

This is the third Question: Why should they condemn Victims, Incense and Sacrifices, seeing that from the beginning God was honoured after this manner; and that he is represented as having need of the First-Fruits of the Earth?

Ans. God hath no need either of our Offerings, or our Sacrifices. The Service we yield to him turns to our own profit, and not to his. At all times. Sacrifices have been offered unto God, but they ought only to have been offered to the true God. The Sacrifices that are offered to Creatures are Sacrileges. Both the Sacrifices and the Sacraments of the Old Law are changed, and this Alteration was foretold. The New Testament is established upon the Sacrifice of the High-Priest; that is, upon the Effusion of

St. Augustine. Tome II. the Blood of Christ himself; and now all Christians offer a Sacrifice that is suitable to the Manifestation of the New Covenant.

The fourth Question is concerning the Eternity of Punishments; against which this Maxim of the Gospel was objected; *With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you.* Every measure, say they, is limited to a certain space of time; What mean then those Threatnings of Eternal Sufferings?

St. Augustine shews, that this Question is idle and unworthy of a Philosopher; that it is impertinent to say that all measures are limited by a certain space of time, since there are other measures, besides those of time; that it is a common Saying, that a Man shall be dealt withal, as he dealeth with others, though he receiveth not precisely the same Treatment; that these Words of Jesus Christ, *It shall be measured unto you, after the same manner that ye measure unto others*; signify only, that Men shall be Punished or Rewarded, by the same Will which made them do Good or Evil to others; that is, by the remorse of their own Consciences; that Sins and Punishments are not measured by time, but by the quality of the Will; that the Punishment of Sin is eternal; because, as the Sinner desired to enjoy Pleasure for ever, it is just that he should be punished for it for ever.

The fifth Question was not difficult to solve. It was supposed that Solomon had said, that there was no Son of God. St. Augustine answers, that Solomon never said it, but the contrary.

The Last, is a Serious Answer to the Jests of the Heathens, about the History of Jonas.

The 103^d. Letter, is a second Letter of Nectarius of Calama, who reneweth the same Request that he made in the 90th. for Pardon of his Heathen Country-men, who had misused the Christians.

The 104th. is an Answer of St. Augustine, where he particularly refuteth the Opinion of the Stoicks, concerning the Equality of Sins. St. Augustine received Nectarius his Letter upon the 27th. of March 409. and it is probable that he returned an Answer instantly.

The 105th. is an Exhortation to the Donatists. After he had justified the Severity of the Imperial Laws, he examines the ordinary Points of Controversie that were in Dispute with those Schismatics; Proving, 1. That the Validity of Baptism dependeth not upon the holiness of the Minister. 2. That the Catholick Church cannot be confin'd to the Donatists. 3. That the Wicked, who were tolerated in the Catholick Church, could not hinder it from being the true Church.

In the 106th. St. Augustine intreateth Macrobius, a Donatist Bishop at Hippo, not to Rebaptize a Sub-deacon that was gone over to their Party. St. Augustine gave this Letter to Maximus and Theodorus, who delivered it into Macrobius his own hands; who made them no Answer, but that he could not refuse to give the Faith to them that came to him; which Answer, they returned to this Saint by the 107th. Letter. St. Augustine immediately set Pen to Paper to reprove that behaviour of the Donatists, as he doth by the 108th. Letter; wherein he proves, that Baptism is not to be repeated, alledging chiefly the Example of the Donatists themselves, who approved the Baptism of the Maxi-

mianists, whom themselves had condemned and put out of their Communion. The time of this Dispute with Macrobius, is not very certain; yet it is supposed to have happened in 409.

The 109th. is a Letter of Compliment written to St. Augustine by Severus Bishop of Milevis, wherein he tells of the Pleasure that he found in reading his Works. He gives him high Commendations, especially for his love towards God and towards his Neighbour. St. Augustine answers him by the 110th, in a very modest and civil manner. The time of these Letters is not well known.

The 111th. is a Consolatory Epistle, to Victorinus the Priest, concerning those Miseries which the Barbarians, who then wasted both Italy and Spain in the Year 409. caused a great number of holy Persons and Virgins consecrated to God to Suffer.

In the 112th. Letter, St. Augustine exhorteth Donatus, who was leaving the Proconsulship, in 410, to renounce the Poms of the World, and to follow Jesus Christ, and to bring back to the Communion of the Church, those that had any Dependency upon him.

The 113th. is a Letter of Recommendation to Crescorius, concerning Frumentius his Business, who was taken out of the Sanctuary of a Church, whither he was fled to secure himself from the Pursuit of one of whom he rented a Forest.

The three following Letters are about the same Business. St. Augustine cites a Law that was made by Honorius the Emperor, the 21st. of January, 410. so that these Letters were written after that Year.

The 117th. is a Note from Dioscorus, to which he joins several Questions to St. Augustine, taken out of Cicero's Dialogues. St. Augustine Answers him in the next, that it is unworthy of a Bishop to spend time in explaining such kind of Questions. He treateth afterwards of the Design which Men ought to have in their Studies, and of the chiefest Good. He Rejects the Philosopher's Opinions upon that Subject; and shews, that God is the chiefest Good. He exhorteth Dioscorus to study Christian Philosophy, discovering the Blindness and the Errors of the Heathen Philosophers. St. Augustine speaking in this Letter of the Hereticks he was to Dispute with, saith nothing of the Pelagians; which makes it probable, that it was written before the Year 411. but it could not be written long before, because he declares there, that he was growing Gray.

The 119th. containeth Consentius his Questions concerning the Myltery of the Trinity. And the 120th. containeth St. Augustine's Answers, who expounds the Faith, touching that Myltery. He treateth there of Faith, and Understanding.

The 121st. Letter is written by St. Paulinus, who proposes to St. Augustine some Questions upon certain Passages of the Psalms, of St. Paul's Epistles, and the Gospels.

In the 122^d. St. Augustine excuseth himself to his Clergy, and People, because he was obliged to be absent. He exhorts them to diminish nothing of what they were wont to do for the Poor. This Letter was written in the Year 410. when Alarick took Rome. I suppose also, that St. Jerome hinted at the Calamity, in Enigmatical Terms, in the following Letter, which is the last of the Second Classe of St. Augustine's Letters.

The Third Classe.

THE Letters of the Third Classe are all those that St. Augustine writ from the Year 411. to the End of his Life.

The first, which is the 124th. is directed to Albina, old Melania's Daughter, to Pinianus, and to the younger Melania, who had retired into Sicily, and from thence into Africa after the Death of Rufinus, in the Year 411. and were come to Tagasta, when St. Augustine wrote this Letter; whereby he excuseth himself, that the Condition of the Church at Hippo, rather than the Severity of the Winter, hindered him from coming to them.

Pinianus being come to Hippo, to see St. Augustine, as he was celebrating the Holy Mysteries, the People demanded, that he should be ordained Priest, and obliged him to Swear, that he should not leave the Town of Hippo; and that, if he took Orders, he would be ordained no where, but at Hippo. Albina, and her Children, complained of that Violence; believing, that the Men of Hippo had no other Design in doing so, but to fix in their Church so Rich a Man as Pinianus was; pretending, that the Oath forced upon him was not binding. St. Augustine writes to Alypius, the 125th. Letter, to justify both himself, and his People, of the Suspicions entertained of him upon that Subject, praying Alypius to remove them. He speaketh afterwards of Pinianus his Oath, and of the Obligation to keep it; whereupon, he layeth down the following Principles about the Matter of Oaths. First, that none ought to Swear to a thing forbidden, whatsoever Fear he may be in of Death if he Swareth not; and that he ought rather to suffer Death. 2. That when a Man has Sworn, by constraint, to a lawful Thing, he is bound to Discharge it; and cannot dispense himself from it, without being guilty of Perjury.

3. That the Bond of an Oath is performed, not when we do what is signified by the Letter, or the Terms; wherein the Oath is expressed, but when we observe what the Imposer of the Oath expects, if it be known when the Oath is taken: and so a Man may be Perjured in keeping what is signified by the Terms of the Oath, if he defeats the Expectation of him to whom the Oath is made; and that, on the contrary, this being done, there is no Perjury, though the Letter of the Oath is not observed in its proper Sense. From whence he concludes, that though Pinianus is not bound to abide at Hippo, as if that City were made a Prison for him; yet he is obliged, by his Oath, to dwell there as an Inhabitant with Liberty to go and come, but not to go away never to return.

In the following Letter to Albina, St. Augustine justifies himself from the Accusation that was made against his People, for detaining Pinianus out of Covetousness. He saith, that such Imputations reflect upon him, because he is Administrator of the Church's Goods, whereas the People neither disposes of, nor profits by them. Wherefore, to clear himself absolutely, he is obliged to make Oath, and to take God to witness, as he doth in this Letter, that the Administration of the Church's Goods is a Charge to him. He discourses again of the Validity of Pinianus his Oath, and of the Obligation he lay under to execute it.

The 127th. to Armentarius, and Paulina his Wife, was written soon after Rome was taken. He exhorts them not to regard this present Life; shewing also, how much they were obliged to keep the Vow of Continency, which they had made. This Letter is full of most Excellent Thoughts against

St. Augustine. Tome II.

St. Augustine. Tome II. against the Love of the World, and of Life. Among other things, he particularly takes notice, that if, to prolong this Transitory Life, Men are not afraid to take so much Pains, to undergo so many Dangers, and Losses, much more ought they to expose themselves, for that Life which is Eternal; that all the Pains we take in this Life, to prevent Death, tend to nothing else but to keep us in Misery; that we constantly avoid the present Death; that we may be exposed to the Fear of all possible Ones. *What* (saith he) *do not those Men endure, whom the Physicians force to endure, Fire, and the Knife; and, what is the Consequence of so many Pains? Is it to escape Death? No! but to die a little later. The Pains are certain, but the preserving of Life is uncertain; and very often the Patient dies in those Torments, to which he exposes himself for fear of Death; and chusing to suffer not to die, instead of chusing to die to prevent suffering, it happens that they meet with Death in the midst of those Sufferings, which they chuse to undergo to avoid it. But the greatest Evil, and the most to be abhorred, is, That to lengthen this wretched Life a little, we displease God who is the Spring of true Life. Besides, tho' such a miserable Life, as this is, could continue for ever, yet were it not to be compared with an happy Life, tho' never so short. In the mean time, the love of this Life, as short as miserable, makes us lose a Life that is not only Happy, but Eternal; tho' in that very Life, which we so unhappily love, we seek for nothing but what we may be secure of in the other, and which the love of this makes us lose. For what do we love, by loving a Life so wretched, and so short? It is not the misery of it, since we desire to be happy, nor the shortness of it, since we fear to see the end. We love it therefore, only because it is Life; and this alone, makes us love it, tho' short and miserable.* From these Principles he concludes, that we should love nothing but eternal Life; shake off all Clogs, and Cares of present things; cleave solely to Jesus Christ, to whom we should have our Recourse, as to the chief Physician, who alone is able to ease our Pains, and satisfy our Desires.

The 128th. Letter, is a Declaration of the Catholick Bishops to Marcellinus, the Emperor's Commissioner, appointed to be at the Conference betwixt the Catholick Bishops, and the Donatists, by which Declaration they submit themselves to all the Conditions of the Order, given by Marcellinus; and give their Consent, that in case the Donatist Bishops yield in the Conference, and be convicted of Schism, yet they should be maintained in their Dignity; so that in the Places, where there was a Bishop of each Communion, they should Govern jointly, till the Death of the one; or that both should give up, and a third be chosen: And, that though they granted this Advantage to the Donatists, yet they made no Conditions for themselves, but were contented to lose their Dignity, if the Donatists had the better in the Conference.

Marcellinus, by his Order, had appointed a certain Number of Bishops of each Party, to be at the Conference; but the Donatists desiring to be all there, made a Solemn Declaration. The Catholick Bishops gave their Consent by the 129th. Letter. The time of these two last cannot be doubted, seeing they relate to the Conference at Carthage, appointed the 14th. of October, 410. and began the 1st. of June, 411.

The 130th. is directed to the illustrious and pious Lady Proba Falconia, the Widow of Probus, Praefectus Praetorio, and Consul in 371. who withdrew into Africa after the taking of Rome. This Holy Widow having desired St. Augustine to write to her concerning Prayer, this Saint gives her, by this Letter, excellent Instructions about the manner how we ought to Pray, and the necessary Disposition to do it well. He discourses there of the Contempt of Riches, of renouncing the World, of that true Happiness which ought to be pray'd for, and of love of our Neighbour. He proves, that true Praying is from the Heart. He explains in few Words, the Lord's Prayer; shewing, that it contains what we are to Pray for. He observes, that we may desire to be delivered from Pain, Sickness, and Afflictions; but that we are not to desire with Impatience, nor think that God regards us not, when we obtain not that Ease which we desire. This Letter is full of very Christian and Sublime Maxims, and Notions, very useful for Pious Persons.

The 131st. to the same Lady hath nothing remarkable; he thanks her for enquiring after his Health.

In the 132d. Letter, St. Augustine exhorts Volusian, to whom it is written, to read the Scriptures, and to propose to him those Difficulties which he shall meet with.

In the 133d. Letter St. Augustine intreateth Marcellinus not to punish those Donatists with Death, who had confessed their Crimes by Torture; and to have respect in the Choice of Punishments, to that Meekness which the Church professeth to exercise towards all Men.

The next Letter contains the like Entreaties to the Proconsul, Apringius. Both these were written after the Imperial Law against the Donatists was enacted in 412.

By the 135th. Volusianus desires a Solution of the Difficulties proposed against the Christian Religion, which cen-

tred all in this Objection, *How God should so humble himself as to become Man?* With this Letter came another from Marcellinus, which is the 136th. wherein he desired St. Augustine, to answer the Questions made by Volusianus; adding some other Objections of the Enemies of the Christian Religion. They said, that God had abolished the Old Law, either out of Inconstancy, or because he was weary of it. That the Doctrine of the Gospel was contrary to States; and that the Christian Emperors had done great Dis-service to the Affairs of the Common-wealth.

St. Augustine in the 137th. answereth Volusianus his Questions. He lays down this Rule at First, That though there are such deep things in the Scripture, that a Man may daily make new Discoveries, how Learned and Quick soever he be; yet it is not difficult to arrive to the Knowledge of what is necessary to be known to be Saved. Afterward, he answereth Volusianus his Question concerning the Incarnation; shewing that though the Word was made Man; yet he did not give over the Care of Things upon Earth, nor ceased to be every where, and to govern all things, That the Union of the Soul with the Body, which daily happeneth, is not less difficult to be comprehended; than that of God with Man; which happened but once to save Men from their Sins. Here he lays down very powerful Arguments, to persuade Men to believe the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; as, the Original of the People of Israel; God's Dealings with them; his Chusing them to be his beloved People; the Laws and Ceremonies of the Old Testament, which had all a relation to Jesus Christ: The Predictions of the Prophets; the Life, Actions, and the Death of Christ; the Establishment of the Church; its Encrease, and Preservation; the greatness and sublimity of the Morals that were taught in it; the plain Style of the Scripture, which makes it accessible to all Mankind, though there are such Depths, as few Minds can penetrate, and other such Considerations which are sufficient to prove the Truth of the Christian Religion.

In the following Letter, St. Augustine replies to the Objections made by Marcellinus: The first is about the Alteration of the Old Law, which they imputed either to Envy or to Inconstancy in God. St. Augustine saith, that God is unchangeable in all that concerns himself; and, that as he hath given Precepts, and Ordinances for the Good of Man, so it is for the same End, that he sometimes changeth them; as he judgeth it may be more convenient for them.

The second Objection, proposed by Marcellinus, seems more difficult. They accused Christs Doctrine, as inconsistent with the Well-being of the State; because it forbids rendring Evil for Evil; commands turning the other Cheek; giving the Cloak also to them that offer to take our Coats; and to go two Miles with him that forceth us to go one. These Precepts say they, are contrary to the Practice of Common-wealths: For who is he that will suffer his Enemy to take away his Goods? Who doth not seek to return Evil for Evil to Barbarians, who come to lay the Provinces of the Empire Waste?

St. Augustine refutes this Objection; shewing, that this Maxim here looked upon as contrary to the Good of the State was a Maxim of the Old Romans, who thought it worthy of their greatness, and profitable for the Common-wealth to forgive Injuries: That Cicero exalting Caesar for a great Prince, commendeth him for his readiness to forgive Injuries: That such things are read with Admiration in Prophane Writings, whilst they are despised in Christian Books, where they are more plainly, and more nobly expressed. He proves afterwards, That those Divine Books are so far from being contrary to the happiness of Governments, that they are most proper to maintain Peace and Concord: That however they are not to be understood literally; and that we are not absolutely forbidden to defend our selves, or to punish Crimes; but only that Men should not act by a Principle of Revenge, but with a Design to do Good to him that offends us: So that those Precepts of Jesus Christ, have respect to the Disposition of the Heart, rather than to what is done outwardly, and tend only but to preserve Patience, and Charity in their Hearts, leaving us the liberty to do what we think may conduce most to the Advantage of those to whom we desire to do Good.

Having alledged both Christs, and St. Paul's Example, to justify such a Carriage; he adds, That this hinders not the Execution of Justice against evil Doers, provided it be done with a Spirit of Charity: That War it self may be managed with the same Spirit, when Men desire to Conquer, with a Design to do good to the Vanquished, and keep them from doing hurt. Then he answereth Marcellinus's last objection; shewing, that the Christian Emperors ought not to be charged with the Decay of the Empire; the Heathen themselves having confessed that their own Manners, and the Vices of the Romans, were the main Causes of it. He sheweth likewise, how Contemptible the Juglings of Apollonius, and Apuleius were, in comparison of the Miracles of Christ, and his Apostles.

St. Augustine. Tome II. The 139th. Letter, is likewise directed to the same *Marcellinus*, but upon another Subject. He speaks of Publishing the Acts of the Conference at *Carthage*: He earnestly conjures him to hinder the *Donatists*, that were cast into Prison from being put to Death. He mentions his Books of *Baptism*; His *Abridgment of the Conference of Carthage*; *A Letter to the Donatists*; *Two foregoing Letters*; and that which follows, directed to *Honoratus*: Whereby it appears, that all these Discourses belong to the Year 412.

The 140th. Letter, is this just now mentioned, directed to *Honoratus*, and written concerning five Questions. He treats of Grace, of the New-Covenant, and of the Design of Christ's Incarnation. He observes at first, that every Man hath a Soul endued with Reason; but very different Uses are made of it. Some use their Reason with no other prospect but to please their Senses; others on the contrary, seek after those good things which concern their Soul, and which are of a Nature above their own. The Soul may make a good Use of Temporal Happiness, but that is only when it is applied to the Service of the Creator: for all Substances being good in their Nature; it is a good thing to use them in order, and not thereby to oppose the Order of the Creator: And the ill use which Men make of Good things, doth not hinder the good use which God knows how to make, even of evil ones. For his Justice by Punishing, brings into order those whose Injustice put them out of order by Sin. God granted this Temporal Felicity in the Old Covenant, which neither promised, nor afforded any but Temporal Advantages; but at the same time he revealed the New Covenant, whereof the Old was but a Figure; Tho' but a small number of Saints have taken notice of it, and even those though Ministers of the Old Covenant, belonged to the New. But in the fulness of time, the Word of God was united with Man to be a Light to the Nations, and those that received it, became the Children of God, not Children by Nature as Jesus Christ is, but Children by Adoption and Grace. It is he that taught us to despise the things of this Life, and to value none but those which we shall enjoy in the other. This is the Economy of the New Covenant, which *St. Augustine* explains at large in this Letter. He proveth it by the Exposition of the 22^d. Psalm, which begins with these Words, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Which was the Subject of *Honoratus's* first Question. He insists chiefly upon shewing that Christians ought not to put their Trust and Confidence in the Good Things of this World; but to love and seek after that only which concerns the next. This is almost the sole Design of this Letter to justify that the love of Spiritual and Eternal Blessings is the only aim of the New Covenant; To the same purpose he expounds also the beginning of *St. John's* Gospel; the Parable of the ten Wise and ten Foolish Virgins; these Words of *St. Paul*, *Eph. 3. I pray God that being firmly settled, rooted and grounded in love, you may be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth*; and what is said in the Gospel concerning utter Darkneſs, which were the Subject of *Honoratus's* five Questions. This Man was but a *Catechumen*, and yet *St. Augustine* sets before him the most sublime and the highest things of the Christian Religion; and yet when he speaks of the Eucharist, he doth not clearly explain it; but only tells him, That he shall know after Baptism, in what time, and after what manner it is offered: But he declareth plainly enough what he believed concerning the Eucharist, saying, That Proud Men who come to the Lord's Table, do indeed receive his Body and Blood, and adore it, but they are not fed therewith; because they imitate him not, and though they eat it, yet they refuse to become Poor as he was. At the latter end of his Letter he speaketh against those who put their Confidence in their own Strength, and not in the Grace of Jesus Christ. This is in short what *St. Augustine*, treats of in this Letter, which may be looked upon as a Treatise, as he says himself in the Conclusion, and in his *Retractions*; where he places it amongst his entire Discourses.

The 141st. is a Synodical Epistle of an Assembly of Catholick Bishops held at *Cirta*, directed to all the *Donatists*, whereby they are exhorted to return into the Church; their Bishops having been so solemnly confounded and convicted in the Conference at *Carthage*, of which he gives a short Abridgment in that Letter. It bears Date the 14th. of June 412.

The next Letter to *Saturninus*, *Euphratas*, and the Clergy newly returned into the Unity of the Church, is of the same time. *St. Augustine* congratulates their re-union, endeavours to confirm them in the good Resolution they had taken, and exhorts them to discharge their Ministry.

In the 143^d Letter, *St. Augustine* answereth a Question proposed to him by *Marcellinus*, to whom it is written: namely, where the Magicians of *Egypt* could find Water to turn into Blood, when *Moses* had turned all the Water that was there already. He saith, that this Question may be answered two Ways, either by saying that they took Water out of the Sea; or, by supposing, that the Plagues of *Egypt* had their Effect only where the Egyptians were,

but not where the Children of *Israel* dwelt. Having thus dis-entangled himself of the Question, he explains some Passages of his Book concerning Free-will, and the Original of Souls. He confesses, That his Writings having been written with Precipitation, some Faults could not but creep in, He sincerely acknowledgeth that even in Writing he perceived Faults, and that he corrects and reproves them, being far from hiding or defending them. He saith, that he is not like those who through excessive love of themselves, and to cover their own Errors, would leave others in theirs; that he would not have his best Friends to say, that he was not mistaken, He wisely observeth that none ought to approve the Commendation given by *Cicero* to one, *That he never uttered one word which he wished afterwards he had not spoken*. This, says he, belongeth to a Mad-man, rather than to a Wise-man; this cannot be applied but to Divine Persons, by whom the Holy Ghost hath spoken. He confesses, That he is still uncertain concerning the Origine of our Souls; because neither Scripture nor Reason hath determined the Point. He further saith, that Scripture and Reason cannot be contrary to one another; that if Reason seems to be contrary to the Scripture, it is a false Light, it is not right Reason. That if what is drawn from Scripture, is found directly opposed to clear Reason; there must be a mis-understanding of the Scripture. Lastly, he refutes *Voluntianus*, who would hardly believe what he had writ to him, that the Blessed Virgin could conceive Jesus Christ, and remain a Virgin still: This Letter is of the Year 412. for it is written after the 139th. and there *St. Augustine* Answers a Letter of *Marcellinus*, brought by *Boniface*, who was with *Marcellinus* when *St. Augustine* writ the 139th. Letter.

In the 144th. Letter, *St. Augustine* congratulates the Men of *Cirta*, who returned to the Church exhorting them to give God Thanks for it, as being the effect of his Mercy. He saith, that the Change of those who quit a Debauched Life to lead a better, without giving up themselves to God; as that of *Polemon* was, ought however to be looked upon as God's Work. For, saith he, nothing but the height of Pride and of Ingratitude, can imagine, that the Beauty of the Body, Strength, and Health are God's Gifts; and that Chastity, which makes the Beauty of the Soul can be the Work of Man. Whence, he concludes, that the Conversion of those to whom he writ, is much rather the Work of God's Mercy. He exhorts them to acknowledge it. *To God, saith he, you are to give Thanks; fear him if you will be kept from falling, love him if you intend to go forward.* DEUM TIME NE DEFICIATIS, AMATE UT PROFICIATIS. This Letter was Written after the Conference at *Carthage*.

The 145th. to *Anastasius* comprehendeth most of *St. Augustine's* Principles of Justification, for having observed that the World is more to be feared when it fawns upon us, than when it torments us, he layeth down these following Principles, 1. That the love of earthly Goods cannot be totally laid aside in this Life, and it will always have a share in our best Actions. 2. That the Will of Man cannot be called Free, without the Assistance of Grace. 3. That the Law serveth to make us know our Impotency, that we may have our recourse to Grace. 4. That Sin is not overcome whilst Men forbear it merely for fear of Punishment. For, saith he, though Men go not so far as to the outward Action, yet the secret Desire, of doing Evil, in the Heart which is restrained only by the fear of Punishment, is a Tyrant that keeps us in Slavery, And thus it may be said, That whosoever abstaineth from Sin, only for the dread of Suffering, is not altogether an Enemy to Sin; because he is not perfectly in Love with Righteousness; and that Sin is not properly hated; but proportionably as Righteousness is loved. INIMICUS ERGO EST JUSTITIÆ QUI POENÆ TIMORE NON PECCAT. . . . TANTUM PORRO QUISQUE PECCATUM ODIT, QUANTUM JUSTITIAM DILIGIT. 5. That the love of Righteousness ought to go further than the love of Sin; because it should proceed so far as that all the Mischief which can thereby befall our Bodies, may not hinder us from practising our Duty; and so nothing may separate us from the love of Jesus Christ, and Righteousness. 6 It is the Holy Ghost who poureth that Charity into our Hearts; we have it not of our selves, and when we find our selves destitute of it, we must, Ask, Seek, and Knock; addressing our selves to God by Prayer. This Letter was written about the time that the *Pelagian* Heresie began to be known in *Africa*, in 413.

The following, which is a Letter of Thanks to *Pelagius*, is likewise about the same time, as *St. Augustine* observes in the 26th. Chap. of the Book of the Acts of *Pelagius*. He having already heard that this Man opposed the Grace of Jesus Christ, he hints at some thing of it in this Letter; wishing, that God would give him such Grace as might make him good always; praying him, that he would beg of God to make him such, as he believed him to be already; adding in the end of the Letter; *I pray God my dear Brother*, that he would be pleased to make you acceptable in his sight.

St. Augustine in his *Retractions*, mentions the two following Letters; The 147th. to *Paulina*; and the 148th. to *Fortunatianus* Bishop of *Sicca*, and placeth them after the Books composed in 412. And indeed, this Bishop of *Sicca*, who was at the Conference of *Carthage*, died in 413. and *Urbanus* succeeded him, and was deputed that very year to go to *Rome*. St. Augustine proves in both these Letters, that God cannot be seen with bodily Eyes. In the former, he explains, what it is to see God; How he is seen; who they are that have seen him; and, who shall see him hereafter.

The 149th. is an Answer of St. Augustine, to the Questions proposed by St. *Paulinus*, in the 121st. Letter, about some Passages of Scripture; He critically examines the Difficulties that were raised about St. *Paul's* Epistles, and gives a Rational Account of them. This Letter was written about the year 414. after the Promotion of *Urbanus* to the Bishoprick of *Sicca*.

The 150th. is written to *Proba*, and to her Daughter *Juliana*; He wishes them Joy, that *Demetrius*, *Juliana's* Daughter, had consecrated her self to God in vowing Virginity. It is full of noble Expressions, in Commendation of Virginity.

Count *Marcellinus*, who presided at the Conference of *Carthage*, was Executed in the year 413. at *Carthage*, with his Brother *Apringius*, by order of Count *Marinus*, being Accused of abetting *Heraclianus* his Rebellion: St. Augustine being his Friend, and knowing his Innocency, used all his Endeavours to hinder that Judgment; and was sensibly affected for the Death of those innocent Persons. A great Lord, one *Cæcilian*, St. Augustine's Friend, and an Enemy to the two Brothers, being at *Carthage* the same time when this Judgment was given, was suspected to have had a hand in it; and St. Augustine having forborn writing to him for some time, this Lord thought that he had also conceived the same Suspicion; wherefore he wrote to St. Augustine about it. To this Letter St. Augustine returns an Answer in the 151st. wherein he represents, both the Cruelty and Injustice of *Marinus's* Judgment, and what had made the World believe that *Cæcilian* had a hand in it. Yet he professes not to believe it, considering what he had written to justify himself; but he exhorts him to renounce all manner of Friendship with *Marinus*. Afterwards he makes a Panegyrick upon these two Brethren without naming them, and particularly of *Marcellinus*; giving an Account of the edifying Discourses he made in the Prison: This is a remarkable thing. St. Augustine declares, that having been to visit him in the Prison, he demanded of him, whether he had ever committed any Sin for which he ought to have done Penance; and that *Marcellinus* made him this Answer, *That he took to witness those Sacraments which that hand brought him, that neither before nor after Marriage, he ever touch'd any Woman, but his own Wife.* This Passage teaches us, that Pastors were careful to visit Prisoners, to assist, and carry the Sacraments to them, and enjoined them Penance when they found them guilty of great Sins; and there is no doubt, but that after Penance they also gave them Absolution, when they feared that they should be Condemned to Die; but upon condition, that if they escaped Death they should fulfil their Penance. At last, St. Augustine sets *Marcellinus* his Innocence against the Cruelty and Unworthiness of *Marinus's* Action, whom he describes as a very ill Man, who had Sacrificed those two innocent Persons to please the *Donatists*. He again advises *Cæcilian* to abhor that Action, and to conceive such an Indignation against him that committed it, as might oblige him to a Penance proportionable to the greatness of his Crime. At last, he tells him, that being of such an Age, and of such Probity, he ought no longer to continue a *Catechumen*. *Marcellinus*, who had been so barbarously used by *Marinus*, was justified at Court. St. Augustine saith, that there was not so much as need of a Pardon from the Emperor, and had not *Marinus* hastened the Judgment against *Marcellinus*, without waiting for the Bishop's Answer, who was sent to the Emperor to solicit his Pardon, he had been acquitted; and accordingly, *Marinus* was disgraced, and the Memory of *Marcellinus* honoured by the Emperor *Honorius*, who by a Law of the third of August 414. Registered in the *Theodosian Code*, B. 16. Tit. 5. L. 55. confirms all that he had done against the *Donatists*, and gives him the Title of *Marcellinus of Glorious Memory*.

The 152d. Letter is from *Macedonius*, Lieutenant of *Africa*, who desires to know of St. Augustine, whether Religion permits Bishops to make Applications to Judges to obtain Favour for Enemies, as they did at that time, and as St. Augustine often did of *Macedonius*. This Magistrate could hardly believe that Religion authorized that Practice; Seeing that God doth so severely forbid Sin, that a Man is not admitted to Penance after the first time; and that it seems to be a countenancing of Crimes when we show an unwillingness to have them punished.

St. Augustine in the 153d. Letter, answereth, that Bishops intercede for Criminals, because they hope they may amend: They abhor the Crime; but they pity the Criminals: that

Repentance having no place but in this Life, there is reason to intercede for the Guilty, lest by this finite Punishment which ends their Life, they may fall into a Punishment that shall never end. So that none can doubt but that Religion approveth that Practice, since God himself, in whom is no Injustice; who seeth what every Man is, and what he ought to be, and cannot be mistaken in his Judgments, causeth his Sun to rise upon the bad as well as upon the good, and by his long forbearance invites Sinners to repentance. That when Bishops by their Intercessions, have rescued any from the severity of the Judges, they put him to do Penance, that the Crime may not remain unpunished. For, saith he, a true Penitent hath no other prospect, than that the Evil which he hath done may be punished. That if there be any Persons whose Malice is so great, that after Penance, and being reconciled and admitted to the Holy Mysteries, they relapse into their Disorders, and sometimes into greater; then indeed, the Church admits them no more to do Penance, lest a Remedy, (which is so much the more profitable, by how much it is least exposed to the contempt of Sinners) should lose its Virtue, if it become more common: But yet, we despair not of their Salvation, which they may obtain through God's Mercy, by being converted and altering their Life. Afterwards, St. Augustine alledgeth several Reasons in Equity, and several Examples, to shew, that we are not forbidden to intercede for Criminals; and that all Men ought to be inclined to Meekness and Pity. The principal Consideration which he makes use of, is the State of Man in this Life, which cannot be without Sin. For, saith he, Though the Sins which we commit, after the general abolishment in Baptism, are not of the same quality with those for which Men are separated from the Altar; yet they must be expiated, not by a barren Sorrow, but by a Sacrifice of the Works of Mercy.

St. Augustine acknowledgeth, that the Sovereign Power of Princes; the Power of Life and Death, and the Dread of Punishments, are all necessary to restrain Wicked Men, and the Terror which these things strike into the Hearts of Men, is of great advantage, not only to the good, who by this means live securely among the Wicked, but even to the wicked themselves; because whilst their Hands are tied by the fear of Punishment, their Hearts may call upon God, and turn from Evil to Good: For (saith he) they are not good Men, because they abstain from Evil through fear of Suffering; for Fear does not make Men Good, but only the Love of Righteousness.

He tells us further, that upon some occasions, it is Mercy to Punish; and in others, Cruelty to Forgive: *Sicut enim est aliquando misericordia puniens, ita est crudelitas parcens.* He speaketh at last, of Restoring Stolen Goods, or such as are ill gotten: And concerning these, he saith, (1.) That it is a Mockery, not to do Penance; not to restore, when it is in our power, the Goods that are gotten by those Crimes for which we pretend to do Penance. (2.) That though a Judge may, without Injustice, appoint Punishments to oblige a Thief to make Restitution; yet one may intercede for him, not to prevent restoring what is taken away, since we bind them to it by the dread of God's Judgments, and debar them from the Communion till they have done it; but only by way of preventing unnecessary Cruelty against a Man that is supposed not to be in a capacity of making Restitution, or not fully convicted of the Theft. (3.) That when we have not evident Proofs that such a one is possessed of our Goods, it is better to hazard losing them, though perhaps he is guilty, but denies it, than to torment and put him to Death, perhaps unjustly, if he hath them not. An excellent Caveat to teach Masters not to be too forward to seize upon their Servants, merely upon Suspicion. (4.) That Lawyers may take Money for their Advice in a just Cause, but not Judges to do Justice, nor Witnesses to give Testimony to Truth: and that both are exceedingly guilty when they take Money; the one for an Unjust Sentence, and the other for a false Witness. (5.) That Lawyers having taken Money to defend an ill Cause, or to blind the Judge, are obliged to make Restitution, as well as the Witnesses or Officers, who exact Fees beyond what belong to their Places. (6.) That Estates gotten by Stealth, False Accusation, or Oppression, ought to be restored; and that it is not enough, to bestow them upon the Poor. (7.) That in some Sense it may be said, that wicked Men have Nothing; but that All things belong to the faithful. For (saith St. Augustine) whatsoever we have which we have no Right to, belongs to another, and we have Right to nothing but what we justly possess; and we possess nothing justly, but what we possess as we ought: and all that we possess not as we ought, is another's; and we possess nothing as we ought, if we make not good use of it. So that wicked Men never possess any thing as they ought; and good Men enjoy it so much the more justly, because they love it less. Strange Consequences would follow from this Position, had not St. Augustine added this Restriction immediately; But their Iniquity is tolerated, who possess not this World's Goods as they ought; yea, Laws are established

St. Augustine. Tome II. established to secure their Possession; and are called *Civil Laws*, because that by them Civil Society is preserved; not by obliging them to use those Goods as they ought, but by preventing their abusing them for the Oppression of others. . . . Yet we have respect to these Humane and Temporal Laws; and our Intercessions never go so far, as to hinder the restoring of what is ill gotten, according to the Laws.

The 154th. Letter is from *Macedonius*; who sendeth St. Augustine word, that he had done what he desired; and, that he had read the three First Books of *The City of God*, which St. Augustine sent him.

St. Augustine answers him in the 155th. wherein he discourses of Happiness; shewing, that God is the Spring of a happy Life, and that true Vertue consists in the Love of God: 'Vertue (saith he) is nothing else but the Love of what ought to be loved: To know how to make a good Choice, is called *Prudence*; not to be turned away from it, for any Evil, by Pleasure or Pride, is called *Fortitude*, *Temperance* and *Justice*. Thus God is the chiefest Good: so that to love any other thing more, or as much as him, is not to love our selves; for our Condition is so much the more happy, as we approach with greater violence towards that which is best.

These four Letters were written immediately after St. Augustine had composed his three first Books of *The City of God*; which were compleated in 413. before the fourth and the fifth, which were published in 415.

The 156th. Letter was written from *Syracuse*, by one *Hilary*; who desireth St. Augustine to let him know what he should think of certain Propositions, set forth by some at *Syracuse*; 'That it is in Man's power to keep himself pure from all Sin; that it is easie for him, if he please, to keep the Commands of God; that Men are born without Sin, and by consequence, that it is inconsistent with the Justice of God, that Children dying before Baptism, should perish; That rich Men cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, without renouncing their Riches, and selling all they have, and giving it to the Poor; And that whilst they keep them, all the good Works they may do, according to God's Law, will profit them nothing': And lastly, that we ought to Swear in no case. He asketh further, Whether the Church without Spot or wrinkle, spoken of by St. Paul, is that to which we now belong, or that which we hope to make up one day with the blessed in Heaven. This *Hilary*, of *Syracuse*, is very like that *Hilary* who joined with St. Prosper to refute the *Semi Pelagians*, and who writ to St. Augustine the 156th Letter; both were Lay-men, since St. Augustine callieth them *Sons*: they were both great Enemies of the *Pelagians*, Disciples and great Admirers of St. Augustine: the Style of both Letters seems to be the same, which makes it probable that they were both written by the same Person.

Be that as it will, in the next St. Augustine answereth the Questions proposed in this Letter; which gave him opportunity to treat at large of Original Sin; of the Corruption of our Nature; of Justification, and of the Grace of Jesus Christ: and to prove against the *Pelagians*, (1.) that no Man can be free from Sin in this Life. (2.) That no Man can fulfil the Law without the Grace of Jesus Christ, which is obtained by Labour and by Prayer. (3.) That Grace doth not take away Liberty; because the Will of Man is by so much the more free, as it is the more subject to Christ's Grace; and delivered from the Dominion of Sin: We should not think that Free-will is destroy'd, because it needeth such Helps; on the contrary, it supposes that it subsists still, when we say that it hath need of help. (4.) That we learn of St. Paul, that all the Children of Adam are born in Sin; and perish eternally, if they are not sanctified by the Grace of Baptism. Here he refuteth the *Pelagians* very fully; who answered, that Sin was not from Adam, but by Imitation: And he enlargeth upon the Opposition which St. Paul makes between Adam and Jesus Christ; between the Condemnation caused by the Old Man because of Sin, and the Justification which the New Man worketh in us by his Grace. Having handled those Points, he speaks occasionally against *Cælestius*, who had been both accused and convicted of those Errors which St. Augustine had lately refuted. Afterwards this Saint discourses against another *Pelagian* Error concerning Manners; and proveth, (1.) That to be saved, Men need not part with their whole Estate, and reduce themselves to entire Poverty. And lastly, he observes, that the Church here below consists both of Good and Bad. He adds further, concerning Swearing, that Men should avoid Swearing as much as possibly they can: That it is best, not to Swear at all; no, not in Truth; because those that are used to Swearing, are every moment upon the brink of Perjury: that it is a most dangerous thing to play with Oaths; but the surest way, is never to Swear, and use only *Yea* and *Nay*. St. Jerome mentions this Letter in his *Dialogue*, written in the Year 415. and speaks of it as a Discourse newly published. It was read in the Council of *Palestine*, assembled in July, 415. as St. Augustine observes in the Book of *The Acts of Pelagius*, chap. 11. which shews that it was written in the Year 414.

The Subject of the 158th. Letter is as followeth; *Evodius*, Bishop of *Uzalâ*, having given an Account of a Young Man's happy Death, who had led a most holy Life, and had appear'd to some after his Death; proposes some Questions to St. Augustine about such Apparitions, and asks, Whether the Soul hath not a Body after Death? We ought not to forget that this Bishop, speaking of that Young Man's Death, observes, that in his Sickness he repeated Psalms, and in his Agony he made the Sign of the Cross upon his Forehead: That they buried him honourably, and for three Days together Hymns were sung upon his Grave, and on the third Day they offer'd the Sacrifice of our Redemption. At the latter end of this Letter, *Evodius* asks St. Augustine some other Questions about the difference betwixt God's and Man's Wisdom.

St. Augustine answers that Bishop in the 159th. and tells him, that this Question requireth much Labour and Study to resolve all the Difficulties that may be in it. But to let him know his Opinion in one word, He did not believe that the Soul did go out of the Body with a Body: that as to Visions and Apparitions, nothing can be said, without deciding after what manner an infinite number of different Ideas are raised in our Souls: which is a thing very hard to be comprehended; though it is certain, that such Representations are neither Corporeal Motions, nor Corporeal Qualities. He refers *Evodius* to what he had said concerning that Matter, in his Book upon *Genesis*; and contents himself to tell him what happened to *Gennadius*, a Physician at *Carthage*; who doubting whether there was another Life, was convinced of it by a Young Man that appeared to him in a Dream; and made him apprehend, that since he did both hear and see him, though his Eyes were shut, and he had no Use of his Ears, that even so after Death, though he should have no bodily Eyes, yet he should see, and feel, and live.

The 160th. and 161st. are both by *Evodius*. In the first, he asketh St. Augustine what God is? and what is Reason? And in the second, he desireth him to explain a Passage in his 137th. Letter to *Volusianus*.

St. Augustine answereth both by the 162d. Wherein he tells *Evodius*, that he had not Time enough to answer those Questions, but he had already resolved several of them, in his Books of the *Trinity*; Of *Free-Will*; Of the *Quantity of the Soul*; and, Of *True Religion*. He confirms what he had said in the 159th. Letter, touching a Soul separated from the Body; and about Apparitions. And at last justifieth what he had said of the Incarnation to *Volusianus*; *If a Reason could be given of that Mystery, then would it cease to be Wonderful: Were there an Example of it, it would not be Singular.*

Though St. Augustine had signified to *Evodius*, that he was not at leisure to answer such sort of Questions; yet this Man proposes two more in his 163d. Letter: The former, concerning the Original of Christ's Soul; and the other, about a difficult Passage in St. Peter's Epistle, where it is said, *That Jesus Christ preached in the Spirit to the Spirits in Prison; which some time were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.*

St. Augustine resolveth both these Questions in the 164th. Letter: And beginning with the latter, he saith, (1.) That no Man can doubt of Christ's Descent into Hell. (2.) That he did not deliver all Men from thence, but only such as he judged worthy to be delivered. (3.) That almost the whole Church believes that Jesus Christ delivered our first Father; and some others think, that he brought out the other Patriarchs and the Prophets: But that it is more probable that these righteous Men were not in Hell, but in another Place, called *Abraham's Bosom*. (4.) That those just Men who were raised again when Christ died, did take again their Bodies to die a second time. (5.) It cannot be said, that Jesus Christ preached the Gospel in the other World, to those that were Incredulous in this Life: (6.) That that Passage of St. Peter, is not to be understood of the Spirits or Souls detained in Hell; but of the Spirits who lived in the days of Noah, whom the Word did then enlighten: So that St. Peter's meaning in St. Augustine's Opinion, is not, that Christ descended into Hell, to preach the Gospel to those who believed not, in Noah's time; but that Jesus Christ dying for us, was raised again by the same Spirit by whom he formerly preached, or by which he formerly instructed Unbelievers, in the days when Noah prepared the Ark, whilst God's Patience waited and invited them to Repentance. (7.) That Christ's Birth was not defiled with Sin; and though he took in the Womb of a Virgin true Humane Flesh, yet was it not sinful Flesh, because Lust had no hand in forming of that Flesh. This brings him insensibly to the other Question, about the Original of the Soul. St. Augustine is still to seek about that Subject, and dareth not declare for any of the four Opinions that divided the Christians at that time, but clearly disowns the Notion, that for the Punishment of some Sins committed in another Life, the Soul is cast into the Body, as into a Prison: But maintains, that it is certain that Christ's Soul was not subject either to the Death of Sin, or to Condemnation. All these Letters of *Evodius*, and these

Answers

St. Augustine. Tome II.

Answers of St. Augustine, were written not long after one another, after that to Volusianus, in the Year 414.

The 165th. is a Letter of St. Jerome to Marcellinus and Anapsychia: Wherein this Father having related the several Opinions about the Origination of the Soul, adviseth them to address themselves to St. Augustine, if they desired to know more. It is visible, that this was written before the former; because it is directed to Count Marcellinus, who was executed in 413. but it is placed here, because of its relation with the following Letter of St. Augustine, which is a Treatise upon the Soul's Original, dedicated to St. Jerome, and sent to him by Orosius, in the Year 415.

St. Augustine having observed, that the Soul cannot be called a Body, if by Body be understood an extended Substance; though it might be termed Corporeal in another Sense, if this Term be taken at large to signify Substance in general: he proposes then to St. Jerome the several Opinions concerning the Soul's Original; starting some Difficulties upon that which St. Jerome seemed to approve best; yet it is that which we now hold, that Souls are created and put into our Bodies at the Birth of each Person. He insists particularly upon this, that it is difficult to make that consist with Original Sin, and with what the Church believes concerning Children that die without Baptism; and so he asketh of St. Jerome a Solution of these Objections, having answered the Reasons alledged against that Opinion which seemed most probable to St. Augustine. He takes notice, that the Innocents were honoured in the Church, as Martyrs.

The next Letter to St. Jerome, upon these Words of St. James, ch. 2. v. 10. *He that transgresses in one point, is guilty of all*, was written immediately after the foregoing, as St. Augustine observes in his *Retractions*. He desireth St. Jerome to explain that Passage to him; and himself giveth an Explication of it, which he submits to St. Jerome's Judgment. He examineth the Stoicks Opinions, who taught, that all Sins were equal; and that of the Philosophers, who affirmed, that it was impossible to have any one Vertue, without being endowed with all. Having banded these Questions on both Sides, he concludes, that though it were true, that one Vertue could not be alone; yet it would not follow, that all Sins were equal: But however, it is not true, that all Vertues must necessarily be joined together: because Vertue being no other thing than the Love of what one ought to love, a Man may have more or less of this Love; for no Man can attain to perfect Charity in this Life. This being supposed, he saith, that whosoever transgresseth the Law in one Point, is guilty of breaking the Whole; because Sin is against Charity, and Charity is the fulfilling of the Law. But from hence it doth not follow that all Sins are equal; because that though every Sin violates Charity, upon which the Law dependeth; yet that hinders not but that a Man is more or less guilty, according as the Sins he commits are greater or less. In a word, there is more or less Sin in us, according as there is more or less Charity; and we shall never be perfect in Charity, before we are delivered from the weakness of this mortal Flesh. Lastly, we ought not to despise small Sins, or daily Faults; but ask God Pardon for them, and blot them out by constant Prayers, and good Works. Whosoever should neglect to expiate them; and who thinking himself over-righteous, should ask of God to be judged without Mercy, would doubtless come to Christ's Judgment-Seat overwhelmed with Sins that would weigh him down, and would find no Mercy.

The 168th. is a Letter of Thanks, which both Timasius and James return to St. Augustine, for his Book of *Nature and Grace*, composed in 415. which was dedicated to them.

In the 169th. St. Augustine answereth Evodius about two Questions which that Bishop had put to him; one concerning the Trinity; and the other about the Dove, under whose Shape the Holy Ghost appeared; and there he explains the Faith of the Church, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, very clearly and exactly. This Letter is of the same Year with the Book of *Nature and Grace*; that is, in 415.

The next Letter, in St. Augustine's and Alypius's Name, is upon the same Subject: there they instruct Maximus the Physician, who was newly converted from the Arian Heresie; and exhort him to reduce those to the Faith whom he had led into Error.

The next is a Note from St. Augustine, and Alypius, to Peregrinus, a Bishop; whereby they desire him to give them an Account of what Success their Letter to Maximus had; and not to be offended at the length of their Letter, because they used to write such to those Persons, whom they esteemed most. This Peregrinus not being made Bishop before the Year 413. it is likely both these Letters were not written before 415.

The 172d. is an Answer of St. Jerome to St. Augustine's 166th. and 167th. Letters. There he commendeth what St. Augustine had writ, and excuseth himself from making any Answer. This Letter was brought by Orosius, in 416.

The 173d. is directed to Donatus, a Donatist Priest, of the Town of Carthage, in the Diocess of Hippo, who having

been informed, that there was an Order to arrell, and to carry him to Church, had purposed to throw himself into a Well. St. Augustine shews him, in this Letter, the Excells of his Folly; proving, that it is just to force them to do Good that are bent to do Evil. This Letter was written after the Conference at Carthage.

The 174th. Letter of St. Augustine to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, was sent with his Book of the *Trinity*, completed in 410.

The 175th. to Pope Innocent I. is not a particular Letter of St. Augustine's, but a Synodical Epistle of the Council assembled at Carthage in 416. whereby the Bishops of that Council, to the Number of 68. inform the Pope of what they had done in the Council against Pelagius, and Celestius: How Orosius having delivered them the Letters of Heros, and Lazarus, against Pelagius; and Celestius, after they had revised what they had done before at Carthage, five Years since, against Celestius, they had again Anathematized their Errors, to reclaim those that started them, from that Extravagancy; or, at the least, to cure such as were infected already, and to preserve such as might be infected, in process of time, from the Contagion. They make the Pope acquainted with it, that so the Authority of the See of Rome, being joyned with the Judgment of the African Bishops, might secure the Salvation of many, and call back, into the right way, those that had gone astray. They refute afterwards, the Principal Errors of the Pelagians, against Grace, and Original Sin. They add, that though Pelagius had been justly acquitted in the Council of Palestine, yet now the growing Error, that over-spreads the Church, ought to be Anathematized. Lastly, that though both Pelagius, and Celestius, seem to disown their Errors, and have undertaken to deny that they ever owned them, and to affirm that the Writings objected to them, are none of theirs; yet Anathemas ought to be pronounced against any one who dares teach, and averr, That the natural Strength of Man, is sufficient to avoid Sin, and to accomplish God's Commandments. And that dares affirm, That Children need not be delivered from Perdition, by the Baptism of Jesus Christ; or, that they can have a share, in eternal Life, without that Sacrament.

The 176th. is likewise a Synodical Letter of the Council of Milevis, made up of 60 Numidian Bishops, and Assembled at the same time with the foregoing. They exhort Pope Innocent to use his Authority to Condemn that new Heresie which was an Enemy of the Grace of Jesus Christ. They accuse Celestius, and Pelagius, as the Authors of it; yet hoping that they will renounce their Errors.

Besides these two Letters, St. Augustine writ a particular one in the Name of the Bishops, Aurelius, Alypius, Evodius and Possidius, his Colleagues, and familiar Friends: wherein he represents to him, that Pelagius having lived long at Rome, it was a thing of great Consequence there, to condemn plainly the Error which he taught; and that it were convenient to send for Pelagius, to examine him and oblige him to make such a Confession of Faith, as might not be capable of an ill Explication; and to anathematize the Errors that were found in his Books. They refute likewise the Pelagian Doctrine, explaining the Difference betwixt the Law and Grace; and shewing the necessity of the latter to fulfil the Commandments.

St. Augustine wrote again upon the same Subject, and about the same time, the 178th. Letter to St. Hilary, supposed to be Bishop of Narbon; and the 179th. to John of Jerusalem, to whom he sendeth his Book of *Nature and Grace*, with that of Pelagius, desiring in exchange, The Ecclesiastical Acts; whereby it appeareth, That Pelagius had been Justified; he means, the Acts of the Council of Diospolis. All these Letters are written in 416. Orosius being come back again, who brought from Palestine into Africa, Heros's, and Lazarus's Letters against Pelagius.

The 180th. to Oceanus a Gentleman of Rome, is also of the same time. This Man had also embraced St. Jerome's Opinion about the Origination of Souls, and concerning an officious Lye. St. Augustine shews him in few Words, the Difficulty, that attended St. Jerome's Opinion, about the Origination of Souls, with the difference betwixt Tropes, or Metaphors, and Lying; he observes, That St. Jerome, with whom he had had a Dispute about that Subject, had altered his Mind in his Dialogue against Pelagius. He desireth Oceanus to send him a Treatise of that Father, whereof Orosius had spoken to him, and wherein he treated of the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The 181st. 182d. 183d. 184th. Letters, are Pope Innocent's Answers to those of the African Bishops; whereby he approves and confirms all that was done in Africa, against Pelagius and Celestius; they are of the Year 417.

The 185th. Letter, is amongst those Discourses that St. Augustine mentions in his *Retractions*, where he calls it the Book of the *Correction of the Donatists*, against those who found fault, that the Imperial Laws were put in Execution to make them return into the Church. He directs it to Bonifacius a Tribune, and afterwards Count in Africa. Having shewed there the difference betwixt the Arian Heresie, and the Donatists Schism, he proves that keeping

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within the Rules of Christian Moderation, the terror of the Laws may be used to reduce Hereticks to the Church. He speaketh at large of the cruelties which the *Donatists*, and particularly the *Circumcellians* exercised against the *Catholicks*. He refutes all the Reasons then alledged at large; which Reasons were now made use of to persuade Men, that Hereticks are not to be reclaimed from their Errors, by Force, or Punishments. He says some Things concerning Penance, and Remission of Sins: That Baptism blots out all Sins; and that, by Penance they may be also remitted; and, 'that if The Church hath ordained, that none of those, ' who have been under Penance, shall be admitted into the ' Clergy, or kept in it, this is only for the upholding of ' Discipline, lest some should do Penance out of Pride, ' with a Design to obtain Ecclesiastical Dignities; not that ' she would cast Criminals into Despair, how Guilty so- ' ever they be, - - - - but that this Method is altered upon ' those Occasions, where the business is not only to secure ' the Salvation of some particular Men, but to deliver ' whole Nations from Death. In which Circumstances, the ' Church hath remitted much of the Severity of her Dis- ' cipline, to find a Remedy for greater Evils, and for this ' very Reason, she declareth thus with the *Donatists*: That ' she is satisfied if they expiate their Sin of Separation by as ' bitter grief as was that of St. Peter; and she preserveth ' their Rank and Dignity among the Clergy.' That the Church practised this, when whole Nations were to be re- claimed from Error, or Heresie: That *Lucifer Calaritanus* was looked upon as a *Schismatick*, for being of another Opini- on: That the Sin of the Holy Ghost is not Error, or Blas- phemy, since it would thence follow, that no Heretick ought to be admitted to Penance, or obtain Remission of his Sin; and that, by this, no other thing can be understood but final Impenitency. St. Augustine observes, in his *Retractions*, that he wrote this Letter at the same time that he composed the Book of the *Acts* of Pelagius, in 417.

The 186th. Letter of St. Augustine, is written to *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola*; not to *Boniface*, as it is intitled in some Manuscripts; since it is quoted as directed to *Paulinus*, in the Book of the Gift of Perseverance, Ch. 21. and by St. Prosper, Ch. 43. against *Cassianus* his Conferences. And indeed St. Augustine quotes a Passage out of a Letter, from the Persons to whom he wrote, which is found in the 5th. Letter from St. Paulinus to *Sulpitius Severus*. This where- of we now speak, is written in the Name of St. Augustine, and *Alypius*, who was an intimate Friend of St. Paulinus, against *Pelagius*, whom this Saint had in great Esteem. In this Letter St. Augustine layeth open all his Principles, con- cerning Grace, and Predestination, and refuteth *Pelagius* his Notions. He begins with the Relation of what had been done against him in *Africa*, and sends Copies of it to St. Paulinus. Then he layeth down these Positions, that the Grace of Jesus Christ, that is necessary to enable us to do Good, is altogether of Free Gift; That God sheweth Mer- cy to whom he pleaseth; That he takes whom he thinks fit, out of the Mass of Corruption, into which Mankind is fallen, through *Adam's* Sin. He insisteth, particularly, upon the Example of Infants, whereof some are saved thro' God's Mercy, and others damned, because of Original Sin. He refutes *Pelagius's* Opinion, touching the State of Infants who he supposes to be in a middle State between Heaven, and Hell, which he calleth *Eternal Life*. He proves, That Free-Will does not consist in an indifference, to Good or Evil; for it is inclined to Evil, and cannot do Good, with- out the assistance of the Grace of God. He tells St. Paulinus, that *Pelagius* maintained the contrary in his former Books, that afterwards he seems to have retracted his Errors in the Council of *Diospolis*, whereof he had received the *Acts*; and then he dissembled again sometimes, confessing the necessity of Grace, and often affirming, that the Will had power of it self to abstain from Sin: So that God's Assistance in his Opinion was afforded us over and above, to enable us to do that which is Good with the greater ease. These are the Opinions refuted by St. Augustine in this Letter, where he urges a passage from a Letter, written by St. Paulinus, to convince him that he ought to reject them, and condemn *Pelagius*.

The next Letter to *Dardanus*, is a Didactical Treatise, mentioned by St. Augustine in his *Retractions*. There he shews how God is said to be Omnipresent, upon occasion of two Questions, which *Dardanus* had proposed to him: The one upon these Words of Jesus Christ to the good Thief, *This Day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*; and the other, *Whether Children have any Notion of God in the Womb*. The former Difficulty is grounded upon this, that the hu- mane Nature of Christ, was not in Paradise immediately after his Death, because his Soul descended into Hell, and his Body was laid in the Grave. St. Augustine saith, That the Soul of Jesus Christ, may be said to have been in the same Place where the Souls of the Righteous were, which may be called Paradise. But he thinks it more probable, That this is meant of Christ's Divinity, which never ceased to be in Paradise. This puts St. Augustine upon treating of God's Immensity, whereof he speaketh after a very high manner; shewing, that we ought not to conceive of it as of

a Corporeal Extension. He discourseth, likewise of the Par- ticular Manner how God dwelleth in the Saints, and in Bap- tized Infants that do not yet know him. And this leads him to the second Question, about the Knowledge of Children that are yet in their Mother's Womb. He affirms, That they have no knowledge, no, not after their Birth, and that the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them, and they know it not; whereupon he enlargeth upon Justification that is wrought by Regeneration, and speaketh of Birth in Sin, the Necessi- ty of Baptismal Grace, and of Faith in Jesus Christ. It is evident by St. Augustine's *Retractions*, That this Let- ter was written in the Year 417. It is directed to the Praefect of *Gaul*, to whom St. Jerome wrote also a Letter.

The 188th. Letter to *Juliana*, the Mother of *Demetrius*, is a Warning given to that Holy Widow by St. Augustine and *Alypius*, not to suffer herself to be surprized by the hid- den Poison in the Letter to *Demetrius*, whereof they did not yet know *Pelagius* to be the Author. He shews her, that this Letter ascribeth all to Free-Will; whereas the Prin- ciple of Christian Piety is to attribute all to God.

In the 189th. St. Augustine lays down several very use- ful and edifying Rules to *Boniface*, to live Christianly in the Profession of Arms; recommending to him above all things, Charity towards God, and towards his Neighbour; as the Foundation of all Vertues. He shews, that to be a Soldier is no unlawful Profession, and that a Soldier may be a good Christian, if he be desirous of Peace, and goes to War with no other design but that of procuring it. And that Necessity alone ought to put him upon taking away his Enemy's Life, and that his own Will ought not to have any Hand in it. That he ought to do no Injustice nor Vio- lence, nor get Wealth by Wicked Means. At last, he ad- vises him to remember, that every good thing cometh from God: It is not Certainly known in what Year this Letter was written.

The 190th. to *Optatus* contains St. Augustine's Opinions touching the Original of the Soul. First of all he supposes Original Sin as an indubitable thing; Then he saith, that whereas he had written; that we may without danger be ignorant of the Soul's Extraction, it is with this Proviso, that we certainly hold, 1. That this is not of God's Substance, but a Creature. 2. That it is a Spirit and not a Body. 3. That it is not placed in the Body for a Punishment of Sins committed in another Life. He saith afterward, That no Man can be justified but by Faith in Jesus Christ, and that it was that Faith which justified the Patriarchs. He enlargeth also upon the free Predestination of God's Elect, which is the Choice that God made of them to take them by his Grace out of the Mass of Perdition, and upon the eternal Death of Children dying before Baptism. Lastly, he endeavours to prove, that if we reject *Tertullian's* gross Opinion, who supposed the Soul to be Corporeal, the Notion of the Propagation of Souls agreeth best with Original Sin, tho' it hath some Difficulties. He observes, that it was the most general Opinion in the West, and he believes it more probable than that of constant Creation; yet he dares not decide any thing upon this matter, neither will he con- demn the *Pelagians* for holding the latter Opinion; But be- cause they draw from it a Consequence against Original Sin, he speaks of the Condemnation of *Pelagius's* Doct- rine by the Popes, *Innocent*, and *Zosimus*, and quotes a Let- ter of the latter which is not extant: St. Augustine writ this Letter at *Casarea*, where he dwelt some time after the Council of *Carthage*, in the Year 418. There are thesetwo curious Sentences: The first, *We make our selves unworthy of Knowledge, if we desire that others should believe that we know them, when we are ignorant of them*. The second, *It is rashness to decide by Conjecture what Reason doth not disco- ver, and what the Holy Scripture doth not clearly teach*.

In the 191st. Letter, St. Augustine congratulates *Six- tus* the Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Rome*, who was sus- pected to have been a Favourer of the *Pelagians*, because he declared himself for Grace. He desireth him to be- ware of those who not daring to set forth their Doctrine openly, did notwithstanding sow it secretly; praying him to reclaim those with Meekness, whom Fear kept in deep Silence but preserved still the same Venom in their Hearts.

In the 192d. he entertaineth *Caelestinus* the Deacon, after- wards Bishop of *Rome*, with the Duties of Christian Cha- rity. He saith, that this Vertue is not of the Nature of those Things which cease to be after performance; for the more a Man performs Actions of Charity, the more Charitable he is. That no Man ought to want this Duty towards his Friends, since all Men are obliged to exercise it towards their Enemies: That Charity towards Enemies, is the way to make them Friends: For it makes us desire that they should become Vertuous, which they cannot be, unless they be in Charity with those that wish them so much Good, even the same Charity that others have for them. That it is not with Charity as it is with Money: For the less we think to be re-imburfed, the more we love those that we give Money to, whereas the more desirous we are, that those should prove Charitable towards us, to whom we shew Charity, the more we love them. One may plainly see that this Letter is a Christian Compliment wittily Written. It was

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St. Augustine. Tome II. was sent at the same time with the two next to *Albinus*, after *St. Augustine's* Return to *Hippo*, whither he did not come till the 20th. of September of the Year 418. for it appeareth by the Acts of the Conference which he had with *Emeritus*, that he was then in *Mauritania*.

The 193d. Letter lately published out of a Manuscript is directed to *Mercator*, who is thought to be the same that writ against *Pelagius*, and the *Nestorians*. *St. Augustine* having excused himself, that he had not given him an Answer sooner, by reason of his Journey into *Mauritania*, shews him that since the *Pelagians* own that their Children in Baptism believe through other Mens Faith, they may own likewise, that Original Sin is remitted to them by reason of others believing. He addeth some Proofs, of their being born in Sin; and that they cannot enjoy Eternal Life without being Baptized. He holds Death to be a Punishment for Sin, and answereth the Objection of some *Pelagians*; who, to prove the contrary, alledged the Examples of *Enoch* and *Eliar*, who died not. *St. Augustine* answereth, that it is probable that they should die sometime or other; but if they die not, it is by the special Grace of God, who is able to remit the Punishment of Sin no less than Sin it self. This Objection raises another that is better grounded: How can the Penalty of Sin remain after the Sin is remitted? *St. Augustine* doth not resolve it here, but refers us to his Book of *Infant-Baptism*. What followeth concerning the Resurrection, is taken out of *St. Augustine's* Answers to *Dulcius* his Objections.

The next which is the second Letter to *Sixtus* Presbyter of *Rome*, was written some time after the former; He relates there the *Pelagian* Errors, which he refutes by confirming the contrary Doctrine. These Errors are, 1. That Free-Will can do no Good without God's help. 2. That God were unjust, if he shewed Mercy to some and not to others. 3. That God doth indeed afford help, but that is only to Merit. 4. That Faith, which is in the beginning of Justification, depends upon Mens Free-Will. *St. Augustine* opposes to these Opinions *St. Paul's* Doctrine in the Epistle to the *Romans*; from which he concludes, that all Men are in the State of Perdition, and that God gives his Grace, and sheweth Mercy to whom he pleaseth; he oweth it to none, and they that receive it cannot accuse him of Injustice, since they are condemned either for Original Sin, or for those which they have added besides; That he grants not this Grace to Merit, since there are no Merits previous to Grace; that he hardneth the Heart, not by inspiring Malice, but by withdrawing his Grace. These are the Maxims laid down by *St. Augustine* in this Letter, and which he confirms by the Example of Children dying either before or after Baptism, as it pleaseth God; and by what *St. Paul* saith in the Epistle to the *Romans*, of *Jacob's* Predestination, and *Esa's* Reprobation.

The 195th. is a Note of *St. Jerome's* to *St. Augustine* wherein he calls him Happy, because he was hated by Hereticks for refuting them; and had in Veneration by Catholics, for defending the Doctrine of the Church.

In the 196th. to *Afellicus*, *St. Augustine* having proved, that it is not lawful for Christians to observe the Jewish Laws and Ceremonies, treats of the Usefulness and Effects of the Laws, and of the Necessity of Grace against the *Pelagians*. *Donatus* was Primate of *Numidia* when this Letter was written; he was in that Station in the Council of *Carthage* in 418, and the *Pelagians* were Condemned already.

The 197th. Letter is directed to *Hesychius* Bishop of *Salona*. *St. Augustine* endeavoureth to undeceive that Bishop who fancied that the End of the World was at hand, showing, that that time is unknown to Men. He doth not believe it to be very near, because the Gospel had not yet been Preached throughout the whole Earth. Towards the latter end, he disapproves the fanciful Opinion of a certain Man, whom *St. Jerome* in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*, had accused of rashness, for affirming, that *Daniel's* Weeks related to the last, and not to the first coming of Jesus Christ.

Hesychius returns this Answer to *St. Augustine* in the 198th. Letter, that though none knoweth either the Day or the Hour of the last Judgment, yet we may know whether it be far off, by the Signs, which Jesus Christ told us should precede his appearing; but however, it is an act of Piety to look for it, as near at hand. He answereth what *St. Augustine* had said, that the Gospel not having been Preached all the Earth over, it was not likely that the Day of Judgment should happen so soon. He answers it, I say, by shewing that the Apostle *St. Paul* had look'd upon that Prophecy as already fulfilled; and at last approveth of their Opinion, who believed that the Weeks spoken of by *Daniel*, were not yet fulfilled. One of the Reasons this Bishop grounded his Opinion upon, is that Jesus Christ foretelleth the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the End of the World at once: and he assures him, that the Son of Man will be at hand, when *Jerusalem* is destroy'd.

St. Augustine having received this Letter, writes back to *Hesychius* the 199th. Letter; wherein, after a long Discourse upon this Principle of Morality, that without enquiring when Christ shall come, we ought rather be ready to receive him when he cometh: He saith, that no place of

Scripture doth mark the time of the Last Judgment, nor teaches whether it be near or far off. He refutes the Inferences which *Hesychius* had drawn from some Passages of Scripture; and shews, that *Daniel's* Weeks cannot be understood of Christ's last coming. And at last he distinguisheth in the Prophecies in the 24th. Ch. of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, and in the 13th. Ch. of *St. Mark*, what concerns the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, from that which relates to the End of the World; and clears the Circumstances of those Predictions. Finally, he concludes, that we should have a care not to be mistaken upon that Question. That none is mistaken, but when he thinks he knows, and affirms what he knows not. He represents the Disposition of three sorts of Persons who wait for the Appearance of Jesus Christ; one believeth, that he will shortly come; the other thinks, that it will be a great while first; and the third confesses, that he doth not know whether he will come sooner or later. He saith thereupon, that the Notion of his coming quickly, is more according to our Wishes; but it is most dangerous if we should be deceived. He on the contrary, who believes, that Jesus Christ will not come so soon, but yet believeth, hopeth, and desireth his coming, cannot be deceived, but his Error will turn to his Comfort: As for the third, who owneth that he knows nothing of it, but wishes for what the first promiseth, and is ready to bear patiently what the other puts him in fear of, and asserts nothing, is out of danger of being deceived. Experience hath taught us, that the Condition of the last is best, and to be embraced of all Men, until the Day of Judgment comes. These three Letters in all probability belong to the Year 418. or 419.

St. Augustine wrote the 200th. Letter to Count *Valerius*, about his Books of *Concupiscence* and *Matrimony*, which he sent unto him after he had finished them in 418.

The 201st. is an Order from the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, directed to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, whereby they enjoin him, to let all the Bishops know, that they must subscribe the Condemnation of *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*, whom they had expelled out of *Rome*; and that as many as through impious obstinacy should refuse to do it, should be Deprived of their Dignities, Banished for ever out of their Cities, and Excluded from the Communion of the Church. This Letter is dated the 8th. of June 419. At the latter end it is observed, that another like this was directed to *St. Augustine*, which shews, that the respect which the Emperors paid to the Dignity of the Church of *Carthage*, they paid likewise to the Merit and high Reputation of *St. Augustine*.

The 202d. is a Letter of *St. Jerome's* to *Alypius* and *St. Augustine*, expressing his joy for their Victory over *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*; and excusing himself for not having yet refuted the Books of one *Anianus*, a *Pelagian*. It is the same *Anianus* who translated some of *St. Chrysostome's* Homilies, and dedicated them to *Orontius*, a *Pelagian* Bishop, condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*. *Bede* mentions a Letter of this Author directed to *Evangelus*, where he gives to those of *St. Augustine's* Party the name of *Traducians*.

By the 203d. Letter, *St. Augustine* exhorteth *Largus* to despise the Goods of this Life, whereof he knew the Vanity by his own Experience, and to profit by the Mischiefs that happened to him. This *Largus* was yet Proconsul in *Africa* in 419. This Letter seems to have been written in 420. after his being recalled.

In the 204th. to *Dulcius*, *St. Augustine* shews, that he had already fully answered the *Donatists*, and laments the Fury of those Wretches that murdered themselves, when they could do the Catholics no further harm. Upon this occasion he treateth of Murther, and shows, that it is not lawful for a Man to kill himself, nor any other that was desirous of Death; he answers the Case of *Razias* which is well told in the *Maccabees*, and was looked upon as a noble and generous Action, but not approved by him as Wise and Vertuous. This Letter was written in *Gaudens's* time, and composed in 420.

The 205th. Letter to *Consentius*, contains the Explication of some Difficulties about the Nature of glorified Bodies. *Consentius* had asked *St. Augustine*, whether our Saviour's Body, hath now Flesh and Bones, with the same parts and features which he had upon Earth. *St. Augustine* resolveth this question, saying, that Christ's Body is altogether such in Heaven as it was upon Earth, when he left it to ascend into Heaven, and that it appeareth by the Gospel, that he had Hands and Feet, Flesh and Bones, as well after as before the Resurrection: That no mention is made of his Blood, and it is not convenient to engage too far in those Matters, for fear of entring upon other very hard Questions, such as these; If there is Blood, is not there also Phlegm, Choler, or Melancholy, since the mixture of these four Humours make up the Temper of Humane Bodies: Yet *St. Augustine* denieth not but that these Humours may be in glorified Bodies; but that we ought to have a care of believing them alterable and corruptible; whereupon he undertakes to show by the Testimony of *St. Paul*, that glorified Bodies shall be incorruptible and freed from all corporeal and earthly qualities. *Consentius* had asked

likewise, whether those that had been baptized and died without Penance for Sins committed after Baptism, should obtain Remission of them in a certain time. St. Augustine remits him to his Treatise of *Faith and Good Works*, where he had handled that Question. Lastly, *Consentius* desired to know, Whether God's breathing upon *Adam* was his Soul. St. Augustine answers, that it was either his Soul, or that which produced it; but we must be sure not to believe that the Soul is any part of God. *Consentius* to whom this Letter is written, is the same to whom St. Augustine dedicated his Treatise of *Lying*, composed in 420. It is probable, that, if this Letter be of the same time, it was written after his Book of *Faith and Good Works*, which was made in 413.

The 206th. is a Letter of Recommendation to Count *Valerius* in the behalf of Bishop *Felix*.

The next, is that which St. Augustine writ to Bishop *Claudius*, when he sent him his Books against *Julianus*, published after St. *Jerome's* Death in 421.

In the 208th. St. Augustine exhorts the Virgin *Felicia*, newly returned to the Church from the *Donatists* Party, and scandalized by some Bishops Disorders; to continue always in the bosom of the Catholick Church, notwithstanding all those Scandals whereat she was afflicted. And this gave occasion to his Discourse of *Good and Evil Pastors*. It is thought, that the occasion of this Letter, was the Scandal given by *Antonius* Bishop of *Fussala*, mentioned in the following Letter, supposed to have been written in the end of the Year 422. but that is uncertain.

It is equally uncertain that the next Letter to Pope *Caelestinus* is written by St. Augustine; some Criticks doubt it. (1.) Because the Style of this Letter is not, as they pretend, perfectly like that of the other Letters of St. Augustine. (2.) Because it is found but in one only Manuscript of the *Vatican Library*, which is not above 200 Years old. (3.) Because St. Augustine seems to speak after a low Manner, and unworthy of his wonted Courage. (4.) Because it seemeth not to agree with the Opinions of St. Augustine nor of the other *Africans*, about Appeals. (5.) Because *Caelestinus* could not threaten then to send Clerks into *Africa*, to see his Judgments executed, as he doth in this Letter; because Affairs in *Africa* were then in great Disorder, and the Emperors had not much Authority in those Provinces that were Usurp'd by a Tyrant. Yet it must be confessed, that this Letter agrees exceeding well to the Customs and Manners of the *African Church* in St. Augustine's time, and has a Character of Sincerity. However, If this Letter be truly St. Augustine's, he writ it in the beginning of *Caelestinus's* Pontificate, since he begins it with congratulating his Promotion, which was compassed without Intrigues or Division. He speaks afterwards of *Antonius* his Business, whom he had ordained Bishop of *Fussala*, a Town in the Diocese of *Hippo*, where no Bishop had been before. This Man was brought up in St. Augustine's Monastery, and looked upon by him as a Man of Great Probity: but seeing himself exalted to such a Dignity, he gave way to his Passions, lived disorderly, and greatly vexed the People that were under his Jurisdiction: being accused before the Provincial Council, he could not be convicted of the Sin of Uncleanness that was laid to his Charge; but it appeared that he had oppressed and tyrannized over the People intolerably: Thus the Judges finding not sufficient Cause utterly to deprive him, and being withal unwilling his Fault should pass without Punishment, left him the quality of Bishop, upon condition that he should not perform the Functions thereof, nor have any Authority over a People whom he had used so unjustly.

To hinder the Execution of this Judgment, *Antonius* appealed to the Pope, who pretended a Right to receive Appeals from the Judgments of the *African Bishops*, though these contested his Right. This happened at a time, when they had bound themselves to see the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* which the Pope had alledged, as the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, executed with this Proviso, till they were assured that they were actually made by the Council of *Nice*. *Antonius* therefore obtained of *Boniface* a Letter, enjoying that he should be restored, if he had truly stated his Case. He returned triumphing with that Letter. But the *African Bishops* regarded it not: And being threatened, that the Civil Authority should be made use of to make them observe the Pope's Orders, St. Augustine took upon himself to write this Letter to *Caelestinus*, wherein he intreateth him by the Blood of Jesus Christ, and by St. *Peter's* Memory, who forbade the Pastors of the Church to exercise Dominion; not to suffer things to go to that extremity: telling him, that his Heart was so set upon that Business, that he would renounce his Bishoprick, if *Antonius* was restored at *Fussala*. He was not restored; and we learn by the 224th Letter, that his Diocese was immediately dependant upon St. Augustine, though afterwards we meet with a Bishop of that place.

Antonius flattered himself with these hopes, either that they would have degraded him from the Episcopal Dignity, or have left him in the Bishoprick. St. Augustine affirms on the contrary, that there are Examples of Judgments given, or approved by the Holy Apostolick See, whereby Bishops were Punished, without being absolutely

degraded: He citeth three of the latest; that of *Priscus* Bishop of the Province of *Mauritania Caesariensis*, who was suffered to continue in his Bishoprick, being only barr'd from the Metropolitan Dignity, to which his Seniority might have promoted him in his Turn; that of *Victor*, Bishop of the same Province, who was likewise excluded the Right of Primacy, and with whom no other Bishop did communicate in his Diocese; and that of Bishop *Laurentius*, with whom they proceeded as they had done with *Antonius* of *Fussala*. St. Augustine might have alledged besides, those Canons which allow to Bishops the Rank and Honour of their Dignity, and yet deprive them both of the Function and Jurisdiction.

In the 210th. Letter St. Augustine instructeth *Felicitas* and *Rusticus* how the Evils of this Life are to be endured, and gives them Rules for brotherly Correction. It is probable, that the occasion of Writing upon this Subject, was the Dissention which happened among the Virgins consecrated to God, spoken of in the following Letter, about their Superior, whom the Nuns designed to change. St. Augustine having reprov'd them for it, and exhorted them to Peace and Obedience, prescribeth them a most wise and prudent Rule of Life. This Letter was written after the Death of St. Augustine's Sister, who governed that Monastery at the time when most of the *Donatists* were re-united, in 424.

The 212th. is a Letter of Recommendation to *Quintianus*, in the behalf of an holy Widow named *Galla*, and of her Daughter *Simpliciola*, who carried about with them the Relicks of the Martyr St. *Stephen*.

After this Letter, comes the Act made at *Hippo*, upon the 14th. of September, 426. in the Church of Peace: whereby St. Augustine chuseth *Heraclius* the Priest to be his Successor and Coadjutor, yet without admitting him into Bishop's Orders; and the People approve his Choice with their Acclamations.

The Occasion of the 214th. Letter is this: St. Augustine having been informed by two Brethren of the Monastery at *Adrumetum*, that there had been some Disputes among the Monks of that Convent, about Grace and Free-Will; because, some willing to establish the Doctrine of Grace, went so far as to deny Free-Will: whereas the others acknowledging Free-Will, did confess notwithstanding, that it was assisted by the help of the Grace of Jesus Christ; approves of the latter Opinion; affirming, that he taught no other Doctrine, in his Letter to Saint *Sixtus*.

He again handleth the same Matter in the next Letter, directed to *Valentinus*, Abbot of the Monastery at *Adrumetum*, and to the Brethren of the same Monastery. He joined to this Letter his Book of *Grace and Free-Will*, which he sent at the same time to instruct them.

Valentinus answered St. Augustine in the 216th. Letter: wherein, after he had thank'd him for his Letters, he gives him an Account how that Disturbance happened in his Monastery, by the Imprudence of five or six that were offended at those Discourses of St. Augustine, which *Florus* had brought from *Uzala* to their Convent. That *Evodius*, Bishop of *Uzala*, not being able to satisfy them, they came to him: that this Visit had produced a good Effect, seeing it brought to their Monastery such holy Instructions as his were, and had confirmed them in their Belief touching *Grace and Free-Will*. These Letters are of the Year 426.

The 217th. Letter of St. Augustine is written to *Vitalis*, to undeceive him of those Notions which he had then taken up; namely, that the Beginning of Faith was not a Gift of God, but the mere Product of Man's Will. St. Augustine refutes this Opinion, by the Prayers of the Church; by St. *Cyprian's* Testimony, in his Book of *The Lord's Prayer*; and by several other Passages of Scripture. Afterwards he explains the difference betwixt the *Law* and *Grace*; proving, that the true Grace of Jesus Christ, doth not consist in Natural Helps, or in External Graces. At last he proposes twelve Articles; wherein he comprehends whatsoever he thinks necessary to be believed concerning Grace. The twelve Articles are these:

' I. We know, That before Men were born into this World, they had no other State wherein they did either Good or Evil... But descending from *Adam* according to the Flesh, they partake, by their Birth, of the Poyson of that ancient Death which he became subject to by his Sin; and that they are not delivered from Eternal Death, except they are regenerated in Jesus Christ through his Grace.

' II. We know, That the Grace of God is not given upon the account of any Merit, either to Infants, or to Men that are come to the Age of Reason.

' III. We know, That Grace is an Assistance afforded for every Action, to those that have attained to the Age of Reason.

' IV. We know, That it is not given to all Men; and that those to whom it is given, receive it, without having deserved it by their Works, or by their Will; which appears particularly in Infants.

' V. We know, That it is out of God's mere Mercy, that it is given to those to whom it is given.

' VI. We know, That it is by a just Judgment of God, that it is not given to those to whom it is not given.

' VII. We

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- VII. We know, That we shall all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Jesus Christ, that every one may receive either Reward or Punishment according to what he shall have done in the Body, and not according to what he should have done had he lived longer.
- VIII. We know, That Infants shall not receive Remission or Punishment, but according to what they shall have done in the Body; that is, whilst they were in the Body; that is, according as some have been regenerate, and others not.
- IX. We know, That Eternal Happiness is ensured to all those that die in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is imputed to them of what they might have done, had they been alive.
- X. We know, That as many as Believe in God, Believe willingly, and by an Action of their Free-Will.
- XI. We know, That we ought to pray unto God for those that Believe not, that they would Believe.
- XII. We know, That whensoever any of these embraces the Faith, we are to give God Thanks sincerely, and from the bottom of our Hearts, as being an Effect of his Mercy, and that when we do it as we are wont to do, we perform a Duty incumbent upon us.

These are the twelve fundamental Points of St. Augustine's Doctrine of Grace; to the which he restrains the Faith of the Catholick Church about that Matter. He applieth them likewise to his particular Dispute with *Vitalis*, to know whether Grace goes before, or only followeth the Will; that is, Whether Grace be given us, because we will have it? as *Vitalis* affirms: Or Whether the Will it self is not a thing which God worketh in us by his Grace? as St. Augustine pretends that it followeth upon the Twelve Principles which he lays down. To shew this, the rest of this Letter is taken up; wherein he concludes, that the Beginning of Faith, Conversion, and a good Mind, comes from God, and not from Free-Will. This Letter, in all probability, is one of the last of St. Augustine's Works concerning Grace.

In the 218th. Letter St. Augustine exhorts one *Palatinus* to persevere and to proceed in Piety, and not to trust to his own Strength. This likewise is one of the last of St. Augustine's Letters.

The 219th. is a Letter written in the Names of *Aurelius*, St. Augustine and *Florentius*, Bishops in Africa, to *Proculus* and *Cilinnius*, Bishops in Gaul, concerning *Leporius* the Monk; who having been expelled out of the Diocese of *Marseilles*, because of his Errors about the Incarnation, made a Retraction of them in Africa; which was drawn up by St. Augustine, and sent to the Gallican Bishops with this Letter; whereby they intreat the Bishops to whom they write, to receive him, seeing he had condemned those Errors for which they had expelled him. This Letter was written after the Books of *Correction* and *Grace*.

The 220th. is directed to Count *Boniface*; who being married again after the Death of his former Wife, was engaged in worldly Business, and had committed very considerable Faults. St. Augustine adviseth him by this Letter, to Contain, if he could persuade his Wife to consent to it; and to make use of his Authority, only to do Good. This Letter is full of excellent Instructions for Men of the World.

Quodvultdeus, a Deacon of Carthage, desireth St. Augustine, by the 221st. Letter, to draw up a Catalogue of Heresies. St. Augustine excuses himself from doing it, in the 222d. The Deacon having again urged it by the 223d. he promises him in the 224th. to do it when he is at leisure. These Letters were written after his Book of *Retractions*, in 428.

The 225th. Letter is St. Prosper's; whereby he gives St. Augustine notice, that several Christians of *Marseilles* having seen his Works against the *Pelagians*, had believed, that what he taught concerning the Vocation of the Elect, was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers; and that they were more averse to his Notions, when they had read his Book of *Correction* and *Grace*. Then he relateth their Opinions, and saith, (1.) 'That they indeed acknowledge that all Men have sinned in Adam; and that our Salvation is not the Product of our Works, but of Grace, that works the same by the means of Regeneration: But they hold, That the Propitiation made by the Blood of Jesus Christ, is offered to all Men without Exception; so that as many as will embrace the Faith, and be Baptized, may obtain Salvation. (2.) That before the Creation, God, by his Fore-knowledge, did know those that should Believe, and who with the succour of that Grace enabling them to preserve that Faith which they had once embraced, should maintain the same unto the end; and that he had predestinated them to his Eternal Kingdom, foreseeing that after he had freely called them, they would make themselves worthy of his Election, and end their Life holily. (3.) That God calls all Men to the Faith, and to good Works, by his Instructions; and that Salvation is the Reward of those that are willing to do Good. (4.) That whatsoever is said of the Decree of God's Will, touching the Call of Men, whereby it is said, that the Elect have been sepa-

rated from the Reprobate, is fit for nothing but to inspire Men with Despondency, Idleness, Negligence and Lukewarmness; because it seems to no purpose to work, if the Reprobate cannot be saved, nor the Elect be damned. (5.) That thereby all Vertues are destroyed. (6.) That this Doctrine doth establish, under the Name of *Predestination*, a fatal and unavoidable Necessity, or forceth Men to say that Mankind were created of different Natures. (7.) That what is alledged out of the Epistle to the *Romans*, to prove, that Grace doth prevent the Merits of the Elect, was never understood in this Sense by any Ecclesiastical Author. (8.) That some reduce that Grace which prevents our Merits, to the natural Faculties of Free-Will, and of Reason; by the good Use whereof we arrive to that Grace which makes us to be regenerated in Jesus Christ. (9.) That God hath indeed resolved to communicate his Grace only to those that are Regenerate; but that all are called to partake of that saving Gift, whether it be by the Natural Law, or by the Preaching of the Gospel. (10.) That Men are as much disposed to Good as Evil: That the Spirit and the Will may equally turn to Evil; and, that Obedience or Disobedience to God's Command, wholly depends upon our Liberty. (11.) That Infants dying before the Use of Reason, are either saved or damned, according to what God foresees that they would have been, had they come to the Age of Acting and Deserving. (12.) That the same is to be said of the Nations which God hath not enlightened with the Light that is necessary to Salvation'. These are most of the Points of the *Semipelagians* Doctrine, and of the Objections which they made against that of St. Augustine. St. Prosper intreateth him by this Letter to refute these Persons Opinions, and to clear the Difficulties proposed by them, telling him, that *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, a considerable Man, and much addicted to the Study of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Matters; and who did much admire and approve St. Augustine's Doctrine in all other things, could not relish his Principles about the Decree of the Vocation of the Elect. This is not that *Hilary*, who had been St. Augustine's Disciple, who writ at the same time with *Prosper* to St. Augustine upon the same Subject.

This Letter is the 226th. therein he gives a more particular Account than St. Prosper had done, of those Points of St. Augustine's Doctrine, that disturbed the Priests of *Marseilles*, of the Objections which they made, and of their Answers to those Passages of Scripture that were quoted by St. Augustine; which may be all reduced to these four Propositions. 1. That Man may believe, and desire to be healed, by the strength of his own Free-Will. 2. That when he is gone so far, God never denieth him his Grace. 3. That Election and Reprobation are Consequences of God's Prescience, whereby he sees the Good or the Evil which Men shall do, or should have done if they had lived. 4. That Grace is not effectual of it self, and what help soever God affords to those that are Predestinated; it is still in their own Power either to make use of, or to reject it. Both these Letters were written in 429. after *Hilary's* Promotion to the Bishoprick of *Arles*. St. Augustine answered them by his Books of the *Predestination of the Saints*, and of the *Gift of Perseverance*.

The 227th. to the holy old Man *Alypius*, is written upon the Conversion of two Pagans who had been baptized at *Easter*; the Name of the one, was *Gabinianus*; the other was a Physician called *Dioscorus*, for whom God had wrought several Miracles, related by St. Augustine in this Letter. It is here placed among those that were written in 429. but the Date of it is uncertain.

The Date of the next to *Honoratus* is certain by *Possidius's* Testimony, who quotes it in the Life of St. Augustine; and affirms, that he writ it about the latter end of his Life; when the *Vandals* were almost Masters of Africa. He examines the Question in this Letter, Whether Priests, Clerks, and Bishops, may fly and forsake their Flocks in time of Persecution? St. Augustine affirms, that there are but two Occasions upon which they are permitted so to do. 1. If the Persecutors designed Mischief to some particular Pastors by name, because then it is profitable, even for the Good of the Church, for them to flee, and leave the others quiet. 2. When the Ministers of Jesus Christ meet with none that have need of their Ministry. In all other Cases, Pastors are obliged to watch over the Flock which Christ hath committed to them; neither can they forsake it without a Crime. This St. Augustine excellently proves in this Letter, and in Terms dictated by the Fire of his fervent Charity, and with Reasons supported by a Zeal altogether Divine. He represents the Desolation of a Town which is like to be taken; and the Necessity of the presence of Christ's Ministers. 'In such occasions, saith he, What flocking is there to the Church of Persons of all Ages and Sexes; whereof, some require Baptism, others Reconciliation, others to be put under Penance, and all crave Comfort. If then no Ministers are to be found, what misfortune is that for such as go out of this Life, being Unregenerate, or not loosed? What Grief is it to their Kindred, if they be Faithful, that they cannot hope to see them in everlasting rest? What

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St. Augustine. Tome II. Crys, what Lamentations, nay, what Imprecations from some, to see themselves without Ministers, and without Sacraments? If on the contrary, Ministers have proved Faithful, in not forsaking their People; they are helpful to all the World, according to the Abilities which it hath pleased God to endue them with; Some are baptized, others are reconciled; none is deprived of the Communion of the Lord's-Body. All are comforted, fortified, and exhorted to implore by fervent Prayers, the Assistance of the Mercy of God. This passage is very remarkable, since it shews what was the Church's Opinion at all times concerning the necessity of the Sacraments.

St. Augustine handleth two other Questions upon the same Subject: The first, Whether it be lawful for Pastors to flee in such Calamities, that they may preserve themselves for the Service of the Church in more peaceable times. He saith, That they may do it if there be other Ministers, to supply their places, and who are necessary to the Church. The second, if it happens that the Persecution were only against the Pastors, in this case they may flee; and whether is it better that the Church should want them by their going away, or be deprived of them by their Death? St. Augustine answers, That this supposition is very extraordinary; That it seldom happens, that they aim only at Church-men; that in this case they might hide themselves. It is to be presumed, that as all the Laity shall not perish, so some of the Clergy may escape. That it were to be wished, that on such occasions some should fly, and others remain; then it would be a fine thing, if among Ministers there should be a Dispute, who should stay behind, that the Church might not be forsaken. That to decide this Difference, it should be convenient to cast Lots, that none might go about to free himself from the necessity of staying under pretence of being more necessary for the Church than others.

He concludes with these Words, *We do what Jesus Christ, either Permits or Commands, if we withdraw when*

there are other Ministers to serve the Church. But when by our flight Christ's Sheep are deprived of the Food that is to sustain the Life of their Souls, then we are Hirelings.

The 229th. Letter is directed to Count Darius, who was sent into Africa to treat of Peace. St. Augustine wishes him Joy of that Employ. The Count gives him Thanks by the 230th. Letter, and prayeth him to send him his Book of Confessions. This Saint satisfies him by the 131st. Letter, wherein he treateth occasionally of the love of Praise. He saith thereupon, (1.) That Men ought not to desire Praises for that which is not praise-worthy in them. (2.) That they should not propose to themselves as the end of their good Actions, to get Commendations from Men. (3.) Yet they may desire the Praises of Men, for the sake of those very Men, because the Praises given to them, are profitable for others. (4.) That such as find not in themselves those Vertues for which they are commended, ought to be ashamed that they are not what they are thought to be, and what they should be indeed; and this may make them desire to become such. (5.) That on the contrary, if there be in them something of that which is commended, they are to give God Thanks for it, and be glad to see that others have an esteem for Vertue. Towards the end of the Letter, he speaks of Prosperity and Adversity. *The Caresses, saith he, of this World are more dangerous than its Persecutions, unless we look upon the Rest which we may enjoy here, as a means to make us lead a quiet and a peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty. This the Apostle commands us to ask of God: for if the Heart be not full of Charity and Piety, rest and ease from the troubles of Life is but Perdition: and serves only as an Instrument or Provocation to Lust. If therefore we desire to lead a quiet Life, let it be only upon this account, that we may the better practise both Piety and Charity.* These Letters are supposed to have been written about the latter end of St. Augustine's Life.

The fourth Classe.

The Last Classe of St. Augustine's Epistles, containeth those whose Date is not well known.

The first of these is the 232d. Letter, in Answer to the Inhabitants of *Mandauria*, whereof the greater Part were yet Idolaters. He exhorts them to embrace the Christian Religion; and to induce them to it, he mentions the dreadful-ness of the last Judgment, which he proves shall infallibly come, because the other Prophecies are fulfilled: He also saith something concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, and that of the Incarnation. This Letter was probably written some time after the Edict Published by *Honorius* in the Year 399. against the Temples.

The 233d. Letter, is a Challenge from St. Augustine to a Philosopher, one *Longinianus*, to oblige him to give an account in Writing after what manner he believed that God was to be Worshipped; and what he thought of Jesus Christ.

Longinianus answers St. Augustine in the 234th. Letter; and saith, according to *Plato's* Principles, that the way to come to God, is to live well, and to get the Favour of the inferiour Gods by Propitiatory Sacrifices, that we may come to the Supreme Creator. As for Jesus Christ, he answereth, That he can say nothing of him, because he knew him not.

St. Augustine desireth *Longinianus* to explain himself about what he had said, that the way to come to God was to live well, and to purifie our selves by Expiations and Sacrifices; he asketh him, whether it be the same Thing, or two different Things. This is in the 235th. Letter.

By the 236th. he gives *Denterius* notice, That he had degraded and expelled a Deacon, one *Victorinus*, convicted of being a *Manichee*, though he was but a Hearer among them, and not one of those they call Elect. He speaks of the difference which they make betwixt those two sort of Persons; and he speaks of their principal Errors.

In the 237th Letter, he opposes the Dreams of the *Manichees*, and *Priscillianists*, concerning the Apocryphal Books; and ridicules the phantastical Interpretations which they made of the Canonical Books.

The 238th. is a Relation of a Conference that St. Augustine had about the Mystery of the Trinity, with an *Arian*, called *Pascentius*. The three following Letters directed to this *Arian*, carry on the same Dispute.

The 242d. is also written to *Elpidius*, an *Arian*, to whom he sheweth, that the Son of God is equal to his Father.

In the 243d. St. Augustine exhorts *Latus*, who having quitted the World, was tempted to return to it: He exhorts him, I say, to persevere in his former Resolution; and not to suffer his tenderness for his Relations, to weaken his Courage. He shews, in this Letter, that the renouncing of all things to follow Christ, ought to proceed so far, as to leave Father and Mother, to serve God.

The 244th. is a Letter of Consolation to *Chrysinus*, for a Loss which he had sustained.

In the 245th. to *Possidius*. St. Augustine speaks with great moderation, of Womens Dresses: He thinks, that fine

Cloaths ought not to be forbidden to Married Women, who are obliged to please their Husbands; but he would not have them Paint, or Wash, to make them appear fairer, or fresher, because it is not probable, that their Husbands should desire to be thus deceived; for the true Ornament of Christians of both Sexes, is neither deceitful Painting, nor Gold, nor precious Stuffs, but Purity of Manners. Lastly, he prohibits those Superstitious Dressings, which they used to render a kind of Homage to *Demons*. He tells *Possidius*, that he would not advise him to ordain a Man that had been Baptized among the *Donatists*.

The 246th. Letter to *Lampadius*, is against those who accuse Fate for the Faults which they commit themselves.

By the 247th. Letter, St. Augustine reproves one *Romulus* a Rich Man, that would make his Debtors to pay twice; pretending, that they had pay'd his Receiver in his Wrong.

The 248th. to *Sebastianus*, is concerning that Sorrow which affects the Righteous, because of the Impiety of the Wicked.

In the 249th. St. Augustine Comforteth *Restitutus* the Deacon, who could hardly bear with the Disorders of ill Christians; and instructs him to keep Peace with the Wicked.

The 250th. Letter is very considerable. There St. Augustine resolveth a very nice Question: whether a whole Family, or Community, may be Excommunicated for the Sin of one Member. It is directed to a young Bishop called *Auxilius*, who had Excommunicated one *Classianus*, with his whole Family, because he came to the Church to demand certain Persons who had taken Sanctuary there, after he had by a false Oath, prophaned the Sanctity of the Gospel. He asketh that Bishop what Reason he could have for so doing, and how the Son can be excommunicated for the Father's Sin, the Wife for her Husband's, and the Servant for his Master's, yea the Children that are yet unborn: Excommunication being not a punishment which falls upon the Body, but an effect of the power given to Christ's Ministers, to bind and to loose, which properly concerns the Soul. St. Augustine confesseth, that this Bishop might ground his proceeding upon the Example of some great Bishops, who had Anathematized whole Families, for one particular Person's Sin. But he affirms, that they could hardly justify their Action, and that he never durst do it himself. Yet he addeth, rather in Jest, than in Earnest, that he is ready to hear his Reasons, 'Your Youth (saith he) and the shortness of the Time that you have been a Bishop, will not hinder me from hearing your Reasons. I am ready to learn of you, how young soever you be; though the Gray Hairs that I wear, and all the Experience I may have got by those many Years that I have been a Bishop, give me some small Authority over you.' After that, he Aggravates the Injustice of that Pretence which might prove the loss of a Soul for want of Baptism, through the Impossibility to which the Sentence of Excommunication reduced those that were excommunicated, from having Recourse,

St. Augustine. Tome III. course to the Sacraments. Wherefore he exhorteth *Auxilius* to revoke a Sentence, wherein Anger had a greater share than Justice; and so much the rather, because he, against whom it was pronounced, had no ways deserved it.

In the next Letter, St. Augustine sendeth Word to *Clasficianus*, That he will propose that Question in Council: that he was much concerned at *Auxilius* his Behaviour, especially because it might happen, that some might die without Baptism; that he will also cause to be examined there if need be, this Question; whether those ought not to be Excommunicated who deal unfaithfully with their Securities? and, that if it should be requisite, he would write to the See of *Rome*, about it, that so what was to be done on such Occasions, might be settled with general Consent. But he sticks not to affirm, 'That an unjust Excommunication is of greater Prejudice to him that pronounces it, than to him against whom it is pronounced; forasmuch as the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in the Saints, never puts any to Pain who deserves it not: For if Charity is neither rash, nor hasty, what shall we say of him that diffuseth it into our Hearts?'

The 251st. Letter was written by St. Augustine to *Pancarius*, concerning one *Secundinus* a Priest, that was accused before him. He tells *Pancarius*, that he will receive the Accusations of *Catholics*, but not of *Hereticks*; and prays him not to suffer any Disorder to be committed in that Priest's House.

The four following Letters were written about a Virgin that was an Orphan, who was committed to the Church's Trust. St. Augustine declares, in these Letters, that he takes all the care of her that may be; and that he will not marry her, without her Consent, to a *Catholic*; and that he was looking out for an advantageous Match for her.

The 256th. is an Answer of St. Augustine's to *Christinus*, who desired, that he would write to him, to exhort him to give himself to God.

The 257th. is a Letter of Compliment to *Orontius*.

In the 258th. he congratulates *Martianus* for being a *Catechumen*, exhorting him speedily to receive Baptism.

The 259th. was written to reclaim a very lewd Man, one *Cornelius*, from his evil Way; and adviseth him to imitate his Wife, who lately deceased; upon whom St. Augustine promiseth to write a Panegyrick, if he will follow her Vertue.

By the next, *Audax* desireth St. Augustine to write longer than he used to do, and concludes with four Verses in his Commendation. St. Augustine excuseth himself for his great Business, advising him to read his Works, and to come and see him. That's the Subject of the 261st. Letter.

In the 262^d. St. Augustine reproves one *Ecdicia*, a Lady severely; who (unknown to her Husband, whom she had brought to consent to live in Continenence with her) had distributed his whole Estate to the Poor, and put on a Widow's Habit. He enjoyns her to make her Husband Satisfaction; who out of Anger for his Wife's Behaviour, lived disorderly. This Letter is full of excellent Instructions for married Wives, teaching them not to give their Husbands any occasion of Discontent, by indiscreet Devotion.

The 263^d. is a Letter of Consolation to *Sapida*; who having wrought a Garment for her Brother *Timothy*, and he dying, desired, for her Comfort, that St. Augustine would wear it. St. Augustine thanks her; but wishes her to seek in the Scripture some more solid Consolations.

In the 264th. he comforteth a Lady called *Maxima*, who beheld with Grief, and Disturbance, her Country infected with Errors.

The 265th. to *Seleuciana*, is a Refutation of the Enthusiastical Notions of a certain *Novatian*, concerning Baptism, and St. Peter's Repentance. He affirmeth, in the First Place, That St. Peter was Baptized as well as the other Apostles: That it is an Error to say, that he had not received the Baptism of Water before his Sin, though he had not yet received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost; yea, he thinks it probable, That the Apostles were Baptized by Christ himself. He saith, Secondly, That when it is said, that St. Peter did Penance, we are not to think that he did as they do in the Church, who are properly called Penitents. Thirdly he distinguishes two sorts of Penance, that which goeth before Baptism, and that which cometh after; when after Baptism Men have committed any of those Sins, for which they ought to be excommunicated, and cut off from the Altar, after which they are reconciled if they deserve it: And this sort is the Penance of those to whom is properly given in the Church, the Name of Penitents. Besides these two sorts, they admit also a daily Penance of those very Faithful that live in Piety and Humility; whereby they petition, and obtain the forgiveness of Light, but Customary Sins, which Human Frailty makes us fall into; and

which, saith he, we ought to expiate continually, lest we be over-whelmed with their Number.

In the 266th. Letter, St. Augustine offers to *Florentina*, a Virgin, to explain all the Difficulties which she should desire to have cleared.

The 267th. is a Pious Letter to *Fabiola*; wherein he rejoiceth, because she bore the Exile of this Life with difficulty.

St. Augustine having borrowed a Sum of Money to pay the debt of one *Fascius*, who retired into the Church, being pursued by his Creditors; intreateth his People in the 268th. Letter, to make a Gathering, that might repay that Sum.

By the 269th. St. Augustine intreateth Bishop *Nobilis* to excuse him, because he could not be present at the Consecration of a new Church, to which that Bishop had invited him.

The last, is a Letter directed to St. Augustine, but the Author of it is not known. By it, he that wrote it, complaineth to St. Augustine, that he had not met him with Bishop *Severus* in the City of *Leges*, where he hoped to find him.

To these Letters, we ought to add the Fragment of a Letter of St. Augustine to *Maximus*, which the *Benedictines* have taken out of *Primasius* his Commentary upon the *Revelations*, and placed at the latter end of the second Tome in their Edition. This Fragment contains several Rules concerning the degrees of Christian Perfection.

It is manifest by these Extracts from St. Augustine's Letters, that they are an inexhaustible Spring of Principles, Rules, Precepts and Maxims upon the Articles of our Faith, and the Discipline of the Church upon Christian Morals, and the Government of Life: for which Reason, I insisted the longer upon them, and drew the Extracts at large, there being hardly one that deserves not particular Attention, and where there is not some fine stroke to be taken notice of. I intend to discourse more briefly of the rest of this Father's Works.

The Addition of Spurious Pieces annexed to this Volume, is not very large.

There are at first thirteen Letters or Notes under the Names of St. Augustine, to *Boniface*, and of *Boniface* to St. Augustine; containing several Passages taken out of St. Augustine's Genuine Letters, and several things may be observed, which do not agree with the History of that time: They are composed by one who had a mind to exercise his Pen with that Fiction.

We need not speak here of *Pelagius* his Letter to *Demetrias*, which is after these to *Boniface*.

The two next, whereof the one is intitled, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Letter to St. Augustine concerning the Virtues of St. Jerome*: And the other, *St. Augustine's Answer to St. Cyril about St. Jerome's Miracles*; discover their Imposture by their very Title, as is observed in another place; since *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* died long before *St. Jerome*.

Lastly, *St. Augustine's Dispute with Pascentius*, that was formerly placed among the Letters, Number 178. is very rightly placed by the *Benedictines* among the spurious Books. It is certain by the 238th. Letter, that St. Augustine had a Conference with *Pascentius*; but nothing like that which is mentioned in this Letter. For he observes, 1. That he could not obtain, that what was said on both sides, should be committed to Writing, but every thing is written in this Conference and inserted in the Publick Acts. In the former, no body Presided; in this there is a Judge called *Laurentius*. That whereof St. Augustine speaks, was held at *Carthage*; this is supposed to have been at *Hippo*. Both *Possidius* and St. Augustine mention one Conference with *Pascentius*; but this supposeth that they had had a Dispute before. The Character of both the Persons introduced speaking in this, is nothing like either St. Augustine's or *Pascentius*'s. This is but a cold Dispute, and there is little said to the purpose. The Answers made for St. Augustine are weak, and the Objections attributed to *Pascentius*, have nothing of that Fire and Rage which *Possidius* taxeth him with. The Style of those Answers supposed to be St. Augustine's, comes not near that of this Saint, either in his Letters or in his Conferences. There are Terms, and manners of Expression, which he never used, and which do not belong to that Time. In a word, this Treatise is found in no Manuscripts annexed to St. Augustine's Works or Letters. These Reasons sufficiently prove, that this Work is not a Conference which St. Augustine really had with *Pascentius*, but a Dialogue composed by some other Author. Now we know none to whom it may be more properly ascribed, than to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, who composed several Dialogues of that sort, under the Names of several great Men.

The third TOME.

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THe third Tome of the new Edition of *St. Augustine*, containeth his Treatises upon the Holy Scripture, which in the former Editions were dispersed in other Volumes.

The *Benedictines* have placed the Books of *Christian Doctrine* first, which may serve instead of a Preface to *St. Augustine's* Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture; because they contain such Precepts and Rules as he thought were to be observed, both for the understanding and the explaining of the Scriptures: He began this Work soon after he was Consecrated, about the Year 397. but he stop'd at the 36th. Chapter of the third Book; and afterwards added the rest of this Book with the fourth in 426. as he says himself in his *Retractions*; where he makes two Remarks upon that Work. 1. That it is not certain, as he affirmed. That the *Wisdom of Solomon* was written by *Jesus the Son of Syrach*, the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*. 2. That when he saith, that the Old Testament containeth 44 Books, he used that Word in the sense of the Church; though *St. Paul* seems to understand by the Old Testament no more than the Law given upon Mount *Sinai*; He confesseth likewise, that he committed a Fault of memory, in quoting one of *St. Ambrose's* Books for another.

In the Preface to this Work, he answereth three sorts of Persons who might find Fault with it; Some, because they did not understand it; Others, because they could not make use of the Precepts and Rules which he gives to understand, and to expound the Scripture; and the last, because they understand and expound the Holy Scripture without making use of his Rules, only by the light of the Holy Ghost. He tells the first and second, that it is not his fault if they want Understanding or Light. And the third, that they ought not to Judge of others by themselves, since God hath not granted the same Gifts to all Men: and that we should tempt him, if we neglected those Human Means which God affords us to understand the Holy Scripture, under pretence that he can give us that knowledge, without either Study or Labour.

The Design of this Book is, as we have observed, to give Rules and Precepts, both to understand and to explain the Holy Scripture. These two divide the whole Work. He treateth in the three first Books of the understanding of the Scripture; and in the last, of the way to expound it, and make it intelligible to others.

The first Book contains loose Reflections and general Principles. He observes at first, that all knowledge is either of Signs or of Things; and that Things are expressed by Signs. He distinguisheth two sorts of Things; some which we may enjoy, and others which we are only to use. The three Persons of the Divinity, are the only Things we are to enjoy. They are that ineffable God, whom we look upon as the Supreme Being, as the immutable Wisdom to be preferred before all Things; to know him, we must purifie our Minds: and to teach us this, the Wisdom of God was incarnate; it is that which Cures Man of his Dilemper, Weaknesses, and Blindness. He confirmed our Faith by his Resurrection and Ascension; and he increases and upholdeth it by the hope of Reward, the fear of Punishment, and by the expectation of the last Judgment. He hath established a Church, to which he hath granted necessary Gifts and Graces to lead Men to their Heavenly Country. He gave it Keys to bind Sinners, and to loose them that are Penitent. As for created Beings, we are not permitted to enjoy them; that is to say, to esteem them as our Ultimate End; but we may use them, and they ought to be loved with respect to God. Thus we are to love both our Selves and our Neighbour. The Scripture commands us not to love our selves; we are but too prone to this naturally, but it enjoyns us to love our Neighbour. The whole Law centers in this twofold Charity, which makes us love God above all things, and our Neighbour as our selves: Our Charity towards our Neighbour ought to be regulated: We must not love Sinners as Sinners, but as Men; and though we are more strictly obliged to succour those that are near to us, whether by Kindred or Friendship, yet we ought to love all Men alike, because they are our Neighbours; even Angels are to be comprehended under this general Name. *St. Augustine* having laid down these Principles, saith, that the double Precept of Charity, is to be a Rule for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. That any sense that hath no relation to Charity, is not certainly the true sense; but on the contrary, every sense which hath respect to it, is useful; though not always conformable to the Writer's intention; and yet we should endeavour not to depart from their particular meaning. He saith, in the last place, that the understanding of the Scripture is comprised in Faith, Hope, and Charity; So that a Christian who is endued with these three Vertues, hath no absolute need of the Scripture for himself; but only for the Instruction of others: Yea, that several Persons live very Christian Lives in their Solitude without the help of the Sacred Books. He con-

cludes from all that he hath said in this Book, that whosoever is thoroughly persuaded, that the Scripture is that Charity which proceedeth out of a pure Heart, of a good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned, may without Fear betake himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture.

In the second Book, he comes to the Knowledge of Signs; and having given the Definition, and Divisions of them, he observes, that Words hold the first place among Signs. He shows how the Sound of Words is formed, and how the variety of Tongues was introduced into the World. He supposes that the Scripture is not plain every where; and that there is need of Application to understand it; that the most Skilful meet with Difficulties; that the Allegories and Figures, there to be met with, sometimes render it dark; but commonly what is obscure in one place, is cleared in another; and so the Holy Ghost feeds the Hungry with what is clear, and prevents their being nauseated by exercising them with what is obscure. He sheweth, at last, by what Degrees we may attain to the perfect Knowledge of the Wisdom contained in the Holy Scripture. These Degrees are, the Fear of God, Piety, Knowledge, Courage, Counsel, and Purity of Heart: Afterwards followeth a Catalogue of the Canonical

Books, * the very same with ours. The Rule he makes use of to distinguish them, is this. *I desire (saith he) that to know the Canonical Books, the Authority of the greatest part of the Catholick Church may be observed, and particularly of those that have Apostolical Sees, or which have had the Happiness of receiving the Epistles of the Apostles. But among the Canonical Books, those that are received by all Churches, must be preferred before those which are rejected by some. Again, among these we should pay a greater regard to those which are acknowledged by a great number of Churches, and by the most considerable, than to such as are admitted only by few Churches, and those of no great Authority.*

And if some have been received by the greater Number of Churches, and rejected by those that have greater Authority; though it is hard to meet with such, yet they ought to be put in the same Rank, and to obtain the same Authority. He adviseth all Pious Persons, that fear God; and seek to know his Will, to read all the Canonical Books, to draw from them Precepts for Manners, and Rules of Faith, and at last, he furnisheth them with the means to arrive to the understanding of hard and obscure Passages. The first is the Knowledge of that Language, wherein those Books were written. The second is to consult and compare the several Translations, whereof some serve to explain the rest. Among the Translations, he prefers the Vulgar Latin, as being more literal, and clearer: And among the Greek Versions, he adheres to the *Septuagint*, to which he ascribes much Authority. He doth not decide, Whether the Seventy composed it separately, every one in his Cell by God's Inspiration, or by conferring together. But he affirms, that however it was composed, it ought to be followed, and preferred even before the Hebrew Text, because it is not credible, that they made this alteration, without a secret Assistance of the Holy Spirit, for the Good of the Church. As to the Books of the New Testament, he saith, That, without doubt, the Latin Translation is to be Corrected by the Greek Copies.

The third thing which *St. Augustine* looks upon as necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, is the Knowledge of Things signified; as the Nature of Animals, Plants, Herbs, and of other Things which are made use of in Comparisons and Figures in Holy Scripture. He lays great weight upon the Knowledge of Numbers, and Musick, which he pretends to be of great use: And he would not have Profane Sciences neglected; provided, that such as are False, and Superstitious, be laid aside; and particularly, Judicial Astrology, and Magick. He reckoneth Painting, and Mythology, among those Things whose Knowledge is Superfluous; but he shews the usefulness of History, Mechanicks, Logick, Rhetorick, and other Sciences, provided that a good Use be made of them, that Men depend not too much upon them, nor be lifted up because of them, but that both Charity, and Humility, be preserved as the two Keys, without which the Holy Scripture cannot be understood.

The third Book lays down Rules to clear those Difficulties that arise from the different Senses, in which a Discourse

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course may be taken; as for instance, when the Parts of a Discourse are distinguished by Points, and Commas, which variously placed, alter the Sense. St. Augustine would have Men refer themselves, in such cases, to the Rule of Faith, and reject that Distinction which makes an Heretical Sense: That if both Senses be Catholick, that is to be followed, which agreeth best with the connexion of the Discourse; and last of all, if both agree with the Text, then we may follow that which seems most probable. He applies the same Rules to determine the pronunciation, and signification of undetermined Terms: At last he desireth, that Men should consult the Original Text.

There is much more difficulty, when the Words are taken in a Metaphorical, and Figurative Sense; then we must have a care how we understand them in a Proper, and Natural Sense. The Jews were for a long time, Slaves to this literal Meaning. The Gentiles likewise were Slaves to unprofitable Ceremonies. But Christians deliver the Jews, by discovering to them the Truths that were hid under the Letter, and they set the Gentiles at Liberty, by utterly rejecting their profane Ceremonies. Themselves are charged but with a small Number of Signs easily practised, whose Signification is very Majestical, and their Observation very Pure. Christ himself instituted them, and the Apostles taught the Church the Knowledge of them: Such are the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

After this, St. Augustine goes to the necessary Rules, whereby we may distinguish the Proper Sense from the Figurative. The first, and most general is, that whatsoever cannot be made to agree, either with Purity of Manners, or with the Truth of Faith, when 'tis understood according to the Letter, must necessarily have a Figurative Sense. But we are not to judge of what may be Pure, or True, according to the Prejudices, either of Custom, or Opinion; but only by the Rules of Faith, and Charity, because the Holy Scripture teacheth nothing but Charity, and condemns nothing but Lust.

Neither must those Opinions, and Actions, be taken in a Figurative Sense, which seem to imply a kind of Cruelty, which in Scripture, is ascribed either to God, or to Righteous Men, when they are made use of against the Lufts of carnal Men. But a Word, or an Action which is absolutely unjust, and that cannot be excused by any Circumstance, when it is attributed to God, or to those whose Sanctity is commended in Scripture, must necessarily be expounded by a Figure. This Rule takes place in Things that are expressed in the Form of a Command. If the Letter forbids a Crime, and enjoins a good thing, there is no Figure; but, on the contrary if it seems to command a Crime, and forbid a Vertue, it is a Figure. It often happeneth, that such as are in a more perfect State, do understand Figuratively, what is said of a State less Perfect; but let those Men consider, that there are Precepts for all Men in general, and some that relate to each State in particular. He adds, that we should not believe, that since the Coming of Jesus Christ, those things can be observed, which were either permitted, or prescribed only for the time of the Old Law, though at that time, they were to be taken in their proper Sense. He instanceth in the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, because they lived Holily in Marriage, with a prospect of having Children; and he confidently preferreth that State, before that of such Men, who having but one Wife, abuse Matrimony to satisfy their brutish Lust.

Finally, it must be confessed, that when the Scripture mentions great Men's Faults, we may not only seek there for a Figurative Sense, but also for Instruction in the Historical Sense, because their Fall teaches the Holiest Men, not to be lifted up through Presumption.

St. Augustine addeth, besides the following Observations, that the same Figurative Expression sometimes signifies two different Things, and sometimes contrary Things. That a dark Place of Scripture ought to be explained by those that are clearer; and that Reasonings may likewise be used to clear it: But it is safer to have Recourse to other Passages of Scripture; and that the same Passage may have several Significations equally good. He concludes with the Seven Rules of Tychonius, the Donatist; but they are very far from the good Sense, and the Usefulness of St. Augustine's: They discover great Subtlety; but it is very difficult to apply them.

In the last Book of *Christian Doctrine*, St. Augustine shows how to Expound the Holy Scripture for the benefit of others. He says at first, that they were not to expect Rhetorical Rules upon that Subject from him; which though they are not useless, yet since they may be found in other places, they ought not to be introduced into this Work; He enlargeth however upon the Qualifications of a Christian Orator. He shews, that it were an Error to think, that Truth cannot make use of Rhetorical Ornaments to refute Error; so that he would have Christians study to speak Eloquently. He adviseth young Men to learn the Precepts and Rules of Art; but as for Men in Years, his Opinion is, that they should only read Books that are well written, and frame their Discourses after their Pattern, without regarding the Precepts of Art, which are of little Use. The

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Design of a Preacher who expounds the Holy Scripture, who sets forth God's Word, who defends the Faith, and opposes Errors, should be to teach that which is Good, and to persuade others to depart from that which is Evil; to bring over those of contrary Opinions; to quicken the Slothful, to instruct the Ignorant, to soften, and convert hardened Sinners.

When the Question is only how to instruct the Ignorant, it is enough to declare the Doctrine of the Church; but if Gain-sayers are to be persuaded, it must be established by solid Arguments: And Lastly, If Men's Hearts are to be moved, there is need of Prayers, Reproaches, Threatnings, Exhortations, and other Figures proper to affect them. Such as want Eloquence to excel in these things, ought to make up their Discourses with Passages, and Expressions out of Holy Scripture. He proves by several Examples, that there is much Eloquence in the Holy Writings; yet he would not have a Preacher imitate that Obscurity which is to be met with in some Passages of the Holy Scripture, but charges him, above all things, to be clear; not to content himself to please with agreeable Notions, but to inform by solid Instructions. As the Matter which a Preacher treateth of is high, so he ought never to lose his Gravity, though he may alter his Style according to the variety of Subjects. St. Augustine produces Examples, both out of the Holy Scripture, and out of the Fathers, of three kinds of Eloquence; shewing, at the same time, upon what Occasions, and to what Subjects they are to be apply'd. Lastly, having laid down several useful Rules to compleat a Preacher, he adviseth him, above all, to prepare himself by Prayer, and to be sure that his Life be answerable to his Sermons. He blames not those who Preach Sermons composed by others; when they cannot make Sermons themselves.

After this Treatise of *Christian Doctrine*, follow St. Augustine's Writings upon the Holy Scripture.

The first is his imperfect Book upon *Genesis*. It is the first, not only according to the Order of the Books of the Holy Scripture, but also according to that of its Composition. St. Augustine wrote it in *Africa*, in the Year 393. before he was Bishop. He designed to prove against the *Manichees*, that the History of *Genesis*, taken literally, was no ridiculous thing, as they pretended: But he confesses, that being not well instructed in those Matters, he found this Undertaking to be above his strength; which obliged him to stop in the way, even before he had finished the first Book, which remained imperfect. He was once resolved utterly to suppress it; but he thought it more convenient to leave it as a monument of his first Enquiries upon the Holy Scripture, and he added some Periods to it. He begins this Book with an Account of the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Trinity, and the Incarnation. He adds against the *Manichees*, that Sin is none of God's Creatures, but that it consists in the Abuse of Free-Will. Afterwards he distinguishes four Senses of the Scripture: The Historical, which takes place when a Relation is made of Matters of Fact, as they happen'd: The Allegorical, which explaineth what is spoken by Figures: The Analogical, when the Old and New Testament are compared together, and their Agreement is justified; And the *Ætiological*, whereby Reasons are given of the Actions and Discourses that are related in the Holy Scripture.

This being supposed, he undertakes to Explain the History of the Creation, set forth in the beginning of *Genesis*. He frames Difficulties, upon every Word, and makes several Objections to himself, but often answers them not; or if he doth, his Answers are not commonly very just, nor sufficient to satisfy the least Scrupulous. This Work endeth at Man's Creation.

He pursues very near the same Method in the twelve following Books upon *Genesis*, which he writ when he was Bishop: They were begun in 401. and compleated in 415. He explains the Text of *Genesis* from the beginning, to that place where it is said that *Adam* was driven out of Paradise. He examines the Words, and starts an infinite number of Questions: some he answers, but most are left unresolved. He often gives Mystical and Moral Solutions, which are not very literal. He discourses likewise by the bye, of several common Places, concerning the Nature both of Angels, and of the Soul; the Fall of Angels, and that of Man; concerning the Mysteries of the Number Six; concerning Hell and Paradise, Visions, and several other Subjects which he meets with in his way.

The seven Books of the Ways of speaking, in the seven first Books of the Bible, which follow this Work we have now spoken of, is a Critical Treatise; wherein St. Augustine explaineth several Ways of speaking that are peculiar to these Books, and which ordinarily are not met with in others. This Work is of the Year 419.

In making these Remarks upon the Ways of Speech, in these seven first Books of the Bible, he finds several Difficulties about the things themselves, which he collecteth in the Form of Questions, which he proposeth to himself; whereof he gives a Solution in few Words, though without going to the depth. This is both the Subject and the Method of the seven following Books: where he takes a

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short view of the principal Difficulties that he met with in the *Pentateuch*, in the Book of *Joshua*, and in that of *Judges*. This is a very curious and useful Work. There he does not recede from the literal Sense, as in his other Treatises, but makes very learned and judicious Remarks, which serve very much to clear the Text of the Bible.

The Notes upon *Job* are a very imperfect Work. St. Augustine had writ them in the Margin of a Copy of the Book of *Job*; from which some Body took them, and compiled them into a Book by themselves: which makes him say, that he knew not whether it was to be called his Work or theirs who had thus collected and reduced them. He findeth there much Obscurity, proceeding from their great Brevity, and because they added some Notes to those words of the Text to which they do not refer. In one word: He found so many Faults in that Work, that he had suppressed it, had he not known that there were several Copies of it abroad. This is the Account which he gives of it in the 13th. Chapter of the second Book of his *Retractions*. Yet this Treatise is not so contemptible; it is a kind of Paraphrase, or literal Explication of the Book of *Job*, which explains it, and discovers such Notions as may be further improved.

The *Looking-glass taken out of the Scripture*, is neither a Commentary, nor a particular Work upon the Scripture, but barely a Collection of Passages out of the Old and New Testament, containing Precepts and Instructions for Manners. Possidius affirms, that St. Augustine wrote a Book of this Nature; and Cassiodorus recommends the reading of it. It is not certain whether this is that which St. Augustine wrote. The Preface is in his Style, but in the Body of the Book the Scriptures are cited according to St. Jerome's Translation. Perhaps the Text used by St. Augustine was changed, and the more common Version was put in the room of it: For I can hardly believe that St. Augustine would quit his Old Translation, to make a constant use of St. Jerome's. Father Vignier hath also published *A Looking-glass taken out of Scripture*, attributed to St. Augustine: But this relates to Doctrine, more than to Manners; which doth not agree with what Possidius saith of St. Augustine's.

These are all St. Augustine's Treatises upon the Old Testament, which make up the first Part of the *Third Tome*. The *Second* contains Treatises upon the New Testament, and begins with a Harmony betwixt the four Gospels divided into four Books.

In the *First*, having spoken of the Number, Authority, and of the Style of the Gospels, he refuteth those who refuse to give Credit to the Gospel, because it was not written by Jesus Christ himself, but by his Disciples, whom they suppose to have receded from their Master's Doctrine, that so they might persuade the World that he was God, and thereby destroy the Worship of the Gods. He observes, that two of the four Evangelists were Apostles, St. Matthew and St. John; and two were not, St. Mark and St. Luke; that so none might say, that there was a Difference betwixt those who had seen with their Eyes Christ's Actions, and those who wrote them upon the Relation of those who had seen them. He addeth, that other Men's Works, who undertook to write the History of Christ, were not received by the Church as Canonical; because the Authors of these Histories were not to be believed, having stuff'd their Works with false Relations, and Errors, contrary to the Rule of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith, and to sound Doctrine. He believes, that the four Gospels were composed in the same Order as we see them in at present: That St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, and the others in Greek: That each Evangelist hath observed a particular Order, yet without obliging himself not to speak any thing that had been spoken by another: That St. Matthew designed particularly to give an Account of Christ's Royal Descent, and to represent him according to that Humane Life which he led among Men: That St. Mark did little else but abridge St. Matthew: That St. Luke apply'd himself to set forth Christ's Priesthood; which is the reason why he doth not reckon his Genealogy from King David, by Solomon, as St. Matthew doth, but by Nathan: and for the same reason, he takes notice, That the Virgin Mary was a-Kin to Elizabeth, who was of the Sacerdotal Race, and Wife to Zacharias the Priest. Lastly, That St. John taketh his Subject above Christ's Humane Actions, to speak of his Divinity, and to discover the Equality of the Word with his Father: So that it may be said, that the three first Evangelists are more for the Active Life, and St. John for Contemplation. After this, St. Augustine makes Application of the four Beasts in the *Revelations* to the four Evangelists; and having made these Remarks, he answereth those who found fault that Christ had written nothing. He proposes to them the Examples of Socrates, Pythagoras, and of the wisest Heathen, who left to their Disciples the care of committing to Writing both their Doctrine and their Instructions. He shews, that Christ cannot be said to have written Magical Books, or that he approved the Worship of false Deities. He particularly enlargeth upon this last Head, shewing, that the Apostle's Doctrine, touching the Worshipping of One only God, is conformable to that

of the Prophets, who fore-told, that the *Messiah* should preach the same upon Earth, and that it should be published and received throughout the World. The three other Books, are a Harmony of the Evangelists. In the Second and Third, he followeth the Text of St. Matthew's Gospel, and compareth the three other Gospels with that. In the Last, he takes notice of what the three other Evangelists have peculiar to themselves. He doth not only compare the Text of the Evangelists, but makes them agree together, and resolves the seeming Difficulties and Contrarieties that are betwixt them, as to the Order and Manner of their relating both of the Words and Actions of Jesus Christ. This Work was very difficult and laborious, and it was finished by St. Augustine with great exactness. It was composed about the Year 400.

After this Treatise, we find in this Volume the two Books of St. Augustine, upon the Sermon of Christ in the Mount, written about the Year 393. They contain Moral Reflections, with Instructions and Precepts contained in Christ's Sermon, recorded by St. Matthew in the 5th. 6th. and 7th. Chapters of his Gospel. St. Augustine likewise clears the Difficulties that he meets with in the Letter of the Text. Among the Passages of this Treatise which he reviseth in his *Retractions*, there are two of Consequence. The former, is, about the Divorce allowed by Jesus Christ, in case of Fornication. He had extended what is said of Fornication, to all those Crimes that set us at a distance from God. Here he retracteth this Opinion, and confesseth, that this Notion is not very certain. He saith also, that it is a very hard Question, whether a Man may marry another Wife, having been Divorced from a former? the second Point of any importance, taken notice of in his *Retractions*, is, touching an Expression he had used when he spake of Jesus Christ: He had called him *Homo Dominicus*; He disapproves that Term, though he had read it in Ecclesiastical Writers. He retracts likewise what he had said, that the Sin unto Death, was Envy against our Brother: with some other Explications that were not very just. However, the Treatise it self is very instructive, and very useful: It contains several Moral Precepts, which may be of very great Use. In the second Book, he explains the Lord's Prayer.

Both the Books of Questions upon some Passages of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels, were composed by St. Augustine with great precipitation, to satisfy the Requests of a Person that read the Gospel. Most of his Answers are either Mystical or Moral Explications. He places this Book in his *Retractions*, among those which he writ about the Year 400. and takes notice of some Faults of Inadvertency. The first Book is upon St. Matthew's Gospel. The second, upon that of St. Luke. He makes no mention of the seventeen following Questions upon St. Matthew's Gospel, neither are they mentioned in the best Editions of the Catalogue of St. Augustine's Works, made by Possidius: which gives us reason to doubt whether they are St. Augustine's, though Rhabanus hath quoted them under his Name, and though they are written in a Style very much like his.

The 124. Treatises upon St. John's Gospel are of a very different Nature from the former; they are Homilies preached by St. Augustine to his People, wherein he followeth the Text of St. John, and draws important Instructions from it upon the principal Points both of Doctrine and Morality. He attacks three sorts of Hereticks principally; the *Arians*, the *Donatists*, and the *Pelagians*. He maintains against the first, the Divinity and Consubstantiality of the Word. He often refutes the Reasons alledged by the second to justify their Separation, and earnestly exhorts them to re-unite themselves with the Church; and proves against the last, the necessity of Christ's Grace, and the free Predestination of the Elect. These are the principal Subjects treated of in these Homilies, which he preached after the *Pelagian* Heresie broke out, before the Destruction of the *Donatists* Schism, some time after they had found St. Stephen's Body, as he affirms in the 120th. Sermon; which makes us conjecture that they are the Sermons which he preached to his People in the Years 416. and 417. For he began with them about the end of Winter, towards February, in the Year 416. as appears by the beginning of the Sixth: He continued them in Lent, as it is observed in the 10th. and 11th. They were interrupted during Easter Holy-days. After the Holy-days he undertook the Exposition of St. John's Epistle, and then prosecuted his Gospel. He had got but to the 27th. Homily, about the Feast of St. Laurence, and so could not finish these Sermons before the next Year.

St. Augustine's ten Homilies upon St. John's Epistle, interrupted, as we said just now, the course of those which he composed upon the Gospel. He gives notice of it himself in his Preface; where he observes, that having been obliged by the Solemnity of those Festivals, wherein particular Lessons are yearly recited, to interrupt the course of his Explications upon St. John's Gospel; before he returned to it, he thought it convenient to Expound, during those seven or eight Days, the Epistle of the same Evangelist, that was most agreeable to that joyful Time, because it speaks of nothing but Charity. St. Augustine, in his Homilies, makes excellent Reflections upon this Vertue. He observes, that Fear brings

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Tome III.

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brings in Charity, but that Charity drives away Fear. He distinguisheth two sorts of Fear; that which is conceived by a dread of Punishment, which goes before Charity; and that which he calleth a Chast Fear, which consists in the Fear of losing Charity. He explaineth these two sorts of Fear, by the different Dispositions of two Women, whereof the one loveth her Husband, and the other hateth him, though both fear him. There are other excellent Instructions in these *Homilies* of St. Augustine, concerning the Love of God and our Neighbour. He speaks also occasionally, concerning Grace and the Church: 'And expounds these words of Christ to St. Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, of the Faith whereof St. Peter had immediately before made Profession.

St. Augustine composed at Carthage, in 394. his Exposition of several Passages of the Epistle to the Romans, in Answer to the Difficulties that were proposed to him. He had not then perfectly formed his System of Grace, which made him let slip some Explications different from some, which he hath given since: And this very thing gave Occasion for his Remarks upon this Book, in his *Retractions*, where he corrects what he had said, whereby some might be made to believe, that the Beginning of Faith cometh from Man, and not from the Grace of Jesus Christ.

He undertook also at the same time a larger Commentary upon this whole Epistle; which would have been prodigiously large, since the single Exposition of the Salutation with which St. Paul begins the Epistle, makes up a whole Book. True it is, that he makes there a Digression of several Pages, upon an incidental Question concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which he thinks to be final Impenitency; but both the Extent and the Difficulty of that Work made him give it over: however, he left that Book, and intitled it, *The Beginning of an Exposition upon the Epistle to the Romans*.

At the same time likewise he made a continued Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, wherein he contents himself with clearing the whole Text, with Explications and Reflections, without departing from his Subject by long Digressions.

The Addition at the latter end of this Volume, containeth several Discourses upon the Scripture, which are none of St. Augustine's.

The first is intituled, *Of the Miracles of the Holy Scripture, contained in the Old and New Testament*. One needs only read one or two Periods of this Work, to be convinced that it is not St. Augustine's; so different is the Style thereof from that of this Father: The Author thereof seems to have been either an Englishman or an Irishman. He speaks of the Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea upon the Coasts of

the British Islands; and to express the same, he makes use of Terms that were usual in Bede's time, he fixes the time where he lived in the 4th. Chapter of the 2d. Book; and speaking of those Islands, he shews, that he wrote after the Year 660. This Work is divided into three Books: The first contains the Miracles related in the Historical Books of the Old Testament. The second, those that are contained in the Books of the Prophets. And the last, those that are mentioned in the New Testament. It is ill written, and of very little use.

The small Discourse of the Benedictions of the Patriarch Jacob, belongs not to St. Augustine but is a Fragment of Alcuin's Questions upon Genesis; who took part of it from the Questions upon Genesis, and part from the Morals of St. Gregory. This very Book is found in the 3d. Book of the Commentary upon Genesis, attributed to St. Encheirius, Bishop of Lyons.

We have observed already, speaking of the Works of Hilary the Deacon, in the Second Volume of this *Bibliotheca*, that the Questions upon the Old and the New Testament, are not St. Augustine's; and the Conjectures, for which they were ascribed to Hilary the Deacon, were there set down: He that desires more Arguments to prove, that they are not St. Augustine's, should read the first Part of the *Benedictines* Preface to this Treatise. It remains only, that we take notice with them, that in all probability these Questions are not at all written by the same Author. In some Manuscripts there are only the 127 Questions, which were published at first; others have 151. but in these, there are not all those that are in the first Manuscript; and among the rest the 44th. and the 115th. which afforded Conjectures concerning the Age and the Country of their Author. This makes it difficult to affirm any thing certainly concerning the Author of these Questions.

The Explication of the *Apocalypse*, which is the last Book that is added to this Volume of St. Augustine's, is a Collection of Notes upon the Revelations, taken out of the Commentaries of Victorinus, Primasius and Bede, and disposed into the Form of Homilies. Those that thought that this was the Commentary of Tychonius the Donatist, upon the Revelations, did not take notice that it was so far from containing things favourable to the Donatists Sect; that on the contrary it refutes their Errors, and particularly that of Rebaptization, in the sixth Homily upon the Revelations, Vers. 11. Neither do we find here, those Expositions which Bede mentions as written by Tychonius, nor the long Dissertation, to prove that the Angels spoken of in the Revelations, are those Churches which Tychonius had inserted into his Commentary as St. Augustine observes in the thirtieth Chapter of the third Book of *Christian Doctrine*.

The fourth TOME.

Tome IV.

The fourth Tome of St. Augustine's Works contains this Father's Explication upon the *Psalms*; which makes two large a Book, to be comprised in one Volume with his other Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. He composed them not in that order wherein we find them, but some at one time, and others at another; and not all after the same manner. Some are Commentaries written in his Study, and the others, which make by far the greater number, are Discourses made to his People. Cassiodore observes, that in his time, they were divided into fifteen Decads; this division is not observed at present, and it is not likely that St. Augustine made it. St. Augustine understanding no Hebrew, followed the Latin Translations made from the Greek Versions of the *Septuagint*, to the Text whereof he often refers. In some of these Explications, and particularly, in those that were not written to the People, as the thirteen first, he only makes Allegorical Notes upon the Text of the *Psalms*; but in the rest, he is either very diffuse, and enlargeth much upon Reflections that are not very solid, or else he goeth from his Subject by long Digressions. He professes to explain the Letter, but his literal Sense is almost always Spiritual or Moral. If he clears any Term, or insists upon the signification of any Word, it is always to extract an Allegory, or

something Moral from it. He brings all to Jesus Christ, to the Mysteries of our Religion and to the Church. The Recompences and Blessings mentioned in the *Psalms*, are always in his Opinion, Spiritual Recompences and Eternal Blessings. He often gives several Senses of the same place, and very frequently makes a digression against the Schism, or the Heresies of his own time; he is full of useless Allusions, ill-grounded Subtilties, and improbable Allegories. His very Moral Thoughts are seldom such as might have been naturally inferred from the Scripture Text; but ordinarily such far-fetched Notions as could never fall into the Mind of any Man that should read the Text.

Yet here and there one may meet with lively and fervent Exhortations, which raised his People; and profitable Instructions upon the most important Truths of Religion. So that though this Work cannot pass for a good Commentary upon the *Psalms*, yet it may be looked upon as a wonderful Collection of Christian and Moral Notions; and if it be of no great use for those that enquire after the literal Sense of the Scripture; yet it will prove very Profitable to Preachers, who desire to fit their Minds with necessary Thoughts and Rules to help them to discharge well that part of their Ministry.

The fifth TOME.

Tome V.

Most of St. Augustine's Sermons being Homilies upon the Scripture, they are with a great deal of Reason brought in to make up this Volume, which follows immediately after St. Augustine's Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. They had hitherto been in great confusion, because new Collections of them were still Printed, as new Sermons were discovered. There was a great number of Supposititious or Doubtful ones among the True; most Editions were full of Faults, so that it was necessary, that Persons so exact, learned, and versed in such Matters as these *Benedictines* are, should undertake to set them in order, to distinguish St. Augustine's from those that are Supposititious, and to Correct the Text

from the best and ancientest Manuscripts. This they have performed most happily in the fifth Tome, which containeth all St. Augustine's Sermons, placed in very good order; and divided into five Classes.

The first containeth 183 Sermons upon several Passages both of the Old and New Testament.

The second is made up of 88 Sermons upon the great Festivals of the Year.

In the third are 69 upon the Festivals of the Saints.

The fourth comprehendeth 23 upon various Subjects, as, The Love of God, Fear, Penance, Contempt of the World, Behaviour of the Clergy, Peace and Concord, Resurrection from the Dead, &c.

St. Augustine Tome V. The last Classis is composed of such Sermons, as cannot be certainly affirmed to be St. *Augustine's*, though there is no certainty that they are none of his; among these, there are some of which we have more reason to doubt, which are printed in a smaller Character; there are not above 31 of them.

They have also added at the latter end Fragments of some other Sermons of St. *Augustine's*, which are taken out of the Collections of *Eugippius*, *Bede*, *Florus*, and *John* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*: Another Fragment of the Sermon upon the Ascension, and a Sermon of *Heraclius*, a Disciple of St. *Augustine's*.

The Addition contains 317 Spurious Sermons, divided into four Classes, according to the order observed in the true ones; At the Head of each, is a very exact Critick; Several of them are restored to *Casarius* their true Author; Some are found to belong to *Rhabanus*, and some others are taken out of *Origen's* Homilies, out of the Works of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Maximus*, St. *Leo*, *Faustus*, St. *Gregory*, *Alcuinus*, and *Ivo Carnutensis*.

St. *Augustine's* Sermons are written neither Artificially nor Methodically, they are not regular Orations composed of all their Parts; They are familiar Discourses, spoken

without much preparation; Most of them are very short, and made up of concise Sentences and Phrases; he doth not go to the depth of Points either of Doctrine or Morality, as the Greek Fathers do, but contents himself to speak of them succinctly, and in few Words. Interrogations, Antitheses and Quibbles, are almost all the Figures that he beautifies his Discourse withal; he doth not assert the Truth strongly, nor inculcate it pathetically; but barely proposes it with agreeable Expressions, and impresses it with some pleasant Thoughts. This kind of Eloquence is much inferior to that of the Greek Orators, but it may be that it relished best with the Men of St. *Augustine's* Age, and agreed with the Genius of the *Africans*; who not only admired his Sermons, but were moved by them. It would not be so now, and I question whether a Sermon of St. *Augustine's* preached in our Pulpits would draw many Auditors: Yet it must be confessed, That few Latin Preachers are to be compared with him, and that if he be much inferior to the St. *Basil*, or the St. *Chrysostomes*, he is much above the St. *Maximus's*, the *Chrysologus's*, and several other Latins that came after him. I shall not enter into particulars upon his Sermons, which were both a tedious and an endless Work.

The sixth TOME.

Tome VI. The sixth Tome of St. *Augustine's* Works contains his Dogmatical Books, upon several Points both of Morality, and Discipline: he begins with some small Treatises, containing Answers to several Questions upon various Subjects.

The first, is a Collection of Answers to 83 Questions, which he resolved, after his return into *Africa*, about the Year 388. and which he Collected after he was a Bishop. These are the Resolutions contained in those 83 Questions, with most of the Principles from whence they are taken.

I. The Soul is not of it self nor by it self; since it is not essentially the Truth.

II. God did not make Man like himself. He is not good by Nature, but by Will; therefore he must be free.

III. If a Wise Man's Advice never makes another Man worse than he was before, Is it credible, that God should make Man more wicked?

IV. What then may be the Cause of Man's Wickedness? We must seek for it, either in himself, or in others, or in nothing: Consider it well and you will find, That the Will of Man is the Cause of his Depravation.

V. Animals have no knowledge, and therefore cannot be Happy.

VI. All Corporeal and Spiritual Beings have a perfection which makes their Essence: Evil hath none; therefore it is no Being.

VII. Sometimes we confound the Soul with the Spirit, and sometimes we distinguish them: when the Actions of Man that are common to him with Beasts, are attributed to his Soul, the Spirit cannot be meant by that Term; for Beasts have no Reason: and Reason is a necessary Adjunct of a Spirit.

VIII. The Soul hath no other Motions besides its Will and its Actions; It makes the Body change its Place, but changes not her self.

IX. Our Senses only acquaint us with those Things that are in a perpetual Change; Therefore they cannot give us the Knowledge of Eternal and immoveable Truth.

X. Whatsoever hath any Perfection cometh from God: Bodies have; Therefore God is the Author of them.

XI. Jesus Christ was Man; but he is Born of a Virgin: Who can doubt then of his being come to save both Sexes?

XII. God may be present, indeed; yet a defiled Soul cannot see him: this Notion is not St. *Augustine's*, but an Heathen's called *Fonteus*; who was afterwards Baptized, and died a Christian; as St. *Augustine* assures us in his *Retractions*.

XIII. Man can tame and dress a Beast; but do we find that Beasts can do the same to Man?

XIV. If Christ's Body had been but a Phantome, Christ had deceived us; but he is not capable of so doing.

XV. The Spirit of Man comprehends it self; and knows no infinite perfection in it self: wherefore it is finite.

XVI. The Time past, is no more; The Future is not yet: Every thing is present with God.

XVII. There should be three Causes of a Creature; that which gives it a Being; that which gives it such a sort of Being; and that which gives it a love to its Being; Therefore the Cause of it is a Trinity. This Argument is not the most convincing.

XVIII. In Eternity there is neither Time past nor to come, all is present.

XIX. God is no where, and comprehends all things, without being the place of any thing; for he could not be in a place, nor be a place, without being Corporeal.

XX. Since God is the Author of Being, he cannot be the Author of what tends to nothing. Evil tends to nothing; therefore God is not the Author of Evil.

XXI. The only reason why we need any thing, is a defect in our selves; God therefore needs nothing.

XXII. Man is wise, because he partaketh of wisdom; but God is wise through wisdom it it self. It is the same in all other Perfections.

XXIII. If any thing should happen in the World by chance, then there would be no longer Prudence; but there is a necessity of Prudence: for all Beings are perfect, but can no further be so, than as they participate of the Goodness and Perfection of God. God and Man are the Authors of all that is done in the World. Good and Evil depend upon our own Wills.

XXIV. It was the part of Wisdom to shew that the most shameful Death is not to be feared: And that's one of the reasons for which Christ endured such a one.

XXV. There are Sins of Weakness, Ignorance and Malice; Weakness is contrary to the Strength of God, Ignorance to his Wisdom, and Malice to his Goodness: Thus whosoever knows what God's Strength and Wisdom are, may know which are Venial Sins: And whosoever knows God's Goodness, knoweth also what those Sins are, which deserve to be punished both in this World and in the next. This well understood ought to be a Rule whereby to judge what sort of Sinners should be obliged to do Publick Penance, though they confess their Sins. Yet this Rule is very general and very equivocal.

XXVI. God makes use of the Wicked both to punish and to help. Afflictions are an Exercise to the Righteous, and a Punishment to the Wicked. Rest and Peace corrupt the Wicked, and sanctifie the Righteous. God makes use of Men to accomplish the designs of his Providence though they know it not. We act our selves when we follow God's Commandments; but in all other things God guides us by the Springs of his Providence; and we have no share in the Events.

XXVII. We should not ask why God would create the World, that were to seek after a Cause of that which is the Cause of all things.

XXVIII. When it is said, *Seek those things which are above*; the meaning is, those things that are great and sublime by their excellency.

XXIX. Man may make use of all things, but he ought only to enjoy God; and the use which he makes of all things, ought to have a Relation to God. Whosoever uses the Creatures otherwise, abuses them.

XXX. This Question is not St. *Augustine's*; it is a Definition of Virtue out of *Tully*.

XXXI. Whosoever conceiveth a thing, conceives it as it is; and he who conceives it not as it is, doth not conceive it at all: There are no different degrees of Conception.

XXXII. We are afraid of losing what we love: and we are afraid that we shall not obtain what we desire: If we desire to be without fear, How can we fear that we shall not be freed from fear?

XXXIII. Men should not desire precisely to be free from fear, because rash and stupid Men are without fear: we should have a reason why we are not afraid.

XXXIV. We ought to love what we possess, No Man can know, and love Happiness, without being happy: Happiness therefore is an eternal love and knowledge of a good thing which cannot be taken away from us.

XXXV. To preserve and increase Charity, we must oppose and lessen Lust. This is to be begun by impressing a Dread of God's Judgments, to destroy the habit of Sin: After that, we ought both to discover the Beauty and Excellency of Virtue, to manifest the difference betwixt the Old and the New Man; to propose Christ's Life as an Example; to make use of his Exhortations, Instructions and Promises

St. Augustine. Tome VI. mises; to consider the vast number of those that followed and imitated him; to set forth the Virtues both of Saints and of Martyrs, as Patterns; and at last to oppose Pride and Ambition, and to inspire the fear and the love of God.

I omit the following Questions, because they are obscure, and contain nothing remarkable.

The XLVth. is against Judicial Astrology.

The XLVth. is concerning Plato's Ideas.

The XLVIIIth. is expressed in these Terms. We believe three sorts of Things. The first, are such things as are believed, and not conceived, as History. The second, are both believed and conceived at the same time; as the reasonings of Men. The third, are things believed but not conceived at that time, though they are conceived afterwards; such are Divine Instructions, which are conceived by none but those that have Pure Hearts.

In the LI. Question, He explains in what Sense it is said, that Man was created after God's Image and Similitude: And in the LII. he proves, that what is said in Genesis, that it repented God to have made Man, is not to be understood literally.

In the LIII. He justifies the Command which God gave the Jews to borrow of the Egyptians rich Vessels to carry them away; by saying, that God made use of them to Punish the Egyptians: But that from thence it cannot be inferred, that Men may deceive, because the People of Israel was not capable of Evangelical Perfection.

The Resolutions of the following Questions, are Mystical and Moral Explications of several Passages both of the Old and of the New Testament.

The LXXX. Is against the Error of the Apollinarists.

The two Books of Questions directed to Simplicianus Bishop of Milan, who succeeded St. Ambrose in the Year 397. are the first which St. Augustine writ, after he was made a Bishop. In the first, he discourseth upon two Passages of the Epistle to the Romans, upon what is said, Ch. 7. of the Man, who being under the Law, doth not what the Law requireth: And upon what is written in the 9th. Chapter, of Jacob's being call'd, and Esau's being rejected. He proves in this first Book with great strength, the Necessity of Grace to every Good Work, even for the beginning of Faith, and a Free Call. He saith himself, both in his Book of Predestination, and in that of the Gift of Perseverance, that he began then to see clearly into those Matters which he had not taken right in his former Books. Yet he understands the first Passage in the Romans, of a Man under the Law, who is yet without Grace; whereas he believed afterwards, that it was rather to be understood of that Man, who being Spiritual in his Superior part, finds himself carnal, by the desires and motions of the Inferior.

The second Book contains the Resolution of five Questions, about particular Passages in the Old Testament. The first is, of what Spirit that which is said in the first Book of Kings, That the Spirit of God entered into Saul, is to be understood. Whether it was the Holy Ghost, or the Evil Spirit, wherewith he was possessed afterwards? After several Reflections and Digressions, St. Augustine concludes, that it must be understood of the Spirit of God; and that Saul was filled at first with the Spirit of God for a time, and afterwards was possessed with an evil Spirit. Yea, he thinks, that Saul had a Spirit of Prophecy at the time when he persecuted David, and he proves, that this Gift of the Holy Ghost may be found in Wicked Men.

The second Question is upon those Words attributed to God in the first Book of Kings, Chap. 17. It repenteth me that I have set up Saul. How God's Repenting can agree with his Prescience? St. Augustine answers, that the Repentance ascribed to God, is not accompanied with regret, as that of Men is; it is only an Alteration of Will. This Question puts him upon discoursing of God's Knowledge.

The third Question is about the Story of the Witch of Endor. St. Augustine does not decide whether it was the Soul of Samuel, or a Phantome that appeared to Saul; he thinks the latter to be more probable.

Both the other Questions are about two Passages in the Books of Kings, which have not much difficulty.

The last is concerning the Spirit of Error, whereby God permitted King Ahab to be deceived.

Dulcitius, a Tribune in Africa, having proposed eight Questions to St. Augustine, about some Matters which he had already treated of, he Collected in this Book, which he sent in Answer to his Questions, what he had said in his other Works.

The first Question was, Whether the Baptized that die in Sin, shall at any time be delivered from Damnation? St. Augustine answereth, No; and expounds a Passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. Ch. 3. v. 11. where he speaks of the Fire which is to purify the Faithful, by consuming the Evil which they shall have built upon the sound Foundation of Faith. He understandeth by Fire, that Affliction in this Life which purifies the Faithful from light Sins. He adds, that we may believe, that some such thing is done also in the other Life, towards those who die before they are cleansed from those light Sins: But he affirms, that none can believe without Impiety, that this can be apply'd to such as die with

the guilt of those Sins that exclude Men from the Kingdom of God. This Answer is taken out of his Book of Faith.

The second Question of Works, hath great relation to the former. It was demanded, Whether the Oblations and Prayers that are made for the Dead avail them any thing? St. Augustine answers what he had said already in his Book concerning the Care that ought to be taken of the Dead, that the Oblations and Prayers are profitable to those who deserved in their Life-time, that Prayers should avail them. He addeth what he had said in his Enchiridion to Laurentius, 'That in all that time, between Death and the last Resurrection, the Souls shall be detained in secret and hidden places, where they shall either enjoy Rest, or suffer Pain, according as they have deserved, when they were in the World: That Souls in that Condition, are refreshed by the Piety of the Living: When the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them, or Alms are given in the Church in their Behalf. But, saith he, that availeth only them, who in their Life-time deserved by their Actions, that these things should be available to them, when they are out of the World..... Thus when the Sacrifices of the Altar are offered, or Alms given for all the Dead that were baptized, they become Thanksgivings for them that were extremely Good; they are Intercessions for those that were not great Sinners: And if these things do not ease those that were very wicked, yet they administer Comfort to the Living.

The third Question is, whether all Men shall Die before the Day of Judgment? St. Augustine answereth, no; according to what he had said before in the 193d. Letter to Mercator; He confesses, that this is a difficult Question.

The other five Questions are upon some hard Passages of Scripture; He repeats those Explications which he had given in his other Books. This Book was composed after the Enchiridion that was written in 421. and before the Book of Retractions written in 427. Which shews, that it must necessarily belong to the Year between; yet the Date of Easter of the Years wherein this Book was written, which is at the beginning, should regularly fall in the Year 430, or 419. wherefore there must have been a Mistake in the Cypher.

The small Treatise concerning the belief of those things which are not conceived, is placed again in this Volume, among the Treatises that are really St. Augustine's; though the Louvain Doctors after Erasmus, had put it among the Spurious Books. St. Augustine does not mention it in his Retractions; but he doth in the 231st. Letter to Count Darius; and it is written in his Style, and is very worthy of him. He shews there, that many things are believed, though they are not seen. He particularly urges the Example of Friendship, and good Wishes which are believed without being seen. Whence he concludes, that if that Faith is taken away, which makes us believe things that we see not, Society would be utterly overthrown. He confesseth, that to believe a thing, we ought to have some Marks that such a thing is: But he affirms, that we believe not in Jesus Christ, without sufficient Proofs of his Authority; that the Church alone is a constant and visible Proof of the Truth of his Doctrine; since we see that accomplished which Christ and the Prophets foretold. That none can doubt of the Truth of the Prophetical Books, since the Jews, who were the Christians great Enemies, preserved them; who also are unquestionable Witnesses of their Antiquity. He concludes this Discourse with a short Exhortation to the New Christians, to keep the Faith of the Church inviolable. What is said in the 10th. Chapter concerning the demolishing of the Temples, shews, that this Treatise was Written, and Composed after Honorius his Law, that was dated in 399.

It has been observed already, that St. Augustine being yet but a Priest, expounded the Creed in a Council of African Bishops assembled at Hippo. This Discourse which he afterwards put in Writing, as he declares in his Retractions, contains an exact Exposition of the Articles of the Creed. We have it here intitled, Of Faith and the Creed.

In the Book of Faith and Good Works, St. Augustine refutes several Errors which he had read in some Books that had been sent to him. There it was affirmed, 1. That all were to be admitted to Baptism who desired to be baptized, without any Examination. 2. That it was sufficient to instruct them in the Articles of Faith, though they were not taught the Rules of Manners till after they had received the Sacrament. 3. That what Crime soever a baptized Christian might commit, and in what Condition soever he might die, yet he should be infallibly saved, after he had passed through the Fire. St. Augustine declares against the first Proposition, that though the Wicked are to be tolerated in the Church, yet Correction was not to be neglected, nor the Discipline of the Church suffered to relax. He confesses however, that Sinners ought to be reproved with Meekness and Charity. Against the second Proposition, he teacheth, that Sinners who persevered in their Wickedness, were by no means to be admitted to Baptism: Showing, that the Holy Scripture requireth Repentance before Baptism; that St. John gave Precepts concerning Manners to those which he baptized; and that this is the Temper of the Church,

St. Augustine. Tome VI. which appointed the Times and Ceremonies observed by the *Catechumens*, for no other end, but to be sure, that they are well-disposed to receive the Sacrament of Baptism. Lastly of all, St. Augustine proves against the third Error, that whosoever dieth in the State of Mortal Sin, without Repentance, is eternally Damned: And he answers the place of St. Paul, that was alledged to prove the contrary. This Treatise was Composed in 413. after the Book of the *Spirit and the Letter*. *Garnerius* supposeth, that St. Jerome is the Person whom St. Augustine disputes with in this Book. But he cannot suspect that Father as guilty of either the first or the second Error: And it is altogether unlikely that it should be St. Jerome whom St. Augustine refuteth concerning the third.

The *Exhortation*, or Treatise of Faith, Hope, and Charity, was written at the Request of *Laurentius*, a great Lord of Rome, and Brother to *Dulcitius*; who had desired St. Augustine, to send him a small Book, containing an Abridgment of the Christian Religion. To satisfy him, St. Augustine dedicated to him this Book; wherein he reduceth all Religion to the Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, because a Man knoweth all that is comprised in Religion, when he knows what is to be Believed, what is to be Hoped for, and what is to be Loved. He explains what is to be Believed, by keeping to the Method of the Creed, refuting the Errors, and Heresies that are contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, without naming their Authors. He layeth down also most excellent Maxims, such as these: That Faith does not stop at a curious Inquiry after Natural Things: That Errors of Right are more dangerous than Errors of Fact; that all Errors are not Sins; and that there are some things, which it signifies little whether they are known, or not. He enlargeth much upon Original Sin; upon the Fall of Man, and Angels; upon the Necessity of a Mediator; of Baptism, and Grace; upon the Distinction of Venial and Mortal Sins; upon the Eternity, and the Inequality of the Pains of the Damned, upon the Extent of the Will of God to save Men; upon Free-Will; and upon the State of Souls till the Day of Judgment. Having thus explained what concerns Faith, he comes to Hope; and he saith, that Christians ought to Hope in God alone; and that whatsoever we Hope for, is comprehended in the Lord's Prayer, upon which he makes some Reflections. Lastly, he treateth of Charity; without which he pretends, that no Man can be Righteous. To which he refers all the Commandments of God, and Advices of the Gospel. This Book was written after St. Jerome's Death, who dyed in 420. as is plain by the 8th. Chapter, where St. Augustine speaks of him as one dead.

The Book, intituled, *The Combat of a Christian*, has much the same Design with the foregoing. St. Augustine composed it soon after he was a Bishop, in a plain Style, that it might be more proper to instill the Doctrine, and Precepts of Christian Religion into those Christians who were not Skilful in the Latin Tongue. He exhorts them, at first, to fight against the Devil: Then he shows, that Men get the Victory over him, when they overcome their Passions, and bring their Bodies under Subjection; which is only done by submitting to God, to whom every Creature ought to be subject, either Willingly, or out of Necessity. He adds, that in this Combat, Man is armed with Faith, and with the Assistances which Christ merited for us by his Death. At last, he runs through the Articles of the Creed, and refutes the contrary Heresies.

The Book of *Instruction for those that have no Knowledge of our Religion*, was written at the Request of a Deacon of Carthage, who desired of St. Augustine, Rules, and a Method to Catechize his People acceptably, and usefully. The Father comforts him at the beginning, upon his being very often, not pleased with his own Discourses, since it sometimes happens, that a Discourse which displeases the Speaker, is very acceptable to the Hearers. He adviseth him to teach them cheerfully, and not to be tired with it; and then furnishes him with Rules how to instruct them right in their Religion. He saith, in the first place, that perfect Instruction should begin at the Creation of the World, and end with the present Age of the Church: But for this, there is no need of learning by heart, or reciting all the Books of the Bible; one needs only chuse the best, the most admirable, and most diverting Passages. He layeth down, in the second place, his usual Rule, that every thing ought to be referred to Charity: that Care must be taken, that the Auditor may Believe what is spoken; Hope what he Believes, and Love what he Hopes for. And he would have him inspired with a wholesome Fear of God's Judgments, and kept from all prospects of temporal Interest, and Advantage that he might have by being a Christian. He observes, that the same Method is not to be followed with the Learned, as with the Ignorant; and he lays down very prudent Rules how they are to be dealt withal. He shews what things commonly tire the Hearers; and he gives excellent Remedies how they may be avoided; and at last, makes two instructive Speeches, one pretty long, the other shorter, but composed with a great deal of Art, to serve for an Example, or Pattern of such Instructions, as ought

St. Augustine. Tome VI. to be given. This Treatise shews, that to instruct Men well in Religion, is an harder Task than most Men imagine; and that the Method, formerly used, was nobler, and larger, than that which is now observed. This Book is of the Year 400, or thereabouts.

Though St. Augustine does not mention his Treatise of *Continency* in the Review of his Works, yet he owns it in the 262d. Epistle; and *Possidius* reckons it among his Works. This Book is a Discourse upon these Words of the 140th. Psalm. *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, and keep the Doors of my Lips. O let not my heart be inclined to any Evil Thing; let me not be occupied in ungodly Works, with the Men that work Wickedness.* He shews, that that true Continency consists in suppressing ones Passions; and he recommends the necessity of Grace to overcome them. He speaks against the Proud who excuse their Sins, and particularly against the *Manichees*, who charged their Sins upon an evil Nature that was in them. This Sermon is thought to be of the Year 395. or thereabouts.

Both the following Treatises were written against the Error of *Jovinian*. This Enemy of Virginitie hath drawn aside several Roman Virgins from their Design of continuing so, and persuaded them to Marry; saying to them, *Are you better than Susanna, or Anna, or so many other Holy Women?* Though *Jovinian's* Opinion was rejected at Rome, yet this Heretic's Disciples gave out, that none could refute him without condemning Marriage. To undeceive those that were of this Opinion, St. Augustine writ a Book, intituled, *Of the advantage of Matrimony*, before he undertook to speak of the Excellency of Virginitie. Wherein he saith first, that the Union betwixt the Husband and the Wife, is the most Ancient, and the most Natural. After that, he examineth a Question, rather Curious than Useful, namely, how Men could have had Children, had they perished in the State of Innocence. He observes a four-fold advantage in Marriage: The Society of both Sexes, the Procreation of Children, the good Use of Lust, which is regulated by a prospect of having Children, and the Fidelity which Husband and Wife preserve towards each other. He saith, that every Union between a Woman and a Man, is not Marriage. He doth not think, That this Name is to be given to that Union, whose aim was only to satisfy their brutish Passion, if they endeavour to prevent their having Children. He declares, that Man guilty of Adultery, who should abuse a Virgin, when he has a design of Marrying another: As for the Young Woman, he judgeth her guilty of Sin, but not of Adultery, if she is true to that Man, and designs not to Marry when he leaveth her: Nay, he prefers her before several married Women who abuse Matrimony by their Intemperance. He doth not excuse from Venial Sins either the Man, or the Woman, who have another Prospect in Marriage, than the begetting of Children. In a Word, he distinguishes three things in Marriage: The Fidelity which married Persons owe one to the other, which is of natural Right; the Procreation of Children, which ought to be the end of Marriage; and the Sacrament, or mysterious Signification, which makes it indissoluble: For which Reason he determines, that though human Laws permit a Man to Marry again when he is divorced from a former Wife, yet it is not lawful for Christians, to whom St. Paul forbids it. He concludes, that Marriage is of it self a good Thing, but one of those good Things which we should not look after, but in order to a greater Good, or to avoid a greater Evil. That before Christ, the most Continent might Marry to multiply that People from whom the *Messiah*, was to be born; but now, as many as are able to contain do well not to Marry. That for this reason Men were permitted formerly to have several Wives, and never Women to have several Husbands, but now no Man is to have more than one Wife. That the Gospel-Purity is so great in this Point, that a Deacon was not to be ordained, who had ever had more than one Wife. He approves their Opinion, who understand this Maxim in its whole Extent, and without Restriction, as St. Jerome doth by excepting those who contracted a former Marriage before Baptism: For, saith he, Baptism doth indeed remit Sins; but here the Question is not concerning a Sin. And as a young Woman that hath been defiled when she was a *Catechumen*, cannot be consecrated as a Virgin after Baptism, even so it hath been thought reasonable that the Man who hath had more than one Wife, whether before, or after Baptism, should be looked upon as wanting one necessary Qualification for Orders.

In Answer to *Jovinian's* Objection, he distinguishes the Habit from the Action of Virtue: This being Premised, he saith, that the old Patriarchs had an Habit of Continency, but did not practise it, because it was not convenient to do it in their time; and so when the Question is put to a Man that is not Married, *Are you more perfect than Abraham?* he ought to answer no; but Virginitie is more perfect than conjugal Chastity: Now *Abraham* was endued with both these Virtues; for he had the Habit of Continency, and exercised conjugal Chastity. He adds, that Persons are to be distinguished from Virtues: One Person may have one Virtue in a higher Degree than another, and yet be

St. Augustine
Tome VI.
he less Holy, because he hath not other Virtues in the same Degree. Thus a disobedient Virgin is less to be esteemed than a married Woman with the Virtue of Obedience. Last of all he exhorts Virgins not to be lifted up because of the Excellency of their Condition, but to be constant in Humility.

The Book of *Holy Virginity*, came out presently after that of *the Advantage of Matrimony*. St. Augustine shews there, that Virginity is one of the most excellent Gifts of God, and that Humility is necessary to preserve it. He exalteth the Excellency of Virgins consecrated to God, by the Example of the Virginity of the Mother of God, who, according to him, had made a Vow of Continency before the Angel appeared to her. He refutes those that condemn Matrimony, and those that compare it with Celibacy. He does not think that Virginity is of Command, but of Advice: It should not be chosen as a thing necessary to Salvation, but as a state of greater Perfection. And this he proves by several Passages of Scripture, and explains a Passage of St. Paul, from which some concluded, that he recommended Virginity merely upon account of the advantage of this present Life. He asserts also, that Virgins shall have a particular Reward in Heaven. At last, he exhorts them to Humility; proposing several convincing Reasons, and powerful Motives, to inspire them with it. Then he recommends to them above all things, the Love of their Divine Spouse, and speaks of him in a very moving manner: 'Behold (saith he to them) the Beauty of your Spouse! Think that he is Equal with his Father, and yet he was willing to submit himself to his Mother: He is a King in Heaven, and a Slave upon Earth: He is the Creator of all things, and yet he ranked himself among the Creatures. Consider both the Greatness and the Beauty of that which the Proud look upon with contempt: Behold with the Eyes of Faith the Wounds which he received upon the Cross, the Blood of the dying God, who is the Price of our Redemption, and the Cause of our Salvation. . . . He seeketh only the inward Beauty of your Soul: He gave you the power to become his Daughters: He desires not the Handsomeness of the Body, but Purity of Manners. None can deceive him, nor make him be jealous of you; and you may love him without fear of ever displeasing him upon account of false suspicions.' Both this and the foregoing Books were written in the Year 401.

They did well to joyn unto this the Book that treats of *the Advantages of Widowhood*, which Erasmus and others had inconsiderately rejected, as a Work that was none of St. Augustine's. St. Augustine, indeed, takes no notice of it in his *Retractions*; but that's not to be wondered at because it is only a Letter to *Juliana*, which *Possidius* put into his Catalogue. * *Philo* and *Bede* quote it as St. Augustine's; and this *Philo* in the 15th. Chapter some other Pieces of St. Augustine's are is, I don't quoted. This Book is an Instruction for Widows. He seems to know; it lerts there, that Widowhood is to be prefer'd before Marriage: Yet he doth not condemn Second Marriages, nor be a Fault Third and Fourth; but only says, that it is a great Crime of the to Marry after the Vow of Virginity; though he judges Prefs: *Philo* those Marriages to be good and valid, and blames those who Carpa- look upon them as adulterous. The Practice of the Church thius, men- at that time was, to put them under Penance who Married tion'd in the last Volume, dy'd several Years before St. Augustine wrote this Letter to *Juliana*.]

In both the Books of *Marriages which cannot be excused from Adultery*, St. Augustine handleth this Nice and Difficult Question, whether it be lawful either for the Man or the Woman to Marry after Divorce on the Account of Fornication? *Pollentius*, to whom these Books are directed, believed, that the Exception of the Case of Adultery, which we find in St. Matthew's Gospel, was no less to be understood of a Permission to Marry again, than of a Separation of Bodies: so that a Husband might not only leave his adulterous Wife, but also take another when he was divorced from the first. St. Augustine affirms on the contrary, That a Woman thus Divorced ought never to Marry again, no more than the Husband who caused her to be divorced. This whole Dispute depends upon the Sense of that Passage in St. Matthew, which excepteth the Cause of Fornication; and upon that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. which saith that the Bond of Matrimony is indissoluble but by the Husband's Death; and that if the Wife is married to another while he liveth, she committeth Adultery. St. Augustine enlarges much upon the Sense of these two Passages. He endeavours to make the first to agree with his Opinion, which he groundeth especially upon the second. He answereth *Pollentius's* Arguments, and uses several Reasonings, upon the Matter. He confesses in his *Retractions*, that he had not yet cleared that Point, but that there are some considerable Difficulties besides, though he had given Light enough to resolve them.

He further explaineth in the 1st. Book, another Passage in the same Epistle of St. Paul, concerning the Dissolution of Marriage between Infidels. *Pollentius* held, that St. Paul absolutely forbids Believing Husbands to put away their Unbelieving Wives: Whereas St. Augustine affirms, that it is only an Advice that he gives them, not to use the liberty they have to separate. He concludes this Book with another Question concerning the Catechumens, who fall into such Diseases as take away their Speech and Knowledge, whether they should be Baptized or no? He saith, that they ought to be Baptized; though he doth not condemn those that dare not hazard the Sacrament: and he goes so far, as to declare, that in such Cases those very Catechumens may be Baptized, who are known to be in a habit of Sin, and who ought not to be admitted to Baptism at another time. He adds, that Penitents are to be dealt withal after the same manner, and they should not be suffered to Die before they are Reconciled. In the 2d. Book, he treateth more at large than in the First, of *the Indissolubility of Marriages*, and examines several Questions upon that Subject. He concludes with an Exhortation to Husbands that have left their Wives, to live in Continency; alledging the Example of Church-men, who abstain so religiously, though they often were forced to take that Profession upon them against their Wills. The rank which St. Augustine sets these two Books in, in his *Retractions*, shews that he composed them in the Year 419.

The two next Books are concerning *Lying*. There St. Augustine handleth this Question, which was very famous in his time, *Whether a Lye may be used upon some Occasions*; He confesseth in the 1st. Book, intitled, *Of Lying*, and written in 395. That this is a perplexing Question, often disturbing Consciences; and that there seem to be some Occasions, when in Civility; and sometimes, out of Charity, officious Lyes may be lawful. He says, that he will forthwith examine the Question, that he may find out some Light in so obscure a Matter; and that at last, he will declare for the Truth; being persuaded, that though he were mistaken in so doing, yet his Mistake would prove less dangerous; because Error can never do less mischief than when Men are deceived by a great Love of the Truth, and by opposing Falshood with too much Zeal.

After this Preface, he defines what *Lying* is. He confesses, that Ironies are not Lyes; That every Untruth which a Man may speak, is not a Lye, if Men believe that what they say is True; and, that to Lye, is to speak what we do not think, with a Design to deceive. Whereupon he examines this subtle Question, Whether a Man speaking what he knoweth to be false, because he is sure that he to whom he speaks will not believe it, tells a Lye? And on the other side, Whether a Man that speaketh a Truth with a Design to deceive him whom he speaks to, because he knows that he will not believe him, is free from Lying? St. Augustine saith, That neither of these can be taxed with Lying; because the one design'd to persuade the Truth, by telling an Untruth; and the other spake a Truth, to persuade a Falshood; but neither can be excused from Imprudence and Rashness. Then he comes to the Question which he proposed to himself, Whether a Man might Lye upon some Occasions? Those that held the Affirmative, alledged several Examples of Lyes, which seem to be both approved and commended in the Old Testament, and added a Reason from common Sense. Should any one (said they) flee to your House for shelter, and it is in your power to save him from Death, by telling a Lye, would you see him unjustly murdered, rather than tell a Lye? If a sick Man asketh you a Question about something that he must not know; yea, supposing that he will be the worse if you give him no Answer; would you then utter a Truth that might occasion Death? or will you keep silence, when you may ease him by telling a charitable Lye? St. Augustine opposeth to these Reasons those Passages of Holy Scripture which forbid Lying without Restriction, and then answereth the Examples out of the Old Testament; That the Righteous who seem to have Lyed, did not intend that what they said should be understood in the usual Sense, but that by a Propheticall Spirit they meant to discover those things that were signified by those Figures; as for other Persons which are not in the number of the Righteous, the Holy Scripture never approves their Actions, but by comparing it with a greater Evil. He affirms, that there is no Example of Lying in the New Testament, and endeavours to answer the Inferences which they pretend to draw from the Instances of the Dispute betwixt St. Peter and St. Barnabas, and betwixt St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as from the Circumcising of *Timothy*. Lastly, that he might put an End to all the Reasons alledged from Necessity or Advantage, he maintains that we must never do Evil, what Advantage soever we may get by it: That so the whole Question is, Whether Lying be Evil or no? And not whether it is sometimes profitable? Whence he concludes, that no Lye is to be told either to preserve our Chastity or our Life, or for the Good of others, or for any other reason whatsoever; no, not the eternal Salvation of our Neighbour, because that Sin cannot be imputed to a Man, which he

St. Augustine. Tome VI. cannot prevent but by committing himself another Sin. To explain what he had said more at large, he reckons up eight sorts of Lyes; and having laid this down for a Rule, that we must depend altogether upon Gospel-Precepts, he enlargeth upon those that make against Lying.

The second Book *against Lying*, is written upon the same Principles, but long after the first; for St. Augustine wrote it in 420, at the Request of *Consentius*, who asked him, whether it was not lawful to make use of Lyes, to discover the *Priscillianists*, who concealed their Error by Lying, and horrid Execrations? St. Augustine condemns not only the Practice of the *Priscillianists*, but also the Zeal of the *Catholics*, who made use of Lyes to discover the Men of that Sect. He positively condemns the *Catholics* Action, who feigned themselves *Priscillianists*, more than that of the *Priscillianists*, who feigned themselves *Catholics*. From hence he takes an opportunity to enter upon the general Question concerning Lying; and he affirms, that it is never allowed upon any Pretence whatsoever; because whatsoever is Sin in its own nature, can never be rectified by any good Intention. He shews by the Examples of *David*, and *Lot*, that we are not always to imitate the Actions of Righteous Men. He excuseth *Abraham*, and *Isaac* from Lying. As for *Jacob's* Action, he saith, it was no Lye but a Mystery: That there is no Example of any Lye in the New-Testament, because Tropes, Parables, and Figures, cannot be called Lyes, no more than what is said of Jesus Christ; that in his Discourse with the Pilgrims, who went to *Emmaus*, he made as though he would have gone further; that we are no more to imitate *Thamar's* Lye, than *Judas's* Fornication; that God rewarded not the Lye of the Egyptian Midwives, but their compassion towards the Israelites Children. The same must be said of *Rahab's* Action. In one word; these Examples of Lyes taken out of the Old Testament, are no Lyes, or if they be, they cannot be excused. Lastly, Whatsoever Pretence they may have, Men are never permitted to betray the Truth for any Advantage, how great soever it may be, because they are never allowed to sin. And indeed, as St. Augustine observes once again, it is a very dangerous thing to allow Lying upon some occasions, because this Maxim may be stretched too far, and upon the same Principles, Perjury, and Blasphemy may in time be allowed.

St. Augustine confesses, in his *Retractions*, that both these Treatises are very intricate; and that he had a design himself to suppress them.

The Book *Of the Business of Monks*, is an excellent Satyr against some Monks, who thought themselves exempted from working with their Hands, because Christ hath said, that we should take no care for the Morrow, and so contented themselves with Praying, Reading, and Singing. St. Augustine opposes to them both the Example, and the Authority of St. Paul, who plainly says, *That whosoever will not Work, ought not to Eat*. He refutes the false Distinctions which they made to shift it off. He proves, that the true Sense of that Passage of the Gospel which they quoted, did not exempt Men from Working, but only banished the Ingratitude of worldly Men; that to labour with ones Hands is not inconsistent with Prayer; that it is so far from being unworthy of the Monastical State, that it is part of it: For, saith he, if a Rich Man makes himself a Monk, what can there be more perfect, than having quitted great Estates, to be obliged to Labour to get Necessaries. And if this new Convert be Poor, and of mean Condition, would not that be a Criminal Nicety, to desire to live more at ease in a Monastery than he did before in the World? Afterward he draws the Picture of those Idle Monks, whom he calls Hypocrites in Monastical Habits, with whom the Devil hath overspread the World. *They travel* (saith he) *from Province to Province, without any Mission; they have no fix'd Habitation, and abide in no place; they continually alter their Station: some carry Relicks about, (if they be Relicks,) and make an Advantage of them: Others take much upon them, by reason of their Habit and Profession: Some say they are going to see their Kindred, who, as they have heard, dwell in such a Country: But they all beg, and take it all if you give them not, either to supply the wants of such a Poverty as enricbeth them, or to Recompence a seeming and counterfeit Honesty.* EXIGUNT AUT SUMP-TUS LUCROSÆ EGESTATIS AUT SIMULATÆ PRETIUM SANCTIATIS. Lastly, St. Augustine compares his own Condition with that of the Monks, affirming, that he would chuse the Life of a Regular Monastery, to work at certain hours with his Hands, and to have others for Prayer and Pious Reading, rather than to be subject to the Fatigues of his Episcopal Office, and to be continually entangled with the secular Businesses of other Men. Towards the latter end, he laughs at the Fancy of those Monks who would never cut their Hair. Nothing is more pleasant than the Answer which they made to that Passage of the Apostle, where he forbids Men to let their Hair grow. This (saith he) is spoken for Ordinary Men, but not for those that have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven. St. Augustine makes Sport with that ridiculous Notion of the Monks; shewing them that they are Men as

well as others. This Book is in the *Retractions*, among those that were written about the Year 400.

The next Book is concerning the *Predictions of Demons*; wherein St. Augustine explains how they may Imagine and Foretell things, and how they often Mistake; shewing at the same time, that Religion permits us not to Consult with them. He supposes that *Demons* have very subtle Bodies. This small Treatise was composed in an *Easter-Week*, of some of the Years betwixt 406, and 411.

The Book of the *Cave which they ought to have of the Dead*, was written to answer that Question which St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, had proposed to St. Augustine in the Year 421. namely, Whether a dead Man was any thing the better for being buried in the Church of some holy Martyr. To this Question is added another, *To what purpose are the Church's Prayers for the Dead, seeing that according to the Apostle's Maxim, all Men shall be judged according to what they have done in this Life?* St. Augustine answereth, that the Book of *Maccabees* establishes the Custom of Praying for the Dead; and, that though nothing of it were found in the Old Testament, yet the Custom of the Church is sufficient to authorize that Practice, which is done in the Administration of the Eucharist. He is persuaded, that the Honour of Burial doth neither Good nor Hurt to the Soul of the dead Person; but yet that this Duty is to be pay'd to the Dead, as a Testimony of the Respect which is due to the Memory of pious Persons: That to be buried in a Martyr's Church, doth nothing of it self; but it serves to put the Faithful in mind of Praying for the Dead, because the Devotion for the Martyr increaseth the Fervency of Prayer. But that commonly the Care of decent Burial proceeds from the Respect which Men have for the Body: That Martyrs had Reason to lay aside that Care: That the Scripture commends those that are careful to bury the Dead, because it is a Token of their Tendernefs and Affection towards their Brethren. St. Augustine speaks afterwards concerning Apparitions of the Dead, by Dreams or otherwise; and having mention'd several Examples, he examineth how they come to pass. He thinks it more rational, to attribute them to the working of Angels, who form those Ideas in the Imagination, than to the Souls of the Dead. He does not believe that they are present, or that they take any notice at that time of the things that are done, but that they are acquainted with them afterwards, either by Angels, or by the Souls of those that are dead; or last of all, by the Inspiration of God. And by this last means, he believes that the Martyrs come to know the Necessities of the Faithful, and to hear their Prayers. He does not question but Martyrs help the Living; but he knows not whether they do it by themselves, or whether God doth it by Angels, at their Request. He confesseth, that we cannot know by which of these means, or whether by both, the Martyrs work Miracles.

He concludes, that of all that is done for the Dead, nothing availeth them where they are, but the Offering of the Eucharist, Prayers and Almsdeeds: That these things are not useful to all, but only to such as deserved in their Lifetime, to reap Benefit by them after their Death: That however, these things are performed for all Christians that were Baptized, because we cannot distinguish who shall be the better for it or not: That it is better that they should be superfluous to some than that they should be wanting to others: That these Duties are with Reason more exactly performed for our Friends and Kindred, that we may receive the same Assistance from our other Relations: That the Decency of Burial availeth nothing to the Salvation of the Dead, but it is a Duty of Humanity which is not to be neglected.

The *Discourse of Patience*, is one of those that St. Augustine mentions in the 231st. Letter. He treateth there of that Virtue rather Dogmatically than Pathetically. He takes notice at first, that God's Patience is of another nature from that of Men, because he cannot suffer. Then he distinguishes true Patience, which is a Virtue, from the Counterfeit, which is a Vice. Ambitious Men, Covetous, Luxurious Men, and Robbers, endure patiently extremity of Pain and Misery; yet want the Virtue of Patience, because they suffer upon an ill account. None but such as suffer for a good Cause, can be said to be truly Patient. But if wicked Men endure all things for the Goods of this World, what ought not the Righteous to suffer for Eternal Life? then he proposes the Examples both of *Job* and of the Martyrs; to the which he opposes the Impatience of the *Donatists*, who killed themselves, that they might be accounted Martyrs; shewing, that Self-Murder is a greater Sin than Murdering of another; 'For (saith he) a Parricide is more guilty than a Man-slayer, because he kills a Person that is nearer to him than other Men: By the same reason, he must be thought the greater Sinner who kills himself, because none are so near to us as our selves.' Lastly, He maintains, that true Patience is not from our own strength, but from God's help; because true Patience is grounded upon Charity, which is the Gift of God. This puts St. Augustine upon discoursing of Grace, and proving that it is not given to our Merits; but that it prevents them, and goeth before Faith

St. Augustine. Tome VI.

St. Augustine
Tome VI.

Faith it self, which is the beginning of all good Works. This short Discourse was written about the Year 418.

Of the four following Sermons upon the Creed, there is none but the first which comes near St. Augustine's Style, as it is observed in the Preface. It contains a clear and succinct Explication of the Articles of the Creed. He saith, upon the Article of the Church, that there is but one only true Catholick Church, which opposes all Heresies, and can never be overcome. Upon the Article of the Forgiveness of Sins, he distinguisheth two sorts of Sins, Light and Great Sins; Baptism remitteth both. After Baptism, Light Sins, from which no Man can be absolutely free, are remitted by the Lord's Prayer: But great Sins, as Adultery, and other Enormous Crimes, cannot be remitted but by an humbling Penance. In this Creed we find the Article of Everlasting Life, which gives Grounds of Suspicion, that this Discourse is none of St. Augustine's; because this Article is not in the Book of Faith, and the Creed, which is certainly his.

The Benedictines have Reason to Print the three other Sermons upon the same Subject, in a small Character, and to observe as they do, that they are written in a very different Style from St. Augustine's; yet they believe them to be ancient, and written by some Disciple of St. Augustine, during the Vandals Persecution against the Catholicks, which is mentioned in the second Sermon.

They likewise put into the same rank three other Sermons, which they believe to belong to the same Author; the Sermon of the fourth Day of the Week, Or, Of the Dressing of the Lord's Vineyard; a Discourse concerning the Flood, and the Sermon of the Time of the Barbarians Persecution; which they have also Printed in a small Character.

They have left the Sermon of the New Song under St. Augustine's Name; but they say in the Preface, that they doubted whether it was his. They might have passed the same Censure of the Sermon of Discipline, and that of the Usefulness of Fasting; which I cannot find to be any more than the others of St. Augustine's Style: Nay, I scarce believe, that the Sermon of the taking of the City of Rome, which is the last in this Volume, is truly St. Augustine's; yet every Man is left to judge as he pleases, that shall read it.

The Treatises which you find in the Supplement, are certainly none of St. Augustine's: The Benedictines have made an exact Critick of them in their Prefaces, and have Collected all that could be said or guess'd at concerning their Authors.

The first is a Collection of one and twenty Questions, gather'd without any Order by a very Ignorant Author. Most of them are about Philosophical Matters, and composed of Extracts out of several of St. Augustine's Books.

The Sixty five following Questions and Answers, which are found in some Manuscripts under Orosius's and St. Augustine's Names, are in a better order than the former, and concerning more Theological Matters; but they are Extracts out of several Passages: The first twelve are taken out of a Treatise falsely attributed to St. Augustine, Concerning the Trinity and Unity of God. Most of them that follow, are Extracts out of St. Eucherius. Some are out of St. Augustine's Treatise upon Genesis. They end with a Citation of a Passage of St. Augustine against those who desire to be Bishops, that they might Command, taken out of the 19th. Chapter of the 19th. Book of the City of God; which is quoted as of a Father ancients than himself: One of the Fathers, saith he, hath said very elegantly, against those that desire to Command: Let those, saith he, who would Command rather than Serve others, know, that they are not Bishops.

The Book of Faith to Peter, belongs to St. Fulgentius, to whom it is ascribed in a Manuscript of Corby, above one thousand years Old, as well as in another later. It is cited under his Name by Ratramnus, in his Treatise of the Body and Blood of Christ. Both Isidore, and Honorius of Autun, do likewise mention a Treatise of St. Fulgentius, containing the Rule of Faith; which is not different from this.

The Book of the Spirit and Soul, which is a Collection of Passages from several Authors, is attributed to Hugo de S. Victore by Trithemius, and by Vincentius Bellovacensis, and Printed among this Author's Works. Yet the great number of Extracts taken out of the very Works of Hugo de S. Victore makes it questionable, whether it be his. St. Thomas ascribes it to a Cistercian Monk. The Benedictines believe that it was written by Alcherus, a Friend of Isaac's, Abbot of Stella, to whom this Man directed a Letter of the Soul. In the Bibliotheca Cisterciana, it is attributed to Isaac, and it is observed that he published it under Alcherus's Name; but it is not likely that Abbot Isaac would insert a part of his own Letter into this Treatise.

The Treatise of Friendship is an Epitome, or rather an Extract out of the Treatise of Aelradus Rievallensis, which is found among that Author's Works.

The Book of the Substance of Love, is made up of two small Treatises among the Works of Hugo de S. Victore. That of the Love of God, is a Collection of Passages of this same Author's, out of St. Bernard, and St. Anselm. Vincentius Bellovacensis cites it under Peter Comestor's Name.

The Soliloquies that are here, are not those of St. Augustine, which are in the first Volume of his Works: These are St. Anselm's made up out of Passages of the Soliloquies and Confessions of St. Augustine, and the Books of Hugo de S. Tome VI. Victore. There is the first Chapter of the fourth Lateran Council held in the Year 1198.

It is proved in the Preface to the Book of Meditations, that they cannot be St. Augustine's. Many of them are attributed to St. Anselm; but the Benedictines have proved that they are rather written by John Abbot of Fescamp, who, lived in the time of the Emperor Henry III. to whose Widow he directs a Letter, published by Father Mabillon in the first Volume of his Annales, from another Manuscript of the Abby of St. Arnoul of Metz, where this Treatise of Meditations is mentioned, part whereof is found in the same Manuscript.

The following Treatise of the Contrition of the Heart, is taken out of the Meditations attributed to St. Anselm.

The Manual is Composed likewise of Extracts out of St. Anselm's Works, and St. Bernard's Hugo's de S. Victore, and Alcuinus; there are also some Passages of St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory, and of Isidore of Seville. Part of this Book is in the next Book, intituled the Looking-Glass: Another part of it is the Extract of a Prayer which is in the Manuscript of Corby, which containeth the Works of Abbot John.

The Looking-Glass makes a part of the Confession of Faith, which Chiffletius published under Alcuinus's Name; yet it is Composed of Passages out of Alcuinus's own Works.

The next Book is intituled, The Looking-Glass of a Sinner. The Author citeth a Sentence of Odo Cluniacensis, in Commendation of St. Martin. He useth the Term of Prebend, and he hath taken some places out of the Prayer of Hugo de S. Victore, out of the Book of the Spirit and Soul already mentioned, and out of the Book of Conscience, ascribed to St. Bernard. The Book of the threefold Habitation is of the same nature; and there are the same Notions. It is very likely that all these Treatises of Piety belong to the same Author.

The Book intituled, The Ladder of Paradise, attributed to St. Bernard, and intituled in his Works, the Ladder of the Cloister; or, a Treatise how to Pray; is written by Guigo [or Guido] Carthusianus, as appears by the Letter that serves for a Preface, taken out of the Manuscript of the Carthusian House in Colen.

Honorius of Autun, in his Book of Luminaries, mentions a Book which he had written, intituled, Of the Knowledge of Life; or, Of the true Life. This here bears the same Title, and has the Style and Genius of this Author; as is proved in the Preface.

The Book of a Christian Life, was formerly restored by Holstenius, to one Fastidius, a Briton, who is the true Author of it; as we learn not only by the ancient Manuscript belonging to the Monastery of Mount-Cassin, by which Holstenius Printed it at Rome, in 1633. but also by the Authority of Gennadius, who ascribes it to him, and who observes that this Author was a Briton.

In this Book there are several Footsteps of Pelagius's Errors; he lived much about the same time.

The Book of Wholesome Instructions, is here restored upon the Credit of an ancient Manuscript, in the Library of M. Colbert, to Paulinus Patriarch of Aquileia; who lived about the latter end of the * * [This seems to be a mistake of the Press: this

Paulinus, or as it is in the French Paulus was Contemporary with Charles the Great, assisted at the Council of Francfort, and dy'd according to Dr. Cave, in the Year 804].

The Author of the Book, Of the Twelve Abuses of the Age, is not known; it is as wrongfully attributed to St. Augustine as to St. Cyprian: only it is observed in the Preface, that this Book is quoted by Jonas Bishop of Orleans, who was ancients than Hincmar, who writ a Book bearing the same Title, different from that mentioned by Flodoardus: Pamelius found a Manuscript, having in the Margin the Name of Eward, instead of St. Augustine; but this Eward is not known.

They did not Print the two Treatises of the Seven Deadly Sins, and of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, which F. Vignier published under St. Augustine's Name, in the first Part of his Supplement, because they are amongst the Works of Hugo de S. Victore.

The Treatise of the Conflict betwixt Virtues and Vices was first ascribed to St. Augustine, then to St. Leo, then to St. Ambrose, and at last to Isidore of Seville: but here it is restored to its true Author Ambrosius, Autpertus, a Benedictine Monk [of the Monastery of St. Vincent] upon the Vulturnus near Benevento. This Treatise is mentioned in his Life, which is in the Acts of the Benedictines, Age III. at the Year 778. The Style of this Treatise is very like that of this Author's Commentary upon the Revelations.

Of the same Nature is the Book of Sobriety and Charity, and the Author of it is unknown. There Drunkenness is

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particularly reprov'd. This Book is well enough written, St. *Augustine*. and seemeth to me to be ancient.

The *Benedictines* prove in their Preface to the Book of Tome VI. *true and false Repentance*, that this Book has not St. *Augustine's* Style, though it hath been cited under his Name by *Gratian*, by the Master of the Sentences, *Petrus Blesensis*, and several others.

The Treatise of *Antichrist*, is likewise among the Works of *Alcuinus* and *Rabanus*. *Rupertus* cites it without naming the Author. The Manuscripts attribute it to *Alcuinus*, and it agrees well enough with his other Writings. It contains several Circumstances relating to Anti-Christ, and the End of the World, which he describeth with as much Confidence as if he had learned it by Revelation.

After this Treatise comes a Prayer, or rather an *Imprecation* out of several Verses of the *Psalms*. It is intitled in a Manuscript of the King's Library, *The Psalter of Pope John, made at Vienna*. *John* the XXII. is thought to be the Man meant by that Title.

The following Treatise upon the *Magnificat*, is a Fragment of the Treatise of *Hugo de S. Victore*, upon this Hymn.

That of the *Virgin's Assumption*, is a Sermon of some Author of the twelfth Century, or thereabouts; which teacheth that the Blessed Virgin is in Heaven, both Soul and Body.

Both the Discourses concerning *Visiting the Sick*, contain useful Rules to teach Priests how they should behave themselves towards Sick Persons; but they are very late. Both the Discourses of the Comfort for the Dead, are of the same Nature, and it may be of the same Author.

The Treatise of *Christian Behaviour* is a Collection of Notions taken out of St. *Eloi* or *Eligius* Bishop of *Noyon*, and *Cassianus*. The Discourse upon the *Creed*, is likewise a Collection of Remarks drawn out of *Rufinus*, *Cassianus*, St. *Gregory*, *Ivo Carnutenfis*, and others. The Sermon upon *Easter-Eve*, about the Paschal-Lamb, and that upon the

* 41st. Sermon, are among the Books fall-attributed to St. *Jerome*.

* [What this Book upon the 41st. Sermon should be, St. *Augustine*. Tome VI.]

I cannot tell; it is false Printed in all probability, but not having this *Benedictine* Edition of St. *Augustine* by me, I could not alter it.

The three Sermons to the Novices, concerning *Uaction*, *Baptism*, and *Washing of the Feet*, are not like St. *Augustine's* Writings, though they are attributed to him in very ancient Manuscripts.

The Treatise of the *Creation of the first Man*, is inserted entire into the Book of the *Spirit and the Soul*. It is among St. *Ambrose's* Works, intitled a Treatise of the *Dignity of the first Man*; and among *Alcuinus's* it is intitled, *Thoughts of the Blessed Albinus a Levite, upon these words of Genesis, Let us make Man after our own Image*.

The Sermon of the *Vanity of this present Age*, is inserted into the Treatise of *Christian Behaviour*, the Author of the Sermon upon the *contempt of the World* is not known. That about the Advantage of Discipline belongs to *Valerianus Cemelicas*; It is not known who was the Author of the Sermons of *Obedience*, *Humility*, *Prayer*, *Alms*, and that of the *Generality of Alms-deeds*. The small Discourse of the twelve Prayers spoken of in the 21st. Chapter of the *Revelations*, belongs perhaps to *Amatus* a Monk, of *Mount-Cassin*, or rather an Extract of *Bede's* Commentary upon that Passage in the *Revelations*.

Finally, the Sermons to the Brethren that live in the *Wilderness*, are the Work of some Modern Monk, who was so imprudent as to publish them under St. *Augustine's* Name, though it be as clear as the day, that they are not of this Father. *Baronius* observes, that they were Compos'd by an Impostor, and that they are full of Fables, Falsities, and Lyes. *Bellarmino* saith, that the Style of them is Childish, Course, and Barbarous. There are several Passages out of St. *Augustine*, *Cassianus* and St. *Gregory*. It is probable, that the Author was a *Fleming*.

The Seventh TOME.

Tome VII. THE seventh Volume contains St. *Augustine's* great Work of the *City of God*. He undertook it about the Year 413. after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*, to refute the Heathens who attributed that Misfortune to the Christian Religion. This Work held him several Years, by reason of many intervening Business which he could not put off; so that he did not finish it before the Year 426. It is divided into two and twenty Books, whereof the first five refute those who believe that the worship of the Gods is necessary for the Good of the World; and affirmed, that all the Mischiefs lately happened, proceeded from no other Cause, but the abolishing of that Religion. The next five are against those who confessing that the same Calamities have been in all Ages; yet pretend that the worship of the Heathen Divinities was profitable to a future Life. Thus the ten first Books are to Answer both these Chimerical Opinions, which are contrary to the Christian Religion. But lest they should reproach him with having refuted the Opinions of others, without establishing the Christian Religion, the other part of this Work is allotted to that purpose, and it consists of twelve Books, though he sometimes establisheth our belief in the former ten, and so in the twelve others he sometimes correcteth the Errors of our Adversaries. In the four first of these twelve, he describes, the Original of the two Cities; the one of God, and the other of the World. In the four next, their Progress; And in the four last, their Ends: And so, though all the 22. Books do equally treat of both Cities, yet this Work has its Name from the better, and they are commonly called, *The Books of the City of God*. This is the Account which St. *Augustine* gives, both of the Subject and of the Occasion of these Books in his *Retractions*. Let us now examine more particularly what is most remarkable in each Book; for it is a Work made up of a great variety of very learned and very curious Things.

In the first Book, he shews, that instead of imputing to the Christians, the Desolation and the Taking of *Rome*, the Heathen ought rather to ascribe to the special Favour of Jesus Christ, that the *Barbarians*, only out of Reverence to his Name, spared all those that had retired into the Churches. He pretends, that there are no examples in the Wars of the Heathen, to shew that the Enemies who spoiled a Town taken by Storm, spared those who took Sanctuary in the Temples of their Gods. This puts St. *Augustine* upon asking, why this Favour of God was extended to those Ungodly Men that fled into the Churches, who feigned themselves to be Christians; and why the good were involved in the same Mischiefs with the wicked. He confesses, that both the Good and the Evil Things of this World are common both to Good and Evil Men; but the difference consists in the Use which they make of them. He observes, That perhaps good Men probably are punished with the wicked, because they took no care to reprove and to correct them;

and that however good Men lose nothing by losing the good things of this World; that a Christian ought to be easily comforted for want of Burial, seeing that this doth him neither good nor hurt: And he comforteth the Virgins that had been ravished in that disorder; shewing, that they lost neither the Chastity of the Soul, nor the Purity of the Body; He excuseth those that killed themselves, rather than endure that dishonour. But he shews at the same time, That this Action so much admired by the Heathen, is contrary, both to Reason and to the Laws of Nature; and that it is never lawful to kill our selves upon any account whatsoever. He answers the Examples of some Holy Women who threw themselves into the River, to escape the Violence of those that would have ravished them. He saith, that they might have been induced to that, by the Spirit of God, as *Sampson* was. He concludes with a description of the Depravation of the *Romans*, and the Disorders of their Manners, at that time.

In the Second Book he affirms, that the corruption of Manners, which is the greatest of Mischiefs, was always reigning in *Rome*; and that the Gods they worshipped, were so far from prescribing them Laws, for the Reformation of their Manners, that on the contrary they encouraged them to Vice, by their Examples, and by their Ceremonies, that were used in their Worship.

In the third Book he goes back as far as the Siege of *Troy*, and then takes a view of the principal Events which happened to the People of *Rome*, to convince the most Stubborn, that their Gods preserved them not from the same Disasters and Calamities which the Heathen now imputed to the Christian Religion.

In the fourth Book he shews that the increase of the Roman Empire can be attributed neither to all the Divinities which they adored, nor to any one in particular: That however, no Empire is to be called Happy, which is increased only by War, as the Roman Empire was: That great Empires without Justice, were but great Robberies; and that the true God alone, is the sole Dispenser of the Kingdoms of the Earth.

He prosecuteth the same Subject in the fifth Book; and proves, in the beginning, that the greatness of Empires depends not upon Chance, nor upon a particular Conjunction of the Stars: which gives him occasion to speak of Destiny and to refute judicial Astrology at large. He acknowledges a Destiny, if by this Term is meant a series, and concatenation of all Causes, which God foresaw from all Eternity; but he advises Men rather not to use that Word which may have an ill Sense. He endeavours to make God's Fore-knowledge, and the Infallibility of those Events, which he foresees, to agree with Man's Free-will. Then from this Disposition of Things, he comes to enquire into the Causes of the Roman Victories, and he meets with none more probable than their Honesty. He confesses, that God rewarded

warded their moral Virtues with those sorts of Recompences; adding, that thereby God made the Inhabitants of the eternal City, to know what Recompence they were to expect for their Christian Virtues. Since the counterfeit Virtues of the Heathen were so well rewarded, that he set this Example before their Eyes, to teach them how much they ought to be in love with their Heavenly Country for an immortal Life, since the Inhabitants of an Earthly Country were so much in love with it, for an human, and a mortal Glory, and how hard they were to Labour for that Heavenly Country, since the Romans had taken such great Pains for their Earthly One. 'He examineth afterwards, wherein consists the true Happiness of Christian Kings, and Princes: And he shews, that they are not Happy for having reigned long, for dying in Peace, and leaving their Children Successors of their Crowns, nor for the Victories which they obtained, because such Advantages are common to them with ungodly Kings: But that Christian Princes are said to be Happy, when they set up Justice, when in the midst of the Praises that are given them, and the Honours that are payed unto them, they are not swelled with Pride, when they submit their Power to the Sovereign Power of God, and use it to make his Worship to flourish. When they fear, love, and worship God; when they prefer, before this which they now enjoy, that wherein they are not afraid to meet with any Compensators; when they are slow to Punish, and ready to Forgive; when they punish only for the good of the Publick, and not to satisfy their Revenge; and when they forgive purely that Men may be Corrected, and not that Crimes may be Countenanced; when being obliged to use Severity, they temper it with some Actions of Meekness, or Clemency; when they are so much the more temperate in their Pleasures, by how much they have a greater Liberty to exceed; when they affect to Command their Passions rather than all the Nations of the World, and they do all these things, not out of Vain-Glory, but to obtain eternal Happiness; and, in short, when they are careful to offer unto God, for their Sins the Sacrifice of Humility, Mercy and Prayer.' These, saith *St. Augustine*, are the Christian Princes whom we call Happy: Happy even in this World by Experience, and really Happy, when what we look for, shall come. Finally, he proposes the Examples of some Christian Emperors, and particularly of *Constantine*, and *Theodosius*, whose Greatness, and Prosperities he extols and sets forth.

In the sixth Book, *St. Augustine* proves by the Authority of *Varro*, that the fabulous Divinity of the Heathen is ridiculous; he makes the same Conclusion concerning their civil Theology, and grounds what he saith of it upon *Seneca's* Authority.

He goes on in the seventh, to discover the Falshood of the Heathen civil Theology; shewing that their chiefest Divinities, or select Gods, do not deserve to be called Gods; and that the Christian's God alone governs the World.

The eighth Book refutes the natural Theology of their Philosophers: He prefers the *Platonists* before all other Philosophers, and owns that they knew the True God; shewing withal, that they were deceived by honouring *Demons*, as subaltern Deities, and Mediators betwixt God, and Men: He shews, 'That the Christians never committed this Mistake; and that they are so far from adoring the *Demons*, which are evil Spirits, that they do not worship the Angels, nor the Holy Martyrs; that they do indeed Honour, and Reverence them as the Servants of God, but that they did not build Temples for them, nor consecrate Priests, nor offer Sacrifices unto them. For, saith he, who among Christians ever saw a Priest before an Altar, consecrated to God, upon the Body of a Martyr, say in his Prayer, *Peter, Paul, or Cyprian*, I offer you this Sacrifice?' It is offered to God, though it be upon the Monuments of Martyrs; and these Ceremonies were appointed to be performed upon their Monuments, for no other end, but to give the True God Thanks for the Victories which they had obtained, and at the same time to stir up Christians to imitate their Courage, and to make themselves worthy to have a share in their Crowns, and Rewards: So that all the Acts of Piety, and Religion, which are done at the Tombs of the Holy Martyrs, are Honours pay'd to their Memory, and not Sacrifices offered to them as Divinities.

But so far as they owned two sorts of *Demons*, some good, and some bad, *St. Augustine* examines that Distinction in the next Book, where he shews by the Principles both of *Apuleius*, and of the Chief of the Heathenish Authors, that all *Demons* are Evil. Whence he concludes that they cannot be Mediators between God, and Men. He doth not believe that Angels deserve that Title, affirming, that it belongeth to none but Jesus Christ alone.

In the tenth Book he treateth at large of Angel Worship: He saith, that they are Creatures, whose Felicity is all in God; that they Worship God, and their Desire is, that all Men would Worship him; that they require of us neither Adoration nor Sacrifices; and that God doth not expect from us Sacrifices, like those of the Heathen, but a Sacrifice of the Union, such as the Church cele-

brates in the Eucharist, and which the Faithfull know: That the Miracles which were wrought by the Interposition of Angels, (not of *Demons*, whose Prodigies are nothing but illusions:) These Miracles, I say, were wrought by God's Power, to make himself known unto Men: That the Invisible God becomes Visible by the Ministry of his Angels; whom he made use of to deliver his Law to the World: That it is so true, that no Sacrifice is to be offered to any but God; that Jesus Christ, as Man, would be made a Sacrifice himself, and not receive one from any Body else: That God alone can purifie Men of their Sins, as the *Platonists* themselves acknowledge, that so it was necessary that God should be made Man, to be a true Mediator: That the just Men under the Old Law, were not saved but by Faith in this Mediator: That Pride alone keeps the *Platonists* from owning the Incarnation: That the Soul is not Co-eternal with God, as they imagine: And Lastly, that the Means of delivering the Soul which they sought after to so little purpose, is nothing but the Christian Religion.

In the 11th Book, *St. Augustine* finds the Original of both Cities, in the diversity of Angels; which gives him occasion to treat of the Creation of the visible World, which was immediately preceded by that of the invisible, that is, of the Angels whom he created all in a state of Righteousness, from which some are fallen through their own Fault. He makes some digressions to speak of the Trinity, and of several Circumstances of the Creation of the World.

Having proved in the 12th. That the difference of good, and evil Angels doth not proceed from their Nature, but from their Will, because God created nothing but what was both Good, and Perfect. He comes to discourse of Mankind; and proves that Men are not from Eternity, but that God created Man in time: And he mentions something concerning the Fall of the First Man, whereof he speaks more at large in the 13th. Book, where he shews, that the Death, both of Body and Soul, was the consequence, and the punishment of *Adam's* Fall. There one may meet with several curious Notions concerning Death; and several Reflections upon the Resurrection, and the Quality of glorified Bodies. He goes on in the 14th. Book, to speak of the Fall of the First Man, and of the lamentable Consequences that attended it, and particularly of irregular Desires, and shameful Passions. He enquires, whether the first Man was subject to Passions, and how he could Sin being free from them. Lastly he asketh several Questions, rather nice, than necessary, how Men should have had Children in the Earthly Paradise, had they continued in the State of Innocence.

The fifteenth Book is the first of those wherein he examineth the Progress of both the Cities: He finds the History of it in the Old Testament, where he shews who were the Citizens of both these Cities. This Book prosecutes this History from the Creation, to the Flood. On the one side, we see *Abel*, and *Isaac*, and on the other *Cain*, and *Esan*: And both these Cities may be taken notice of in the Marriages of the Sons of God, with the Daughters of Men. The Church is represented by *Noah's* Ark. There are in this Book curious Allegories and several Reflections upon the History of *Genesis*. Amongst other things, he examines the length of the Lives of the first Patriarchs; and the Difference betwixt the Translation of the *Septuagint*, and the Hebrew Text, about the Number of the Generations.

In the 16th. Book he carries on the History of both Cities, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, and from *Abraham* to the Kings of *Israel*. He doth not find that the Scripture takes notice of any that served God from *Noah* to *Abraham*. He speaks of the Posterity of the Children of *Noah*, of the Confounding of Languages, of the Antiquity of the Hebrew Tongue, and of the Multiplication of Mankind. He questions, whether there be *Antipodes*. In the rest of the Book he clears the History of *Abraham*, and of his Posterity, which is explained with relation to the City of God.

In the 17th. taking a view of the History both of the Kings and of the Prophets, he relates and expounds the Prophecies which are in the Books of *Kings*, in the *Psalms*, and in the Books of *Solomon*, which relate to Christ or his Church.

Now as he had quitted the History of the City of the World, when he was come to *Abraham*, so he resumeth it in the beginning of the 18th. Book; which contains an Abbridgment of the History of the Principal Monarchies in the World, the times whereof he makes to agree with the History of the Bible; and he omits not to speak of the Fabulous Histories, and of the Matamorphoses. Afterwards, he quotes the *Sibylline* Oracles; but he insists most upon the Predictions of the Prophets, which he produces in all their Particulars. He speaks also of the Books of the *Maccabees*: and having made some Reflections upon the Authority of the History of the Canonical Books, and of the Translation of the LXX. he describeth in few Words the Fall of the Jewish Empire; and so he comes to the Nativity of Jesus Christ, the Dispersion of the Jews, the Settlement of the Church, the Persecutions and Heresies which immediately followed. *St. Augustine* makes very ingenious Reflections upon all these Articles; and concludes this Book, by shewing, that the end of the World is unknown; and he refutes a false prediction which the Heathens published, that the

Christian Religion should last but Three hundred sixty five Years.

St. Augustine. The 19th. Book treateth of the End of both Cities : Tome VII. Each one aims at the chiefest Good: but the Inhabitants of the Terrestrial know so little of it, that their Philosophers, the Wifest among them, could never agree wherein it consisted. *Varro* reckoneth two hundred eighty eight different Opinions of Philosophers about it. The Christian Religion discovers the Fallacy of all those Opinions, by letting Man know, that he cannot be Happy in this Life, but only in Hope; because he cannot enjoy here Peace and perfect Tranquillity.

The 20th. Book contains a description of the Last Judgment, of the Renewing of the World, of the Resurrection, and of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*.

The 21st. treateth of the End of the Earthly City, and represents the Horror of the Torments of Dæmons and Damned Men, and of the Eternal Fire of Hell. *St. Augustine* refutes the vain Reasons of those that doubt of it; and the Fancy of some, who affirmed, that those Torments should have an End, and that Men should be kept from them by the Intercession of the Saints by the Use of Sacraments and by Almsdeeds.

The last Book is, concerning the Happiness which the Saints shall enjoy to Eternity. The main End which *St. Augustine* aims at there, is, to prove the Probability of Man's Resurrection. His chief Reason is grounded upon Christ's Resurrection; attested by such Credible Witnesses, that none can rationally doubt of it, the Truth thereof having been confirmed by so many Miracles. But because Unbelievers demanded why Miracles were not still wrought, *St. Augustine* mentions several that were done in his time, which he pretends to be very certain, and very well attested. He speaks again of the Condition of Glorified Bodies and Crowns his Work with an excellent Pourtraiture of the Happiness of the Saints. 'How great (saith he) will be that Felicity that shall be disturbed with no Evil, and where no other Business shall be followed but singing the Praises of God who shall be All in all? ... There will be found True Glory, where there is neither Error nor Flattery. There is true Honour; since it is refused to none that deserve it, and it is not given to any that deserve it not; yea, where no Unworthy Person shall pretend to it, because there shall be none there but such as are Worthy. There will be true Peace, where a Man shall suffer nothing either from himself, or from other Men. He that is the Author of Virtue, shall himself be the Reward of it; because there is nothing better than he. He shall be the End of our Desires, whom we shall see to be without End, whom we shall Love without Disgust, and Praise without Weariness. This Employment will be common to all Men, as well as Eternal Life; but it is impossible to know what degree of Glory shall be proportionable to each Man's Merit; and yet it is certain, that there is a

great difference betwixt the Happiness of the one, and of the other. But one of the great Advantages of that City, will be, that none shall envy those whom he shall see to be Above him. ... Every one shall enjoy a Happiness, some greater, and others less; but Every one shall have this Gift, Not to desire a greater than what he has. And we are not to imagine that Men shall be there without Free-Will, because they cannot take pleasure in Sin. For he will be so much the more Free, who shall be delivered from the Pleasure of Sinning, so as to take an unalterable Pleasure in not Sinning any more. ... Wherefore, all the Inhabitants of this Divine City shall have a Will perfectly Free, exempt from all Evil, filled with all manner of Good, enjoying without intermission the Delights of an Immortal Joy, without remembrance either of his Faults or of his Miseries, otherwise than to bless their Deliverer for the same.'

They have left out in this Edition the Commentaries both of *Ludovicus Vives*, and of *Leonardus Coquæus*; which exceeded the Text of *St. Augustine* by much, and which served but little to understand it, tho' otherwise full of Learning and Erudition.

These Books of *St. Augustine* are very pleasant, for the surprising variety of the things which he hath brought in to serve his purpose, so as all to tend to the same End. Their Learning is generally admired; yet they contain nothing but what is taken out of *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Seneca*, and other profane Authors, whose Works were common enough in those days; and one may say, that there is nothing very curious or elaborate; and in some places he is not exact, and he does not directly resolve most of the Difficulties which he proposes both upon the Text, and upon the History of the Books of the Bible. He discusses very useless Questions, and sometimes makes use of Reasons too weak to persuade those that would doubt of what he intends to prove: yet for all that, this is a most excellent Book: What I most admire in it, is, the Management of the whole Work, the judicious Reflections which he makes upon the Opinions therein related, and the great Principles of Morality which he layeth down upon Occasion.

At the latter end of this Volume there are some Letters which have some relation to what *St. Augustine* saith in the 8th. Chapter of the last Book of the Miracles that were done in his time. The first is one of *Avitus*, upon the Translation of a Letter written by *Lucianus*, concerning the Discovering of *St. Stephen's* Body. With this Translation, they have added another Tract, translated out of Greek by *Anastasiu* the Library-Keeper, about another Discovery of *St. Stephen's* Relicks at *Constantinople*. They have likewise placed their Bishop *Severus's* Letter, touching the Miracles happened in the Island *Minorca*, at the appearing of *St. Stephen's* Relicks for the Conversion of the Jews: And two Books ascribed to *Evodius*, Bishop of *Uzala*; concerning *St. Stephen's* Miracles; which have been mentioned already.

The Eighth TOME.

Tom. VIII. THE eighth Volume of *St. Augustine's* Works, contains his Writings against Hereticks, excepting those that are against both the *Donatists* and the *Pelagians*, which make up two distinct Volumes.

It begins with the small Treatise of *Heresies*, composed in the Year 428. at the Request of *Quodvultdeus*, a Deacon, to whom it is directed.

This Writing was to have had two Parts: The first, concerning the Heresies raised from Jesus Christ's to *St. Augustine's* time. He promised to examine, in the second, what it is that makes a Man an Heretick. This second should naturally have been the first; because that to know the Heresies that have broken out since Jesus Christ's time, it is necessary to know what is Heresie. But *St. Augustine* finding this Question hard to be resolved, began with the other that was more easie, and never undertook the second. Therefore this Treatise is only a very succinct Catalogue of the Names of Heretical Sects, and of their principal Errors. It beginneth with the *Symonians*, and endeth with the *Pelagians*, and containeth Eighty eight Heresies: it is by no means exact, and one shall hardly find any thing there which is not taken out of *St. Epiphanius* and *Philastrius*.

The Treatise against the *Jews*, is a Sermon in which *St. Augustine* proves by the Prophecies, that the Jewish Law was to have an End; that it was to be changed into a New Law; and, that God would reject the Jews, to call the Gentiles.

These two short Treatises are followed by *St. Augustine's* Writings against the *Manichees*; which are set down in the first place, because those Hereticks opposed the first Principles of the Christian Religion. The first of all, is that of the *Usefulness of Faith*, which *St. Augustine* composed sometime after he was Ordained Priest, in the Year 391. to reclaim his Friend *Honoratus* from the Errors of the *Manichees*, wherein he had been engaged as well as *St. Augustine*; because those Hereticks had put him in hope, that without making use of Authority, they should discover the Truth

to him by the Light of Reason, and by this one only Mean bring him to the Knowledge of God, and deliver him from all sorts of Errors. *St. Augustine* having shewed the difference betwixt the Author of a Heresie, and a Person surprized with it afterwards, doth at first justify the Old Testament; shewing, that it agreeth exactly with the New, in the History, Morals and Allegories; and that the Church puts such a Sense upon it, which the *Manichees* themselves cannot condemn. He overthroweth the *Manichees* Principle; proving, that we must Believe before we Know. To this end, he supposes certain Persons having no Religion, and seeking to be instructed in the True, to be like those who should enquire after a Master to teach them Rhetorick or Philosophy. Afterwards he observes, that the only Party which these Persons are to embrace at first, is to side with those who are commonly and generally approved: That it is great Rashness in those who are incapable of themselves to judge of things, to depart from the Common Voice; to prefer the Judgment of some particular Men, before that of the Multitude. So that it is most rational, since one Party or other is to be embraced, to side with the Catholick Church, especially because it forbids not those that come into her to enquire after the Truth. It saith indeed, that we ought to Believe: But it hath an Authority so to do; for no Man can Believe, but he must be persuaded, that he in whom he believeth, is worthy of Credit; and this makes the difference betwixt a Wise and a Credulous Man. But had it not been better to give convincing Reasons of Things? No; for all Men are not capable of Reason, and some things cannot be understood without the help of a Divine Light. It is very dangerous to follow those who promise to make us comprehend all things; because they often boast of knowing what they are ignorant of, and often make us believe so too. And very shameful is that Condition, for two Reasons: First, Because such a Person takes no more Pains to learn, being falsely persuaded of his Knowledge: And, Secondly, because that an incon-

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inconsiderate readiness to judge of a thing, is a Mark of a weak Understanding. Reason makes us apprehend things; Authority makes us believe, but Error persuades us to affirm rashly that which is false. Upon these Principles St. Augustine proves the Necessity of Faith, in Matters of Civil Life, as much as in Matters of Wisdom: For in the first place, the Whole of Humane Society is grounded upon the Belief of some certain Things. As for Example: The Honour we render to our Parents, is grounded merely upon our Belief, that they are the Persons from whom we received Life. Secondly, there is no getting of Wisdom, without consulting with Wise Men. But how shall we know these Wise Men, except we trust Others? For unless we are Wise our selves, we can never know true Wisdom. Wherefore, we must Believe, to seek after Religion: For did we not believe that there is such a thing, why should we seek for it? All Hereticks own that we must believe in Jesus Christ: But what Motives have we to believe Jesus Christ's Authority? Are they not the same with those that make us believe the Church? are they not the Miracles, the Sanctity both of the Doctrine and of the Morals, the Publishing of the Gospel, the Blood of Martyrs, and some other Proofs of this nature, which establish the Authority of the Church no less than that of Jesus Christ? Therefore St. Augustine concludes thus, 'Why should we make any difficulty to throw our selves into the Arms of that Church which hath always maintain'd her self by the Succession of Bishops in Apostolick Sees, in spite of all the Endeavours of Hereticks condemned by her, or by Peoples Faith, or by the Decisions of Councils, or by the Authority of Miracles? It is either a matchless Impiety, or a very indiscreet Arrogancy, not to acknowledge her Doctrine for a Rule of our Faith. For if the Spirit of Man cannot attain unto Wisdom, and so to Salvation, but by Faith directing our Reason; is it not to be Ungrateful, and neglect the Succour proffered by God, to resist so weighty an Authority? And truly, if any Science, though common and easie, cannot be learned without a Teacher; it is Presumption, in the highest degree, to refuse to learn the Sense of the sacred Books from those that understand them; and to condemn them, without hearing what they say.'

After this first Book against the Foundation of the Manichean Heresie, St. Augustine composed the Book Of the two Souls, against one principal Error of those Hereticks; asserting, that there were two Souls in each Man; a Good one, of a Divine Substance, the Cause of all that is Good in us; and an Evil one, of the nature of Darknes, proper to the Flesh, which is the Principle of all disorderly Motions, and of all the Evil that we do. St. Augustine proves in this Book, First, that the Soul being a Spirit and Life, is more perfect than Corporeal Light which the Manichees believe to come from God. Secondly, that there is no Nature or Substance naturally Evil; and that Evil consists only in the Abuse of our Liberty. Some Passages in this Book attribute much to Free-Will; nay, there are some which may not agree well with the Doctrine of Grace, and of Original Sin, which St. Augustine correcteth in his *Retractions*.

There was at that time in Hippo a Priest, one Fortunatus, a Famous Manichee, who had seduc'd many Inhabitants of that City. The Catholics engaged St. Augustine, in a Conference with him. What was said on both Sides, was set down in Writing by Notaries, and that Act preserved among St. Augustine's Writings. The Dispute lasted but two Days; and the Questions that were disputed about, were of Nature, and the Original of Evil. St. Augustine affirms, that Evil proceeds from the Abuse of Free-Will. The Manichee pretends, that there is an Evil Nature Co-eternal with God. In the first day's Conference the Manichee defended himself well enough; but he could not Answer St. Augustine's Objections next day, and was obliged to say, that he would conferr about them with the Heads of his Sect. The shame of being confuted in that Conference, obliged him to leave Hippo. This Conference is dated the 26th. of August, under the second Consulship of Arcadius and Rufinus, in the Year 392.

About that time, St. Augustine met with some Works of one Adimantus, who had been a Disciple of Manicheus, written against the Law and the Prophets; which he affirmed to contain things contrary to the Precepts of the Gospel and of the Apostles. He undertook to Answer the Objections of that Heretick, and to Justifie the Agreement betwixt those Passages of the Old and New Testament which he had produced, as being contrary. This Book is of the Year 394.

St. Augustine having refuted the Disciple, undertakes the Matter, and Answereth the Letter which he called, *The Epistle of Foundation*: shewing, that Manicheus set forth in it nothing but Falshoods and Absurdities. He lays down, at first, the Reasons for his adhering to the Church, in these Terms: 'Not to speak (saith he) of that Wisdom and Understanding which few Men apprehend in this Life, several Motives keep me in the Bosom of the Catholick Church; the general Consent of Nations and People, an Authority grounded upon Miracles, upheld by Hope, perfected with Charity, and confirmed by Antiquity; the Succession

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of Bishops from St. Peter to our time; and the Name of the Catholick Church, which is so peculiar to the true Church, that though all Hereticks call themselves Catholics, yet when you ask, in any Country whatsoever, where Catholics meet, they dare not shew the Place of their Assemblies. These are powerful Motives which keep a faithful Man within the Pale of the Church, though he be not yet arrived to a perfect understanding of the Truth. But among you Manichees, that have none of these Reasons either to invite or to keep me, I hear none but vain Promises, to make me understand the Truth clearly. I confess; that did you perform it, I ought to prefer an evident Truth, which none can doubt of, before all the Motives that make me keep to the Catholick Church. But so long as you do only promise, and not give this Knowledge, you shall not shake that Trust which I have in the Catholick Church, which is grounded upon such powerful Reasons and Motives.' He examines afterwards the Principles contained in Manicheus's Letter; and proves, that he not only fails in the Demonstration of what he affirmeth, but that he is contrary even to Reason and Common Sense. This Book is placed in the *Retractions*, among the Books composed about the Year 397.

The most considerable of all St. Augustine's Works against the Manichees, is, his Treatise against Faustus, divided into three and thirty Disputes or Arguments; wherein he writes down the Text of this Manichee's Books, which contained most part of the Blasphemies and Impieties of those Hereticks, against both the Old and the New Testament: which St. Augustine strongly and solidly refutes. This Work was compleated about the Year 400. and sent to St. Jerome in 404.

The next Book contains the Acts of a Conference which St. Augustine had at Hippo, in December, 404. with a Manichee, one Felix. The Dispute lasted three Days, but we have a Relation but of what happened in the two last Conferences. In the Conclusion of the latter, the Manichee was Converted, and Anathematized Manicheus.

In the same Year, St. Augustine composed a Treatise Of the Nature of Good, against the Manichees: wherein he shews, that God is of an Immutable Nature: that he hath created all other Beings, whether Spiritual or Corporeal, which are all good in their Nature: that Evil proceedeth only from the Abuse of Free-Will: that the Manichees call Evil Good, and Good Evil.

The Book against Secundinus, is properly an Answer of St. Augustine's to that Manichee, who had exhorted him by a Letter, never to encounter with the Manichees, of whose Opinion himself had been formerly; and he had also urged him to return to their Sect. St. Augustine gives him the Reasons of his Conversion, and discovers some of Manicheus's Errors.

The following Treatise is against a Heretick who was worse than the Manichees, who in a distinct Treatise asserted, that God did not make the World, nor give the Law. St. Augustine refuteth him, under the Name of *The Adversary of the Law and the Prophets*, in two Books bearing that Title, composed about the Year 420.

Orosius having consulted St. Augustine, in 415. about the Impieties of the Priscillianists, and some Errors of Origen's Disciples, St. Augustine answered him in a Book directed to him, intituled, *against the Priscillianists and Origenists*. In this small Treatise he rejects these Errors: 1. That the Soul is of a Divine Nature. 2. That the Torments both of the Demons and of Damned Men shall have an end. 3. That the Reign of Jesus Christ will not be Eternal. 4. That both Angels and Souls are Purified in this World. 5. That the Stars are Animated. 6. That Angels commit Sins.

The rest of St. Augustine's Treatises contained in this Volume are against the Arians.

The first is an Answer to a Discourse of an Arian, containing a great many Objections against the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost. This Discourse was made the next Year after the Conference with Emeritus, held in 417.

Next to this Treatise, are, *The Conference with Maximinus*, and *Two Books against that Arian Bishop*. The Conference was held at Hippo, in the Year 428. whither Maximinus was sent by Count Sigisvultus. In the Conference were several Discourses on both Sides; but Maximinus having said many more things than St. Augustine, and spoken last, he bragg'd that he had got the Victory: which obliged this Saint to recollect all that had been said in the Conference, and to refute Maximinus's last Arguments, which he had not had time to answer.

St. Augustine's Books of the Trinity, are rather a Dogmatical Treatise, concerning that Mystery, than Polemical Writings against Hereticks; for he insisteth not so much upon refuting their Reasons, or establishing the Doctrines of the Church, as upon subtile Reasonings, to expound and clear this Mystery. He began them in the Year 400. and finished them in 416. The first Book begins with a Preface containing very important Reflections. He observes, at first, that Men have three false Notions of the Divinity; that

St. Augustine. *Idea* of him, as they have of their Souls, and of other Spirits; and so they ascribe to him the like Imperfections, as Repenting, Forgetting, and Remembring; and that others entertain such a Notion of God, as may have nothing Common with a Creature; and so they conceive none but Chimerical *Ideas* of him. The Holy Scripture condescends to Mens Weakness, ascribing often such things to God, as belong properly to Bodies, or imperfect Spirits; and seldom makes use of Terms peculiar to God, because it is very difficult to know, in this Life, the Substance, or Essence of the divine Nature perfectly. But because some Persons desire to be informed about this Matter, and ask how three Divine Persons make one and the same Essence, he undertakes two things in this Work: First, to shew, that the Scripture teaches us such Doctrine; and then to raise the Mind, as far as it is capable in this Life, to the knowledge of this Mystery.

He proves the first Point in the first seven Books.

In the first, he establishes, by Passages of Scripture, the Unity, and the Equality of the three Divine Persons; and explains the principal Places that were urged by the *Arians*, against the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The main Rule which he makes use of, is, that Jesus Christ being one only Person, made up of two Natures, what is said of the humane Nature should be distinguished from that which is spoken of the Divine.

In the second, he confirmeth the former Rule, and layeth down another, that the Scripture speaks things of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are not spoken of the Father, to shew, that they receive their Essence from the Father: As when 'tis said, that the Son doth nothing of himself; that he receiveth Life from the Father. This, saith St. Augustine, doth not shew, that the Son is of a different Nature from the Father, but only, that the Son receiveth his Substance from the Father. And by this Rule, he explains the Mission of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He speaks also of Apparitions; wherein he pretends, that not one single Person, but the whole Trinity, hath either spoken, or operated.

This last Question is the Subject of his third Book; wherein he examines, whether God, in his Apparitions, formed Creatures to make himself known unto Men by them; or, Whether these Apparitions were by the Ministry of Angels, who made use of Bodies to accomplish them. He concludes, in favour of the latter Opinion, rejecting the former, which had been held by all the Fathers before him.

The fourth is about Christ's Incarnation, whereby God hath manifested how much he loved us. The Word was made Flesh, to deliver us from the Darkness wherein we lay, to purifie our Hearts, and Minds. His Death delivered us from two kinds of Death; from that of the Body, by restoring Immortality to us; and from that of the Soul, by washing us from our Sins. Here he makes a Digression, concerning the perfection of the Number Six, which is neither very solid, nor much to the Purpose. He discourses afterwards of the wonderful Effects of Christ's Mediation; and shews, at last, that the Humiliation of the Son of God, by his Incarnation, hinders him not from being equal with his Father, according to the Divine Nature.

In the fifth Book, He refutes the Sophisms of Hereticks against the Mystery of the Trinity.

In the sixth, He considers in what Sense the Son is called the Wisdom and Power of the Father: Whether the Father be Wife of himself; or, Whether he is only the Father of Wisdom. He puts off the Decision of that Question, and treats again of the Unity and Equality of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

In the seventh Book he resolves the Question proposed in the sixth, shewing that the Father is not only the Father of Power and of Wisdom, but that he hath in himself both Power and Wisdom; and that all the three Persons of the Trinity are Wife and Powerful by the same Power and Wisdom, because they have but one Godhead. Afterwards he explains in what Sense God is said to have but one Essence and three Persons, or, according to the Greeks, three *Hypostases*.

Having proved in the eighth Book that the three Persons together are not greater than any one alone, he enters upon the second Part of his Work by exhorting Men to raise up themselves to the Knowledge of God, thro' Charity, wherein he finds a kind of Trinity.

In the ninth, He endeavoureth to find a Trinity in Man, who was created after the Image of God; he findeth there a Spirit, a Knowledge of himself, and a Love wherewith he loves himself: these three Things are equal among themselves, and make but one Essence. This is according to St. Augustine, an Image of the Trinity. Memory, Understanding, and Will, furnish him with another, which he believes is clearer and more like. He explains it in the tenth Book. He finds some resemblances even in the outward Man, in the inward Senses, in Knowledge and Wisdom: and these are the Subjects of the following Books.

He concludeth at last, in the fifteenth Book, that though we have here below several Representations of the Trinity, yet we should not seek for it, but in immutable and eternal Things, and that we cannot see it in this Life, but by a Figure, and Enigmatically: And thus he pretends, that we have an *Idea* of the Generation of the Word, by the production of the Word of our Understanding, and an *Idea* of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, by the Love that proceeds from the Will. But he confesseth, that these Notions are very imperfect; and that there is an infinite Difference betwixt these Comparisons, and the Mystery of the Trinity.

The Treatise of the five Heresies, or rather the Sermon preached against five sorts of Enemies to the Christians, Heathens, Jews, Manichees, Sabellians, and Arians, which the Louvain Doctors had ascribed to St. Augustine, though Erasmus doubted of it, is thrown into this Edition, amongst the supposititious Treatises and this was done with a great deal of Reason, for the Style thereof is very different from St. Augustine's: And the Author of that Sermon preached it, when Arianism was the predominant Religion in Africa, as appears by the 6th. and 7th Chapters; which shews, that St. Augustine is not the Author of it, but some other African who lived at the time of the Vandals Persecution. The Sermon of the Creed against the Heathens, Jews, and Arians, is also of the same time, and probably of the same Author.

The Suit betwixt the Church, and the Synagogue, is the Work of some Lawyer, who tryed to Exercise himself, in making the Church to condemn the Synagogue, after the same manner that a Judge condemns a Malefactor.

The Book of Faith, against the Manichees, is restor'd to Evodius of Uzala, upon the Authority of Ancient Manuscripts, and the different Style.

The following Memorial of the manner of admitting the Manichees, that were converted into the Church, is very Ancient; and, in all probability, it is an Order of some Council of Africa.

The Book of the Unity of the Trinity, is here restor'd to Vigilius Tapsensis, the true Author, who citeth it himself in the Preface to his Books, against Varimadus, to whom it is attributed in an ancient Copy.

Both the Books of the Incarnation of the Word, are taken, as it is observed, out of the Translation of Origen's Principles by Rufinus.

The Treatise of the Unity, and Trinity of God, is made up of Extracts out of several Passages of St. Augustine's Works, both Genuine and Spurious.

The Book of the Essence of the Divinity, which is likewise attributed to St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Anselm, and Bonaventure, is partly taken out of a Book Written by St. Eucherius.

The Dialogue of the Unity of the Holy Trinity, was found in two Manuscripts, Eight Hundred Years old; in one of them it is ascribed to St. Augustine, yet it is clearly written in a different Style from his.

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St. Augustine. *Idea* of him, as they have of their Souls, and of other Spirits; and so they ascribe to him the like Imperfections, as Repenting, Forgetting, and Remembring; and that others entertain such a Notion of God, as may have nothing Common with a Creature; and so they conceive none but Chimerical *Ideas* of him. The Holy Scripture condescends to Mens Weakness, ascribing often such things to God, as belong properly to Bodies, or imperfect Spirits; and seldom makes use of Terms peculiar to God, because it is very difficult to know, in this Life, the Substance, or Essence of the divine Nature perfectly. But because some Persons desire to be informed about this Matter, and ask how three Divine Persons make one and the same Essence, he undertakes two things in this Work: First, to shew, that the Scripture teaches us such Doctrine; and then to raise the Mind, as far as it is capable in this Life, to the knowledge of this Mystery.

He proves the first Point in the first seven Books.

In the first, he establishes, by Passages of Scripture, the Unity, and the Equality of the three Divine Persons; and explains the principal Places that were urged by the *Arians*, against the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The main Rule which he makes use of, is, that Jesus Christ being one only Person, made up of two Natures, what is said of the humane Nature should be distinguished from that which is spoken of the Divine.

In the second, he confirmeth the former Rule, and layeth down another, that the Scripture speaks things of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are not spoken of the Father, to shew, that they receive their Essence from the Father: As when 'tis said, that the Son doth nothing of himself; that he receiveth Life from the Father. This, saith St. Augustine, doth not shew, that the Son is of a different Nature from the Father, but only, that the Son receiveth his Substance from the Father. And by this Rule, he explains the Mission of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He speaks also of Apparitions; wherein he pretends, that not one single Person, but the whole Trinity, hath either spoken, or operated.

This last Question is the Subject of his third Book; wherein he examines, whether God, in his Apparitions, formed Creatures to make himself known unto Men by them; or, Whether these Apparitions were by the Ministry of Angels, who made use of Bodies to accomplish them. He concludes, in favour of the latter Opinion, rejecting the former, which had been held by all the Fathers before him.

The fourth is about Christ's Incarnation, whereby God hath manifested how much he loved us. The Word was made Flesh, to deliver us from the Darkness wherein we lay, to purifie our Hearts, and Minds. His Death delivered us from two kinds of Death; from that of the Body, by restoring Immortality to us; and from that of the Soul, by washing us from our Sins. Here he makes a Digression, concerning the perfection of the Number Six, which is neither very solid, nor much to the Purpose. He discourses afterwards of the wonderful Effects of Christ's Mediation; and shews, at last, that the Humiliation of the Son of God, by his Incarnation, hinders him not from being equal with his Father, according to the Divine Nature.

In the fifth Book, He refutes the Sophisms of Hereticks against the Mystery of the Trinity.

In the sixth, He considers in what Sense the Son is called the Wisdom and Power of the Father: Whether the Father be Wife of himself; or, Whether he is only the Father of Wisdom. He puts off the Decision of that Question, and treats again of the Unity and Equality of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

In the seventh Book he resolves the Question proposed in the sixth, shewing that the Father is not only the Father of Power and of Wisdom, but that he hath in himself both Power and Wisdom; and that all the three Persons of the Trinity are Wife and Powerful by the same Power and Wisdom, because they have but one Godhead. Afterwards he explains in what Sense God is said to have but one Essence and three Persons, or, according to the Greeks, three *Hypostases*.

Having proved in the eighth Book that the three Persons together are not greater than any one alone, he enters upon the second Part of his Work by exhorting Men to raise up themselves to the Knowledge of God, thro' Charity, wherein he finds a kind of Trinity.

In the ninth, He endeavoureth to find a Trinity in Man, who was created after the Image of God; he findeth there a Spirit, a Knowledge of himself, and a Love wherewith he loves himself: these three Things are equal among themselves, and make but one Essence. This is according to St. Augustine, an Image of the Trinity. Memory, Understanding, and Will, furnish him with another, which he believes is clearer and more like. He explains it in the tenth Book. He finds some resemblances even in the outward Man, in the inward Senses, in Knowledge and Wisdom: and these are the Subjects of the following Books.

He concludeth at last, in the fifteenth Book, that though we have here below several Representations of the Trinity, yet we should not seek for it, but in immutable and eternal Things, and that we cannot see it in this Life, but by a Figure, and Enigmatically: And thus he pretends, that we have an *Idea* of the Generation of the Word, by the production of the Word of our Understanding, and an *Idea* of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, by the Love that proceeds from the Will. But he confesseth, that these Notions are very imperfect; and that there is an infinite Difference betwixt these Comparisons, and the Mystery of the Trinity.

The Treatise of the five Heresies, or rather the Sermon preached against five sorts of Enemies to the Christians, Heathens, Jews, Manichees, Sabellians, and Arians, which the Louvain Doctors had ascribed to St. Augustine, though Erasmus doubted of it, is thrown into this Edition, amongst the supposititious Treatises and this was done with a great deal of Reason, for the Style thereof is very different from St. Augustine's: And the Author of that Sermon preached it, when Arianism was the predominant Religion in Africa, as appears by the 6th. and 7th Chapters; which shews, that St. Augustine is not the Author of it, but some other African who lived at the time of the Vandals Persecution. The Sermon of the Creed against the Heathens, Jews, and Arians, is also of the same time, and probably of the same Author.

The Suit betwixt the Church, and the Synagogue, is the Work of some Lawyer, who tryed to Exercise himself, in making the Church to condemn the Synagogue, after the same manner that a Judge condemns a Malefactor.

The Book of Faith, against the Manichees, is restor'd to Evodius of Uzala, upon the Authority of Ancient Manuscripts, and the different Style.

The following Memorial of the manner of admitting the Manichees, that were converted into the Church, is very Ancient; and, in all probability, it is an Order of some Council of Africa.

The Book of the Unity of the Trinity, is here restor'd to Vigilius Tapsensis, the true Author, who citeth it himself in the Preface to his Books, against Varimadus, to whom it is attributed in an ancient Copy.

Both the Books of the Incarnation of the Word, are taken, as it is observed, out of the Translation of Origen's Principles by Rufinus.

The Treatise of the Unity, and Trinity of God, is made up of Extracts out of several Passages of St. Augustine's Works, both Genuine and Spurious.

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meddling with the Contest betwixt them, he justified his Party and calumniated the Church. St. Augustine answereth this Treatise in the second Book. Both these Books of St. Augustine are of the Year 420.

There is a Sermon attributed to St. Augustine, concerning one *Rusticianus*, a Sub-deacon, who was Re-baptized by the *Donatists*, and then Ordained Deacon; but this Discourse does not agree to St. Augustine, as it is proved in the Preface. This Volume ends with a Catalogue of St. Augustine's Works against the *Donatists*, which are in the other Volumes of St. Augustine's Works. We have not spoken particularly of the Matters handled by St. Augustine, in every Book against the *Donatists*; because he commonly repeateth the same Arguments, and so we should have been obliged to say often the same things, and for which Reason it was put off to this place; that so I might give an Abridgment of his Doctrine, and a Breviary of his chief Reasons all at once.

It has been observed already, that the *Donatists* began their Schism by a Separation of some African Bishops, who accused *Cecilian* of several Crimes whereof they had been convicted themselves. Tho' they had been condemned in the Council of *Rome*, in that of *Arles*, and at last by *Constantine's* Judgment, yet they remained firm to their own Opinions, and would by no means be reconciled to the Church. Their Party also was much strengthened by the great number of Bishops whom they ordained almost in every Church of *Africa*, and by the Multitudes of People whom they drew after them: So that in St. Augustine's time, their Party was very near as strong in *Africa*, as that of the Catholics. But they held no Communion with all the other Churches in the World, which acknowledged *Cecilian*, his Successors, and those of that Party for the true Church.

The *Donatists* in their own defence affirm'd, that *Cecilian*, *Felix* of *Aptungis*, who ordained him, *Miltiades* that absolved him, and several others of his Brethren, having been convicted of certain Crimes, ought to be deposed and expelled out of the Church; that their Crimes made them cease to be Members of the Church, which ought to be pure and without blemish; That as many as had defended them and had Communicated with them, were become Accessaries to their Crime by approving it; and that so, not only the Churches of *Africa*, but even all the other Churches in the World, which held Communion with the Churches of *Cecilian's* Party, having been defiled, ceased to be Parts of the true Church of Jesus Christ, that was then reduced to the small number of those who would not partake with Prevaricators; but kept themselves in the Primitive Purity. Besides this, they charged the Church with another great Crime as they esteemed it; which was, that they made Application to the Emperor's Authority to Persecute their Party; and that they caused several Violences to be exercised against them. Now they persisting in the Opinion of St. Cyprian, and of the ancient Bishops of *Africa*; Who held, that Baptism by Hereticks and Schismatics was invalid, and ought to be renew'd; a necessary Consequence of their Principles, was the Rebaptizing of the Catholics that came over to their Party.

These are the Grounds on which the Schism of the *Donatists* stood.

There were two ways to deal with them; either by denying the Matter of Fact, or by opposing the Matter of Right: Those who first writ against the *Donatists*, insisted most upon the Matter of Fact; that is, The Justification of *Cecilian*, *Felix* of *Aptungis*, and the rest. Neither doth St. Augustine omit this; for he often proves *Cecilian's* Innocency, by the Judgments given in his behalf; First, at *Rome*, by Pope *Miltiades*, and other Bishops; Secondly, In the Council of *Arles*; and at last, by the Judgment of *Constantine*. He adds, as an absolute Justification, the consent of all the Churches in the World, which had approved and followed the Judgment of those Councils. He likewise produces the Acts that were made to justify *Felix* of *Aptungis*: He defends *Miltiades* and *Hosius*, against the Calumnies laid upon them. And shews at last, That the *Donatists* had no Proofs of what they alledged against the Catholic Bishops. But he doth not think this to be the main Point, and therefore he passes to the Matter of Right, and maintains, That though *Cecilian*, and the rest of his Brethren, had been guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge; yet that was not a sufficient Ground for a Separation from the Church; and that the Church did not cease to be the Church, because it Communicated with wicked Men, since either she did not know them; or else, she bore with them to preserve Peace: which brings him to that great Question, Whether the Church here below is made up only of Saints and Righteous Men, or composed of Good and Bad. St. Augustine affirms, that there was always in the Church Chaff and Corn; that is, both good and wicked Men; and that such will be to the Day of Judgment, which shall divide the good from the bad; that sometimes the number of the latter exceeds that of the former; that many cannot be driven out of the Church, because they are not known, and because it is convenient to tolerate some for quietness sake, to prevent a Schism which might be occa-

sioned by cutting off from the Communion those Persons who might draw along with them several of the Faithful; That it is great rashness to condemn all the Churches in the World, for the Crime of one or two; That the Catholic Church ought to be diffused over the whole Earth, and not confined to a small part of the World, as in a Corner of *Africa*. Here St. Augustine triumphs over his Adversaries, proving by Prophecies, and other Passages both of the Old and New Testament, that the Catholic Church was to have a considerable Extent.

These are properly the main Points in Controversie betwixt the Church and the *Donatists*; but there are other Secondary Questions.

The first is, concerning the Persecution, which the *Donatists* imputed to the Church as a Crime. St. Augustine defends the Church very Modestly, either by disapproving such Violences, or by shewing that it was lawful to make use of the Imperial Laws, and of some sort of Severity to bring the *Donatists* back to the bosom of the Church. He chargeth them likewise with the same things; objecting the Cruelties, Violencies, Sacrileges and Murders committed by those of their Party called *Circumcellians*, and authorized thereunto by *Optatus Gildonianus*.

The other accessary Question, which St. Augustine looks upon as a principal one, is about the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks. St. Augustine needed only to prove that his Party was the true Church, and so Condemn by a necessary Consequence the *Donatists*, for Rebaptizing those that had been baptized before by Catholics, since it was agreed on both sides, that the Baptism of the true Church was valid. But St. Augustine undertook besides, to prove the validity of the Baptism of Hereticks and Schismatics; and that though his Party were not the Church, yet the *Donatists* were not to baptize them a second time. He confesses, that St. Cyprian, and most of the African Bishops in his time were of a contrary Opinion; that *Agrippinus* his Predecessor, had appointed Hereticks to be Rebaptized; that St. Cyprian and the Councils held in *Africa* at that time, confirmed *Agrippinus's* Decree; that this Question remained long undecided, or rather variously decided in divers places. But that at last the thing was decided in a Plenary Council of the whole Church, (in all likelihood he means that of *Arles*) and that after such Determination, it was not permitted to doubt, because the Provincial or National Councils must give place to the Authority of Plenary Councils. That St. Cyprian was to be excused for not taking the right side of so hard a Question, which was not yet cleared or decided, and so much the rather, because he defended his own Opinion without making a Schism, and with the Spirit of Peace and Unity: However, that the Letters and Writings of the Saints were not to be rely'd upon, as the Apostles Epistles, and the other Books of the Holy Scripture.

Now to explain St. Augustine's Opinion touching Baptism more particularly, we are to observe as he doth, that Baptism may be said to be of two sorts; the one administered in the Name of the Trinity, that is, by invoking of the Trinity; and the other performed without naming the three Divine Persons. The latter, St. Augustine confesses to be null; but affirms the other to be valid, whosoever he be that administers it. So that it matters not who baptizeth, provided that Baptism be in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Two things are likewise to be distinguished in Baptism, the Sacrament, and the Effect of the Sacrament: The Sacrament is found in those that are baptized by Hereticks; but because they have not Faith, they are deprived of the Effect: For, that Baptism may be complete, both as a Sacrament, and as to its Effect, the Sacrament must be intire, that is, the Person must be baptized outwardly in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he that receives must believe and be converted. The Sacrament is often found without Faith, and Faith without the Sacrament. Children have the Sacrament without Faith. The good Thief had Faith without the Sacrament. God supplies in Children the Faith they want, and he supplied in the good Thief the Sacrament which he could not receive. But when either of these is wanting, by the Man's own fault, he cannot be excused; and he receiveth not the Effect of Baptism. When the Sacrament is found without Faith, and without Conversion, it is not necessary to be reiterated: It is sufficient only to supply what is wanting; as when one is already converted, it is enough to receive the Sacrament. The difference lieth in this, that the Adult cannot be saved without Faith and Conversion, though they may be saved without the Sacrament, if so be that they do not want it through Contempt or Neglect, but because they lay under an impossibility of receiving it.

From these Principles, St. Augustine draws the following Conclusions: 1. That Baptism conferred by Hereticks in the Name of the Trinity, is good and valid as it is a Sacrament, and ought not to be repeated. 2. That neither the Minister's Faith, as to Religion, nor his Sanctity avail any thing to the Validity of Baptism. 3. That it is God, and not the Minister who gives the Holy Spirit, and worketh the Remission of Sins. 4. That Baptism produces this Effect,

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As for some other Questions which might be made about Baptism administered by Infidels, or some impious Persons that are Excommunicated or in jest; St. Augustine saith, in the seventh Book of *Baptism*, Chap. 53d. thus, 'It is asked, saith he, whether that Baptism is to be approved, which is administered by an unbaptized Person, who out of Curiosity hath learned the way of baptizing among Christians? It is asked further, Whether it be necessary for the Validity of Baptism that he, who either administers or receives it, be sincere? And if they should be only in jest, Whether Baptism ought to be administered again in the Church? Whether Baptism conferred in Derision, as that would be, which should be administered by a Comedian, might be accounted Valid? Whether it is more Criminal to receive Baptism in jest in the Church, or to receive it with the same Spirit, in Heresie or Schism? Whether Baptism administered by an Actor, may become Valid, when he that receives it is well-disposed.

St. Augustine answers to these and such-like Questions, that the securest way is to return no Answer to Questions that never were decided in any Council, General, or National. But he adds, should any Man, meeting with me at such a Council, ask my Advice about these Questions, and that it were my Turn to declare my Opinion, having not heard other Mens Opinions, which I might prefer before mine own, and if I perceiv'd in my self the same Dispositions that I am now in, I should without difficulty acknowledge, that they all receive Baptism truly in any place whatsoever, and by whomsoever administered, if on their part they receive it with Faith, and with Sincerity. I am apt also to believe, that such as receive Baptism in the Church, or in what is supposed to be the Church, are truly baptized as to the Sacramental Part of the Action, whatsoever be their intention. But as for Baptism administered and received out of the Church, in Raillery, Contempt, and to make Sport; I could not approve the same without a Revelation.

These are St. Augustine's Opinions concerning the Validity or Invalidity of Baptism. As to the Answers which he makes to the Arguments of St. Cyprian, and the other Bishops of his Opinion, they are grounded for the most part upon the Comparison between concealed Hereticks and Evil Ministers, with known Hereticks and Schismaticks. For since the Baptism of the former is Valid and not to be renewed; why should not the same thing be said of the latter, since all the Reasons that are alledged for the nullity of the Baptism of Hereticks may also belong to Evil Ministers? It is said, for Example, that to give the Holy Ghost one must have it; that Hereticks have it not; and consequently that they cannot give it. Why may we not reason after the same manner concerning Baptism conferred by concealed Hereticks, or by wicked Priests? Have they the Holy Ghost to give? thus St. Augustine overthrows the Reasons and Testimonies brought in by St. Cyprian and his Colleagues against the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks, by shewing, that whilst they prove too much, they prove nothing.

But his great Argument to destroy the *Donatists*, which he particularly insitteth upon in his last Book against *Cres-*

centius, is an Argument taken from their Conduct in a Schism that was risen up amongst themselves, betwixt *Maximianus*, upheld by some other Bishops of their Sect, and *St. Augustine*. *Primianus* another Bishop of their Party at *Carthage*; they accused one another of several Crimes, and condemned one another; but *Primianus's* Party being the stronger, prevailed and held a Plenary Council at *Bagai*, wherein they condemned *Maximianus*, and his Adherents, in very reproachful Terms, and got this Judgment to be confirmed by the Emperor's Letters. Now, according to the *Donatists* Principles, Persons thus Condemned were out of the Church; all that Communicated with them were out of the Church; all whom they baptized, were to be baptized again. And yet the *Primianists* behaved themselves quite otherwise; for they kept Communion with some of the condemned Bishops, and owned them for lawful Bishops; they acknowledged those that were Baptized by the *Maximianists*, to be truly Baptized; and they admitted into their Communion those that were of the *Maximianists* Party. St. Augustine compares this their Conduct, with their Behaviour towards the Scripture and the Universal Church; and by that Argument convinceth them, that it was only Prejudice and Obstinacy which kept them in their Separation from the Church.

The Supplement that is added to this ninth Volume, contains not only the Book against *Fulgentius* the *Donatist*, falsely attributed to St. Augustine, concerning which the Censure of the *Louvain* Doctors, and of *Vindingus*, set before it, may be consulted; but also Extracts from ancient Pieces concerning the History of the *Donatists*, taken out of *Optatus*, *Ensebius*, St. Augustine, the Conference at *Carthage*, the Councils of *Carthage*, and the Imperial Laws against the *Donatists*. And that all that St. Augustine writ against the *Donatists* might be published together, they copied out what he said in the Conference at *Carthage*. This Collection is the more useful, because there are considerable Restitutions of several Passages of *Optatus*, from a Manuscript in the Library at St. *Germain des Prez*. Here is one of the principal. There is a Passage in the first Book of *Optatus*, where it is said, that *Eunomius* and *Olympius* were sent into *Africa* to Ordain a Bishop, and to Degrade *Cæcilian* and *Optatus*: *Ut remotis duobus unum ordinarent*! This Passage obliged *Albaspineus* to affirm, that *Donatus* of *Casa Nigra* had been Bishop of *Carthage*. He likewise draws from it great Advantages in favour of the Church of *Rome*: yet this Period is not in the St. *Germain's* Copy, and it signifies nothing either for that which goes before, or for that which comes after. If we read the Passage, we may judge: *Tunc duo Episcopi ad Africam missi sunt, Eunomius, & Olympius. Venerunt, & apud Carthaginem fuerunt per dies quadraginta, vel quinquaginta ut pronunciarent ubi esset Catholica. Hoc seditiosa pars Donati fieri passa non est.* This Place is clear and plain: whereas if this Period be inserted, *Ut remotis duobus unum ordinent*, the Sense is alter'd, and it will be contradictory. There is likewise, some Lines before, another Restitution, which is confirmed by St. Augustine's Testimony, in the Conference at *Carthage*. *Donatus petiit, ut ei reverti licuisset, & nec ad Carthaginem accederet.* Whereas they read before, *Ut ei reverti Carthaginem contingeret.* In the Extract out of the the third Book of *Optatus*, they distinguish three Persecutions against the *Donatists*; and the Governors are named by whose Orders they were raised. This is not to be found in the ordinary Editions of *Optatus*. I shall not mention several other Corrections, which may make us wish that a new entire Edition of this Author were undertaken.

The Tenth TOME.

Tome X. THE Tenth Volume, not yet Printed, is intended for the Books which St. Augustine composed against the *Pelagians*.

The three Books Of *Merits and Remission of Sins*, wherein he treats of Infant-Baptism, directed to *Marcellinus*, ought to be set in the first place; for till then he had not undertaken the *Pelagians*, except in his Sermons, or in Conversation, (as he takes notice in his *Retractions*.) He writ these in the Year 412. in Answer to the *Pelagians* Questions which Count *Marcellinus* had sent to him at *Carthage*. He speaks there particularly of Infant-Baptism, as necessary to remit Original Sin; and of the necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, which justifies us, or maketh us righteous; though whilst we are in this Life, we cannot so perfectly accomplish God's Law, but that we are obliged to say in our daily Prayers, *Forgive us our Sins*. These are the principal Truths opposed by the *Pelagians*. St. Augustine refutes them without naming the Authors, and speaks of *Pelagius* in good Terms; because several Persons had a great Esteem for his Virtue: And he had not yet set forth his Doctrine in his own Name, being contented to propose it in other Mens Names, in his Commentaries upon St. Paul. St. Augustine, in the last Book, refutes the Explication which he had given of those Passages of the Apostle that speak of Original Sin.

Count *Marcellinus* having received these three Books from St. Augustine, sent him Word back again, that he had found a Passage which puzzl'd him; St. Augustine had said, that with the help of Grace, Man might live without Sin; though none was yet arrived to that Perfection in this Life, and that none would ever arrive to it. *Marcellinus* asked St. Augustine how he could affirm this to be possible, if there were no Examples of it. To satisfy him about that Question, St. Augustine wrote the Book Of the Spirit and of the Letter: Yet he doth not examine this Question to the bottom; but having answered in very few Words, that God can do many things which he doth not, he boldly attacks those who durst affirm, that a Man may fulfil the Commandments, be Just and Virtuous, without the succour of Christ's Grace. He grounds these Reasonings upon that place of St. Paul, the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life. By the Letter, he understandeth the Law and the Commandments, which are unprofitable without the help of Grace, which is the Spring of Faith, of Righteousness, Holiness, and all Christian Virtues. This Book is of the Year 413.

In the Year 414. two young Monks, *Timasius* and *James*, having been undeceived by St. Augustine, as to the *Pelagian* Errors, sent to him one of *Pelagius's* Books; wherein he pleaded for the Strength of Nature, to the Prejudice of

St. Augustine. Christ's Grace. St. Augustine immediately engaged to write against it, and composed upon that Subject the Book Of *Nature and of Grace*: wherein he defends the Grace of Jesus Christ, without Prejudice to Nature, which is delivered and regulated by Grace. He explains in this Treatise his Principles concerning the Fall of Humane Nature, and the Necessity of Grace to be Justified; yet he spares *Pelagius's* Name.

But this Monk having afterwards discovered his Opinions, was cited by *Heros*, Bishop of *Arles*, and by *Lazarus*, Bishop of *Aix*, to a Council of Fourteen Bishops, held at *Diophys*, in *Palestine*, in the Year 415. wherein he was declared Catholick in the absence of his Accusers, having made a shew of condemning the Errors whereof he was accused. St. Augustine fearing lest Men should believe that the Council had approved his Doctrine, wrote a Book, intituled, *Of the Acts of Pelagius*: wherein he declares how Things were carried; and discovers at the same time, that *Pelagius* had imposed upon the Fathers of the Council, by professing a Doctrine which he had opposed in his Writings. This Book is of the Year 416, or 417. *Pelagius* made use of the same Artifice to persuade *Albinus*, *Pimianus* and *Melania*, that he did not maintain the Errors he was accused of, by Anathematizing them in appearance. *Celestius* also deceived Pope *Zosimus* by the same Fraud, by presenting unto him a Counterfeit Catholick Confession. These Cheats St. Augustine discovers and refutes in the Treatise *Of Christ's Grace*, and in that *Of Original Sin*; wherein he shews, that these Confessions of Faith are captious and deceitful. These Treatises are of the Beginning of the Year 418. It is probable also that it was at that same time that St. Augustine writ the small Treatise *Of the Perfection of Righteousness*, against *Celestius*: where he Answers the Objections and Difficulties proposed by this Man, under the Name of Definitions against the Opinion of the Catholicks, who affirmed, that there never was, nor ever should be a Man that could attain to that Perfection, of passing his whole Life without offending God. St. Augustine maintains, that God does not grant this Grace even to the greatest Saints; and so that it is ridiculous to believe that Man can compass this by the sole strength of his Free-Will, as *Pelagius* and *Celestius* imagined. He does not mention this Book in his *Retractions*, but St. *Proper* quotes it several times.

The first Book *Of Marriage and Concupiscence*, was composed about the latter end of the Year 418. There St. Augustine Answereth one of the most malicious of the *Pelagian* Objections against Original Sin. If Concupiscence (said they) is Evil, and an Effect of Sin; if all Children are Born in Sin, how comes Matrimony to be approved, which is the Effect and Spring of this Sin? St. Augustine handleth this nice Question very cunningly, by shewing, that though Lust be a Defect, and a Consequence of the first Man's Sin, which remaineth even in the Baptized; yet Conjugal Chastity is to be approved, which makes a good use of an evil thing. He occasionally discourseth of several Questions about Marriage, which he had treated of in other Books. This Book is dedicated to Count *Valerius*, into whose hands the Letter that contained this Objection fell.

Julianus, an *Italian* Bishop, a Man of Wit, having read this Book, he was resolved to signalize himself, by writing four Books against this Treatise of St. Augustine. This Father having seen some Extracts of them, that were directed to *Valerius*, answered them in the second Book *Of Marriages and Concupiscence*, written in 419.

Some time after, he received the four whole Books of *Julianus*. In reading of them, he perceived that the Extracts sent to him were not very faithfully drawn; which determined him to undertake another Work to Answer them fully. It is divided into six Books. In the two first he opposes the Testimonies of the Holy Fathers who dy'd in the Communion of the Church, to *Julianus's* Calumnies, who had accused St. Augustine of approving the *Manichean* Doctrine; because he had taught, that all Men inherited Original Sin from *Adam*; which is remitted not only in those of riper Years, but even in Children, by the Grace of Baptism. And for this he alledgeth some Passages out of St. *Irenaeus*, St. *Cyprian*, *Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*, *Olympius* a Bishop in *Spain*, St. *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, and St. *Ambrose*, which prove, that Man is Born in Sin, and is cleansed by Baptism. But because *Julianus* appealed to the Greek Fathers, St. Augustine produceth likewise the Testimonies of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Basil*, together with the Judgment of the Bishops of *Palestine*, who condemned *Pelagius*. He answereth a Passage of St. *Chrysostome* which *Julianus* had cited, and quotes several other Passages out of this Father, which suppose Original Sin. Having thus strengthened his Opinion with these Great Mens Authority, he likewise recriminates upon *Julianus* for publishing such Principles as favoured the Heresie of the *Manichees*; and with this he concludes the first Book.

In the Second Book, he refuteth the chief Arguments of the *Pelagians*, against Original Sin, by the Authorities of the Fathers; shewing that in their Writings they prevented and resolved those very Objections which the *Pelagians* did so much depend upon. Having collected a great Number of

St. Augustine. Passages upon that Subject, he saith, that their Authority is so much the more considerable, because they had said these things without Prejudice, before the *Pelagian* Heresie broke out, following therein the Sense of the Church. 'We have shewed, saith he, directing his Speech to the *Pelagians*, by invincible Authorities, that the Holy Bishops, who lived before us, taught the same Faith which we maintain, and overthrew the Arguments which you make use of, not only in their Discourses, but in their Writings also. . . . We have shewed you their Opinions, which are very particular, and clear: It is not their Power, but God's who made them his Holy Temples, which you ought to Fear. They judged our Cause, at a time, when they could not be suspected either of favouring, or hating either Party; they had neither Relation to, nor Affection for the one, or the other; they were angry neither with you, nor us; neither you, nor we, could move them to Pity. They preserved the Doctrine which they found in the Church, and they taught what they had Learned: They delivered to their Children what they received of their Fathers. We had not yet referred our Cause to them, and yet they gave judgment on our Side neither of us were known to them, and yet they pronounced in our behalf; we had not any Dispute with you, and they declared the Right to be on our Side. . . . Those Bishops were Learned, Just, and Wise; they strongly defended the Truth against Innovations; and none can say, that they wanted Wit, Knowledge, or Freedom. Should a Council be assembled from all Parts of the World, it were hard to find such a Number of Bishops of that Importance; neither did they all live at the same time. They are the Choice of the greatest Men whom God gave to his Church in several Ages, Their Testimonies are collected in a Book, which may come to your Hands. The more you should wish to have them for your Judges, if you defended the Faith of the Church, the more ought you to fear them, when you oppose it. I hope that their Testimonies will cure your Blindness, as I wish it; but if you continue obstinate in your Error, which God forbid, you are no more to look for a Tribunal to justify you, but those wonderful Defenders of the Truth to accuse you, St. *Irenaeus*, St. *Cyprian*, *Rheticus*, *Olympius*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Gregory*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Basil*, St. *John Chrysostome*, St. *Innocent*, and St. *Jerome*, with all those that communicated with them, that is to say, the whole Church, if you run to that excess of Folly, you must be answered by defending the Faith of these great Men, as the Gospel it self is defended against ungodly Men, and the Enemies of Religion.' This he doth in the Four next Books, which contain the Answer to *Julianus* his Four Books. There He treateth particularly of Original Sin, of Concupiscence, of the falshood of the Virtues of the Heathens, of the necessity of Baptism, and of Grace; and answereth all that *Julianus* had said against what he had set down in his Book of Matrimony and Concupiscence. I do not believe that these Books were finished before the Year 424.

Before he had written them, Pope *Boniface* sent him two Letters of the *Pelagians*: the one of *Julianus* written to *Boniface* himself; and the other, in the Name of Eighteen Bishops of the same Opinion which had been sent to *Theffalonica*. St. Augustine having received them, immediately wrote four Books to refute them, which he directed to Pope *Boniface*. In the beginning of the First, to get that Pope's good Will, he thanks him for the Love whice he shewed towards him, and for the courteous Manner wherewith he received his Brother *Alypius* of *Tagasta*; he compliments him upon the Dignity of his See, and tells him, that tho' all Bishops are obliged to watch for the Defence of Christ's Flock, he was yet more particularly engaged to do it, because he was in a more Eminent Place. Afterwards he answers *Julianus's* Calumnies, and proves, that the Catholicks did not deny Free-will; that they do not condemn Marriage, nor the Lawful Procreation of Children; that they do not condemn the Saints of the Old Testament, neither do they say, that the Apostles were defiled through disorderly Desires, and explains in what Sense St. *Paul* said he was carnal. But they maintain, that Man cannot be Righteous without Grace; that Children are born in Sin; that the involuntary Motions of Concupiscence, are an effect of Sin; that the Grace of Jesus Christ doth not only help Man to do good when he is willing, but makes him willing to do it; that the Saints of the Old Testament, were only justified by Faith in Jesus Christ; that Baptism is not only necessary to Children, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to obtain a share in Life Eternal, out of which they are excluded by Original Sin alone.

In the two next Books, he refutes almost the same Calumnies contained in the other Letter of the *Pelagians*: The two First are about Free-Will, and Marriage. St. Augustine adds nothing to what he had said in the fore-going Book. In the Third, they taxed the Catholicks with introducing Fatality. St. Augustine shews the difference betwixt Grace and Fate. In the Fourth, they accused them of maintaining that the Law was not given to justify Man, but to render

render him more Sinful. St. *Augustine* tells them, that they did not understand the Opinion of the Church, in that Point; that the Law was given to teach what ought to be done, but that it is Grace which makes us obey the Law; and so the Law doth indeed shew what Righteousness is, but doth not make us practise it. Fifthly, they upbraided the *Catholics* with believing, that Baptism did not remit all Sins; so that Men continued partly God's Children, and partly the Children of the Devil. St. *Augustine* replies, That Baptism doth indeed remit all Sins, but it doth not cure Nature of its Weakness, and Imperfections. . . . That the Righteous may, and do Sin often, without becoming therefore the Children of the Devil, because there is no Man so Righteous as that he sinneth not. The Sixth Calumny is concerning the Old Testament. St. *Augustine* answereth, That the Righteous who lived under the Old Testament, were justified through the Grace of the New; whereof the Old was only the Figure. The Seventh is, that the Apostles, and Prophets were not perfectly Holy, but only less criminal than others. St. *Augustine* answers, that they were truly Righteous through Faith and Charity, but they had not all the perfection of Virtue, which now they have in the other Life. He utterly rejects the Ninth Calumny, whereby they accused the *Catholics* of saying, that Jesus Christ had been subject to Sin. The Tenth Calumny was expressed in these Terms: They affirm, that Men shall begin in the next Life, to practise the Commandments, which they did not practise in this. St. *Augustine* opposes it; shewing, That they put an ill Construction upon a Catholick Truth; which is, that the Virtue, the Righteousness of Men, shall only be perfect in the next Life.

In the last Book, St. *Augustine* refutes the *Pelagian* Doctrines; and shews, that under pretence of commending Nature, Marriage, Free-Will, the Law, and the Saints of the Old Testament, they advanced very dangerous Errors, to which he opposes several Testimonies of St. *Cyprian*, and of St. *Ambrose*.

The Book of *Grace, and Free-Will*, was written by St. *Augustine* in the Year 427. upon a Dispute which happened in the Monastery of *Adrumetum*, against those who fearing, least by the Doctrine of Grace, Free-Will should be denied, do indeed deny Grace by defending Free-Will, because they suppose that Grace is given according to Merit. This last Error St. *Augustine* chiefly opposes in this Book; shewing, that the beginning both of Faith, and good Resolutions, is an effect of Grace.

The reading of this Book did not settle Peace among those Monks: For there was an Objection proposed, which was obvious enough to every Man's understanding. If no Man can do Good, without the Grace of God, and this Grace cannot be merited, no Man is to be reprov'd, or corrected for not doing his Duty, since it is not in his Power to do it, because he wants Grace, and cannot deserve it. St. *Augustine* perceiving the difficulty of this Objection, for the Solution thereof, composed the Book of *Correction, and Grace*, wherein, without retracting any thing of what he had formerly said, he affirms, that Admonition is to be used: 1. Because it may happen, that God will touch the Heart of him that is reprov'd. 2. Because Sinners sin voluntarily, and without Compulsion; and that they cannot complain that God hath denied them his Grace, or the Gift of Perseverance, since he owes his Grace to nobody. He does not content himself with answering the Objection; but further explains and confirms his Principles, by shewing the difference betwixt the Grace of *Adam* in the State of Innocence, and that which is necessary to Man in the State of fallen Nature. He speaks also of the Gift of Perseverance, which is not granted unto all; and of the Power of Grace, and the free Predestination of the Elect.

He again insisteth upon the same Matter, and upon the same Principles, in both the Books which he writ in Answer to *Hilary's*, and *Prosper's* Letters. The First is of the Predestination of the Saints, and the Second of the Gift of Perseverance: Wherein he demonstrates, That the beginning of Faith and good Purposes, is the Gift of God; and that so our Predestination, or Vocation, does not depend upon our Merits. The Second Book concerns the Gift of Perseverance, which he shews to depend equally upon God, as the beginning of our Conversion. St. *Augustine* composed these Treatises in the Year 429.

St. *Augustine's* last Effort against the *Pelagians*, fell upon *Julianus* his old Adversary; who, to maintain the Quarrel he had begun, composed Eight Books against St. *Augustine's* Second Book *Of Matrimony, and Concupiscence*. St. *Augustine* having received Five of them from *Alypius*, undertook to write against them, and was engaged about the Fourth, when he writ the 224th. Letter to *Quodvultdeus*, in the Year 428. It is probable, that *Alypius* sent him the other three, but St. *Augustine* answered but six; and this Work remains imperfect, as *Possidius* affirms. The Six Books of St. *Augustine*, were published by E. *Viguer*, from a Manuscript of the Abby of *Clervaux*, which, in all probability, will be revised and corrected in a new Edition from some other Manuscripts. These Books are written by way of Dialogue: There St. *Augustine* produces *Julianus's* own

Terms, and answers them plainly, and in few Words. We refer'd to speak of St. *Augustine's* four Treatises *Of the Original of the Soul*, to this place, because they were not written properly against the *Pelagians*, though St. *Augustine* handleth there some Questions, that have some relation to the Dispute betwixt them: Therefore I think that it had been more proper to have set them at the end of the Sixth Volume, than in this place. The occasion and subject of these Four Books is this.

A Priest of the Province of *Mauritania Casariensis*, one *Victor*, who was surnamed *Vincentius*, from a *Donatist* Bishop, Successor to *Victor* of that Name, whose Memory that Priest who had been a *Donatist*, did reverence very much: This Priest, I say, having met in the House of one *Peter*, a Spanish Priest, with a Writing of St. *Augustine's*, wherein this Saint had set down his usual Doubts about the Soul's Original, wrote two Books against him, which he directed to *Peter* himself. He affirmed in that Book, That nothing was easier than the decision of that Question, and that he was sure that God did every moment create new Souls; but added to this Principle several erroneous Consequences: He confessed indeed, that the Soul was no part of God's Substance; but he would not say that he created it of nothing; He asserted, That it had a Body, and so that Man was made up of a gross Body, of a Soul that was a more subtle Body and of a Spirit. He said, that the Soul deserved to be placed in the Body, to contract some Pollution by conversing with Flesh; but that it was also purified by the Flesh. That those Children whom God predestinated to Baptism, were saved, though they were not baptized; That their Souls went into Paradise until the Day of Judgment, and that after the Resurrection they should enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: That Sacrifices were to be offered for them: And last of all, that the reason why some were Saved and others Damned, was the knowledge which God had of the Good or Evil which they should have done, if they had lived. These Notions being very dangerous, and *Vincentius* having maintained them with a great deal of Wit and Eloquence; when St. *Augustine* had received these Books from *Renatus*, a Monk of *Caserea*, he thought himself obliged to answer them.

He wrote therefore a Treatise to this *Renatus*, who had sent them; wherein he refuteth the particular Opinions before-named: and among the rest, That of *Childrens Salvation who die without Baptism*; He sheweth, that they cannot be saved but by that Sacrament; and that the Eucharist is not to be offered for those that died before the Use of Reason, and unbaptized: For, saith he, *The Body of Jesus Christ is not to be offered but for such as are Members of Jesus Christ; but none can be a Member of Jesus Christ, but by Baptism in Jesus Christ; or by dying for Jesus Christ; Nisi Baptismate in Christo, aut morte pro Christo.* He answereth the Example of the good Thief, in whom Faith supplied Baptism; and that of *Democrates* Brother to St. *Perpetua*, a Child of Seven Years of Age, to whom God granted Salvation, through the Prayers of that Saint, as it is related in the Acts of her Martyrdom. As to this latter Example, St. *Augustine* saith at first, that being not taken out of a Canonical Book, he can ground no Doctrine upon it, and that it is Uncertain whether that Child was baptized or no.

After this, he answers *Vincentius's* Notion, that Children were either Saved or Damned, for the Good or Evil which they would have done, if they had lived; This, he says, is a foolish Opinion: For, how can a Person be punished or recompenced, for Evil or Good Actions which are not, and which shall never be? Were this true, no Man that is baptized can be secure; for who knows, whether he should not have Apostatized, had he lived? And how can this be made to agree with what the Scripture saith of a Man that is taken away, lest the Wickedness of his Sin should corrupt him. Having refuted *Vincentius's* false Consequences, he shews, that those Passages of Scripture which he alledgeth to prove the daily Creation of Souls, do indeed prove nothing, and that he takes almost all of them in a wrong Sense; yet he condemns not this Opinion, provided that Testimonies of Scripture be not abused to prove it, and that nothing be alledged contrary to the Doctrine of the Church to uphold it: provided likewise that it be not said, 1. That God created sinful Souls. 2. That Children dying before Baptism, are saved. 3. That Souls sinned before their entrance into Bodies. 4. That they are punished for future Sins that shall never be.

St. *Augustine* was not contented to write this Book to *Renatus*; but he writ besides, a second Treatise upon the same Subject, to *Peter* the Spanish Priest, who had given the occasion of this Contraversie, to disabuse him concerning *Vincentius's* Opinions.

And last of all, he dedicates two Books to *Vincentius* himself. In the first, he refuteth these Errors, which he reduces to these Eleven Propositions: 1. That the Soul is not created of Nothing. 2. That God creates Souls in infinitum. 3. That the Soul looses its Merit by being united with the Body. 4. That it is renewed by the same Flesh, which caused it to loose its Merit. 5. That it deser-

ved to be sinful, before it entered into the Body. 6. That Original Sin is remitted in Children that die without Baptism. 7. That some Children whom God hath predestinated to be baptized, do not receive that Sacrament. 8. That one may say of them, *He was taken away, lest wickedness should corrupt him.* 9. That there are Habitations for them in the Kingdom of Heaven. 10. That the Eucharist ought to be offered for them. 11. That their Souls go into Paradise after Death; and that after the Resurrection they shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the second, *St. Augustine* defends those things which *Vincentius* found fault with in his Book: They are Three.

1. His Doubts of the Original of the Soul. 2. His denying it to be a Body. 3. That he distinguished not the Soul from the Spirit. He said, touching the first Point, Is it credible that a Man does not know himself? If that be, wherein doth he differ from Beasts? *St. Augustine* answers, That Man ought to confess his Ignorance, not only as to what relates to the Divinity, but also as to many things that concern his Body and Soul: And he produces several Examples of them. Upon the second, his Question was, What the Soul is, if it be not a Body? but as he confessed at the same time that God is not a Body; *St. Augustine* asketh him the same Questions concerning the Nature of God, which he had started about the Nature of the Soul. He refuteth their Opinion who believed the Soul to be Corporeal, and particularly *Vincentius's* Fancy, that the Soul being entred into the Body, was diffused into all the Parts, and by a kind of Congelation, had received the figure thereof. He answers the Argument which *Vincentius* had raised out of the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and from Apparitions; observing, that the Soul feels and represents Bodies, though it be not a Body, and though there be no Body present. As for what is said of *Lazarus's* Finger, and of the parts of a Soul; he retorts the Argument upon *Vincentius*, because he spake likewise of the Finger of God, and Scripture ascribes Members to him, though he be a meer Spirit.

At last, *St. Augustine* saith to the last Point, that when the Spirit is distinguish'd from the Soul, the word *Spiritus* is taken in a special manner for Intelligence or Understanding; but not for Spirit, as it is a Nature opposed to Body. Lastly, he exhorteth *Vincentius* to lay aside the Surname of *Vincentius*; because, being entred into the Church, he could no longer without Condemning himself, look upon *Vincentius* as a Saint, who died a *Donatist*. These Treatises were composed in 419.

Though the main Points treated of in *St. Augustine's* Works against the *Pelagians* have been mentioned already: yet, it will not be amiss, to give here a general View of his Doctrine. God created the first Man in a state of Innocence, Holiness, and Grace. He was subject neither to the necessity of Dying, nor to Sickneses, nor Pain, nor the Motions of Lust, nor Ignorance, nor any of the Inconveniences of Life, or the Imperfections of Nature, which are the Consequences and Effect of his Sin. His Free-Will was entire, and weakened with nothing. It was perfectly indifferent to either Good or Evil, though it could not do Good without the help of Grace; but this Grace which God afforded him, was entirely subjected to his Free-Will: It was a help without which he could not do good; but it did not make him do good. Such was the Condition of the first Man, like that of the Angels before their Sin. Such would have been the Condition of his Posterity, had he continued in that happy state; but having offended God by his Disobedience, he, and all his Posterity are become subject unto Death, Pain, Sickneses, Punishments; and what is worse, to Ignorance and Lust, that is to say, to Extravagant Motions which are within us, whether we will, or no. But what is yet more incomprehensible, all his Descendants begotten in the ordinary way, are born in Sin; They all contract the Sin which we call Original, which makes Children the Objects of God's Wrath, and infallibly damns them, except they are regenerated by Baptism. Baptism doth indeed take away the stain of Sin, but it doth not remove the Punishment, and the Consequences of Sin. Concupiscence, Ignorance, Inclination to Sin, Weakneses, and other Punishments for Sin, abide still during the whole course of this Mortal Life. Free-Will is not extinguished, but it hath not so much strength, and stands in need of powerful assistance to do Good. The Grace which it needs to act, is not only that help without which it could neither will nor do that which is good; but also such an assistance as makes it both will and do it infallibly: This Grace is necessary not barely to accomplish entirely what is good, and to continue therein; but it is even necessary to begin Faith, for Prayer, and for the first Motions of Conversion. Yet it bereaves us not of our Liberty, because we do not keep the Commandments, but as far as we are willing. It worketh this Will in us without Violence or Compulsion: for God constraineth no Man to do either good or evil; but to do good the Will must be succoured by Grace, which doth not deprive it of its Liberty: and this Grace is not granted to Merit, but is absolutely free. Since the first Man's Sin, the whole Mass of Mankind was corrupt,

condemned, and subject to Death. God by free Grace and Mercy takes out of this mass of Corruption whom he pleases, leaving the rest in that condition, out of that Justice which none can find fault with; for what is Man that he should dispute it with God? Doth the Earthen Vessel say to the Potter that framed it, Why hast thou made me thus? However, it may be truly said, that all Men may be saved if they will; if they be not, they can only accuse their own perverse Will, whereby they resist the Call of God. There are some Graces which he refuseth not to Reprobates, wherewith they might do good if they would. To some, he gives the Knowledge of his Law, and they despise it; He inspires into others a desire of being Converted, and they reject it; Some he excites to Prayer, but they neglect to do it; He speaks to the Hearts of several, who harden themselves, that they may not hearken unto his Voice; He overcomes the hardness of some for a time, converting them by an effectual Grace, who plunge themselves again into Vice. In a Word, how strong and powerful soever the Grace is which he gives, yet it may be said in some Sense, that Man may always resist it, though he doth not actually do it. God does not grant this Grace to all Men, not only because he oweth it to none; but also because some make themselves unworthy of it: for to say nothing of Children who die before the use of Reason, who are either damned because of Original Sin, or saved by the Grace of Baptism, the Adult who have not the gift of Perseverance, have made themselves unworthy of it, either through their own Sins, or by the Contempt which they have cast upon God's Vocation; or by the Opposition they have made to inward Grace; or lastly, by falling again into the state of Sin from which God delivered them in his Mercy. And so no Man can either excuse himself, or accuse the Justice of God, because every one receiveth what he deserved; every one is rewarded or punished, according to the good or the evil which he hath done, by his Will which co-operates with the most effectual Grace.

The Effect of this Grace, according to *St. Augustine*, is to make us in love with that which is good; it is a pleasure which draws our heart towards good things, and enables us to keep the Commandments; without this Grace, there is no Action meritorious. The fear of Punishment, though merely servile, is good and profitable, because it regulates the inward Man, but it does not render us Righteous before God. We shall never perfectly accomplish the Precept of loving God in this Life, because we shall never love him so perfectly as in the next: And though through God's Grace, a Man may absolutely avoid all Sin in this Life; yet it never did, nor shall ever happen that a mere Man (excepting the Blessed Virgin, of whom *St. Augustine* would not have us to speak, when Sin is mentioned) passed through this Life without Sin: For this reason, the most righteous say daily, *Lord remit us our Debts*; that is, *our Sins*; But these are not mortal Sins, which bereave the Soul of Righteousness and Holiness; they are venial and daily Sins, which are indeed against God's Law, but do not utterly destroy Charity.

St. Augustine's Principles concerning Predestination and Reprobation, do exactly agree with his Opinion touching Grace. Both those Decrees, according to him, suppose the fore-knowledge of Original Sin, and of the Corruption of the whole mass of Mankind. If God would suffer all Men to remain there, none could complain of that severity, seeing they are all guilty and doom'd to Damnation, because of the Sin of the first Man. But God resolved from all Eternity, to deliver some whom he had chosen out of pure Mercy, without any regard to their future Merits; and from all Eternity he prepared for them that were thus chosen, those Gifts and Graces which are necessary, to save them infallibly; and these he bestows upon them in time. All those therefore, that are of the number of the Elect, hear the Gospel and believe, and persevere in the Faith working out by Love, to the end of their lives. If they chance to wander from the right way, they return, and repent of their Sins: and it is certain that they shall all die in the Grace of Jesus Christ.

Reprobation is not like Predestination; God doth not positively cast away any Man; he predestineth none to Damnation; he only knows those that are left in that mass of Perdition, and are not of the happy number of those whom he will deliver through Mercy. These Wretches are at last Condemned, either because of Original Sin which is not remitted to them, and such are the Children that die without receiving Baptism, or for the Sins which by their Free-Will they have added to the first Sin; or, because they wanted Faith and Righteousness; or lastly, because they did not persevere unto the end.

This is an Abridgment of *St. Augustine's* Doctrine, which is set down in his Books against the *Pelagians*, and in several other places of his Works.

The Supplement to this Volume, containeth for the most part Writings that serve to justify *St. Augustine's* Doctrine of Predestination and of Grace, and some other Treatises upon the same Subject, attributed to *St. Augustine*; the Authors whereof are not well known. *St. Prosper's* four Books,

St. Augustine. Tome X. in Defence of St. *Augustine*, are of the first sort; to which they have added his Epigram, in Commendation of the same Father.

Cælestine's Letter, the Capitulars that follow it, and the Canons of the Council of *Orange*, are likewise illustrious Approbations of St. *Augustine's* Doctrine. Here one might add several other Treatises about Grace, written upon occasion of those Contests raised concerning St. *Augustine's* Opinion; such as the Letter of the *African* Bishops that were banished into *Sardinia*; The Canons of the Council of *Valencia*; with the Treatises of *Florus*, *Lupus*, *Remigius* of *Auxerre*, *Ratramnus*, and several other Authors who writ of these Matters in the Ninth Century.

The other Works contained in this Addition do not bear the Names of any Authors. The first is a considerable Treatise, divided into six Books, and intitled, *Hypognosticon*; Or, *Reflections and Notes against the Pelagians and Cælestians*. The Author sets down the main Doctrines of the *Pelagians* in their own Words, and then confutes them. Although this Book is conformable to St. *Augustine's* Doctrine, yet it hath not his Style. That Father among the *Benedictines*, who chiefly looks after the New Edition of St. *Augustine*, having given me notice, that he thought it might be *Marius Mercator's*; I have examined it, and found that his Conjecture is not ill grounded. For, in the first place, that Work is of an ancient Author, who both liv'd and writ at the same time with *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, and he was of St. *Augustine's* Opinion; this agrees with *Marius Mercator*. 2. *Marius Mercator* usually gives his Treatises the same Title with this; for so he intitled his Writing against *Julianus*. 3. The Form of this Treatise is perfectly like that of his other Treatises: he lays down there the very Terms of his Adversaries, and then refutes them with Notes and Reflections. 4. Having compared this Treatise with others of *Marius Mercator*, and particularly with his Book against *Julianus*, I found the Style to be the same: One may meet with the same Terms repeated again, the same Figures, the same Liveliness, the same Turn, and the same Expressions. Lastly, St. *Augustine*, in the 193d. Letter, to *Marius Mercator*, in 418. affirms, that this Man had written a Book full of Scripture-Testimonies against the new Hereticks: and this can belong to no other of *Mercator's* Treatises, but agrees perfectly with this. These are the Conjectures which I thought of, and I doubt not but the *Benedictines* will bring several others much stronger; in the mean time, these may be sufficient to make their Conjecture very probable.

The Book Of *Predestination and Grace*, which is among St. *Augustine's* Works, under the Name of an uncertain and suspected Author, is attributed by *Sirmondus* to St. *Fulgentius*, and Printed under his Name among this Father's Works. We shall examine whether it be his, when we come to St. *Fulgentius*. However, this small Discourse of *Predestination* agrees neither with the Style nor with the Doctrine of St. *Augustine*.

These are all this Father's Works. His Life will be added in another Volume, with the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning him, the Commendations that have been given him, and very large and useful Tables.

Though we have given a sufficient Account both of St. *Augustine's* Character and Genius, in speaking of his Works; yet it is convenient to say something of them here in general. He was a Man of great Extent, great Exactness, and great force of Mind. His Reasonings were very strong. His ordinary Method is, to lay down extensive Principles, from which he draws an infinite number of Consequences: so that all the Points of his Doctrine have a great Connexion one with another. He argued more upon most of

the Mysteries of our Religion, than any Author before him. He starts several Questions never thought of before, and resolves many of them by the mere Strength of his Wit. He often left the Notions of his Predecessors, to follow a Path wholly new, whether in Expounding the Scriptures; or in Opinions of Divinity. That may be said of him, as to Divinity, what *Cicero* said of himself, as to Philosophy, That he was *Magnus Opinor*; that is, that he advanced several Opinions that were only probable. But St. *Augustine* doth it modestly, and with much Prudence, without pretending to oblige others to embrace his Opinions without Examination: whereas, when the Question is about the Doctrine of the Church, he proposes and maintains it stoutly; and as strongly opposes its Opposers. He had much less Learning than Wit; for he understood not the Languages, neither had he read the Ancients much. He wrote with greater Facility and Clearness, than Politeness and Elegancy. Though he had taught Rhetorick, yet either he was not Master of the Eloquence of the Orators, or he neglected it: nay, his Expressions are not always pure; for he often uses improper and barbarous Words. He often uses little strokes of Wit, and plays with Words. He repeats the same things, and insists upon the same Arguments in hundreds of places. He dwells long upon the same Thought; to which he gives several Turns, and enlarges frequently upon common places. He treated of infinite numbers of Things, by laying down Principles; and framed (if we may so say) the Body of Divinity for all the Latin Fathers that came after him. They have not only taken out of his Books the Principles they make use of, but often they have only copied them. The Councils have borrowed his Words to express their Decisions. In short, *Peter Lombard*, in the twelfth Century, going about to compose an Epitome of the whole Body of Divinity, did little else but collect Passages out of St. *Augustine*. And though *Thomas Aquinas*, and other Schoolmen, followed another Method; yet, for the most part, they have stuck to St. *Augustine's* Principles, whereupon they erected their Theological Opinions.

After this, no Man needs wonder that his Works were so much looked after formerly, and so many times published since Printing was invented. The Edition of St. *Augustine's* Works was one of the first considerable things that Printers committed to the Press. *Amerbachius* undertook it in 1495. This *Gothic* Edition was followed by that of *Basil*, in Nine Volumes, in the Year 1506. and by that of *Paris*, in 1515. with long Lines, published in 1528. and in 1526. which is the fairest for its Character. The Editions of *Guillard* and *Chevallon*, which came out not long after, are likewise pretty fair ones.

In 1571. two came out; the one in *Paris*, by *Morellus*; and the other at *Lyons*. The Doctors of *Louvain* having carefully Revised St. *Augustine's* Works, caused them to be Printed at *Antwerp*, in 1577. The following Editions are only new Impressions of this. The first and the fairest was done at *Paris*, 1586. and was followed by those of the Years 1609, 1614, 1626, 1635, 1652. not to mention that at *Venice* in 1584. that at *Colea*, in 1616. and the last Edition at *Lyons*. Now they having Printed, from time to time, several Treatises of St. *Augustine* that were not in the former Editions, Father *Vignier* thought fit to collect them into a Body, that might serve for a Supplement to all the Editions of St. *Augustine*. He joyned to it the imperfect Treatise against *Julianus*, and some Sermons which had not been Printed before, and published them all in two Volumes, in *Folio*, at *Paris*, in 1655. This Labour becomes useless by the last Edition of St. *Augustine*, which excelleth and effaces all the fore-going Editions.

ZOSIMUS.

Zosimus. Pope *Innocent I.* dying the 12th. of *March*, 417. *Zosimus* was promoted into his Place upon the 18th. of the same Month. Though he sat but one Year, nine Months, and some Days in the Roman See, yet he very much exerted his Authority in the Disputes which he had with the Bishops both of *Africa* and *Gaul*. This appears by his Letters, which we are now to discourse of according to the Order wherein they ought to be placed. To understand those which concern *Africa*, we are to know, that *Cælestius*, *Pelagius's* Disciple, having been condemned in the Council of *Carthage*, assembled in 412. thought it convenient to appeal to the Pope, contrary to the Order and Custom of that Time. The *Africans* did not much trouble themselves about that Appeal; neither did he much value it himself; for without taking it out, he went to *Ephesus*, where he found means to be Ordained Priest. Some Years after he came to *Constantinople*; from whence he was expelled by *Atticus*, who discovered his Error, and writ against him to *Thessalonica*, to *Carthage*, and into *Asia*. That happened at the same time that *Zosimus* was raised to the Popedom. *Cælestius* being informed of it, came immediately to *Rome*, to prepossess this new Pope, and to ingra-

tiate himself with him, by making him a Judge in his Cause. And indeed, *Zosimus* finding this a fit Opportunity to promote his Design of increasing his Authority, and drawing to himself the Appeals of Causes judged in other places, he failed not to hearken to *Cælestius*, and to admit him to justify himself. He left all other Businesses, to flick particularly to this. He made *Cælestius* appear in St. *Clement's* Church; examined the Heads of the Accusation that was formed against him. He caused him to make a Confession of Faith, whereby he disowned the Errors which *Heros* and *Lazarus* had laid to his Charge. He enquired after the Qualifications of those Accusers; whom he found (as he saith) to have been wrongfully ordained, expelled out of their Bishopricks, and separated from the Communion of the rest. *Zosimus*, though much prepossess'd in *Cælestius's* behalf, yet durst not give Judgment in his Case without writing to the *African* Bishops; but he did it after such a manner as sufficiently discovered how much he favoured him: For after he had writ all this that we have said, he declares, that if *Cælestius's* Accusers came not to *Rome* within two Months, to convict him of maintaining other Opinions than those which he then professed, he should take it for granted

Zosimus. granted that he was Innocent. At the latter end, he declares all these Questions to be only vain Subtilties, and unprofitable Contests, which rather destroy than edifie; and are Effects of an imprudent Curiosity, and of too great an itch of Speaking and Writing. This Letter was written about July, in the Year 417.

After the writing of this Letter, *Zosimus* received one from *Præsius*, Bishop of *Jernusalem*, in *Cælestius's* behalf, with *Pelagius's* Confession of Faith. This News, the Absence of the Accusers, and the Silence of the *Africans*, who returned no Answer to his Letter, confirmed him in the Judgment which he had made of *Cælestius's* Doctrine. He deals with their Accusers, as with most unworthy Persons. He upbraids *Lazarus*, as one that made it his practice to accuse the Innocent; and as one that had been condemned by *Proculus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, in a Synod at *Turin*, for having falsely and calumniously accused *Britius*, Bishop of *Tours*. He adds, that having been Ordained Bishop of *Aix*, some time after, by the Favour of *Constantine* the Tyrant, he retained the Shadow of the Priesthood so long as the Power of that Tyrant lasted. As for *Heros*, he reproacheth him for following the same Party, and for doing Violence. Afterwards, he tells the *African* Bishops, that they were to blame, in being so easily persuaded upon the Word of those Accusers; and makes no scruple of declaring *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* Innocent, seeing their Accusers had not appeared.

Zosimus's first Letter was carried by *Basilisus*, a Subdeacon, who cited *Paulinus* to the Pope's Tribunal; but he did not concern himself to appear: And the *African* Bishops were not at all moved by *Zosimus's* Pretension; on the contrary, they stood by the Judgment which they had given firmly; which also had been confirmed by his Predecessor. They told him plainly, that this Cause being born in *Africa* and judged there, *Cælestius* could not Appeal, nor he take Cognizance of it. Lastly, they made a Protestation, to prevent *Zosimus's* pronouncing Judgment for their making default in the behalf of *Cælestius* and *Pelagius*: Yea, they went further, for without waiting for the Pope's Judgment, they confirmed what they had done, and condemned the Doctrine of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* a-new. Having taken this Precaution, they writ again to *Zosimus*, and sent him all the Acts of what had been done in *Africa* against *Cælestius*: shewing him at the same time, that it was not enough to oblige *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* to approve in general what was in Pope *Innocent's* Letter, but that they ought to be made to acknowledge particularly all the Catholic Truths that were contrary to their Errors.

Zosimus having received these Letters, with the Advertisements of the *Africans* who had likewise written to Court about the business, durst not go any further, and was contented to assert his Authority, by writing to them, that though he had power to judge all Causes, and none had any right to reform his Judgments, yet he would do nothing without communicating it unto them: that he was surprized, that they should write to him as if they had been persuaded that he had given credit to all that *Cælestius* had said to him: That he had not proceeded so fast; because too much Deliberation cannot be used, when a Supreme Judgment is to be pronounced: and, that after the first Letter which he received from them, he left all in the same Condition that it was before. This Letter, of the 19th. of March, 418. is the tenth in the usual Order of *Zosimus's* Letters.

It appears by this, that the Pope began to alter his Mind, concerning *Cælestius*, and to mistrust his Sincerity. But he was fully convinced of his Double-dealing, when the time of Judgment came: for having caused him to be cited to come and condemn the Six Articles that were laid to his Charge clearly, if he would be absolved of the Judgment that was given against him in *Africa*, he not only refused to appear, but fled from *Rome*. *Zosimus*, provoked to see himself deceived, wrote to all the Bishops a long Letter, wherein he condemned *Cælestius's* Articles, and *Pelagius's* Writings. This Letter is not all extant, but only some Fragments of it produced by St. *Augustine* and *Marinus Mercator*. It was very long, and contained the whole History of this Affair. He gave this Judgment after April, in the Year 418.

Zosimus had likewise some Contests with the Bishops of *Gaul*. The Churches of *Arles* and *Vienna* had long disputed the Right of Primacy, over the Provinces of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Viennensis*. This Contest had been laid asleep for some time by a Decree of the Council at *Turin*, which ordained, that in Expectation of an absolute Decision of that Quarrel, both Churches should enjoy the Right of *Metropolis* over the Churches that were near to each of them. But *Zosimus* was no sooner promoted to the Papedom, but he declares for *Patroclus*, Bishop of *Arles*; and granted him by his Letter all that he could wish for: For he gave him, in the first place, the Right of giving *formed Letters* to all the Ecclesiasticks of *Gaul* that would come to *Rome*; forbidding absolutely that any should go out of *Gaul* without that sort of Letters from him, whereby it appeared what they were, and whence they came. This Privilege did belong to the Church of *Arles*; as indeed *Zosimus* saith, that he granted it not to *Patroclus*, because of his Church, but for his Deserts. *Meritorum ejus Contem-*

platione. The second Advantage which *Zosimus* would have *Patroclus* enjoy, was annex'd to the Dignity of his Church, and concerns the Metropolitick Rights which he ordains him to have over the Province of *Gallia Viennensis*, and both the *Narbonenses*, which implies the Right of Ordaining all the Bishops of those Provinces.

Lastly, *Zosimus* annexed to the Bishoprick of *Arles*, all the Parishes and Territories which formerly belong'd to it. He added, that all the Contests that should arise in the Provinces of *Gallia Viennensis*, and *Narbonensis*, were to be carried to the Bishop of *Arles*; except the Business was of Consequence; in which case, he affirmed it necessary, that he should examine the same himself at *Rome*: *Nisi magnitudo cause nostrum desideret examen.* He observes besides in that Letter, that *Trophimus* was sent to *Arles* by the See of *Rome*, and that through his means the *Gauls* received the Faith of Jesus Christ. This Letter was written soon after the Promotion of Pope *Zosimus*, the 20th. of March, of the Year 417. It is the fifth in the common Editions.

About the latter end of the Year he writ two more; wherein he confirms the Metropolitick Rights to the Church of *Arles*; rejecting even with scorn the Canon of the Council at *Turin*, and condemning *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, and *Simplicius* of *Vienna*, who opposed his Design. In both those Letters he grounds the Primacy of the Church of *Arles* upon its being founded by *Trophimus*, who was sent from the See of *Rome*. These Letters are the seventh and the eighth. The former is directed to the Bishops of *Gallia Viennensis*,; and the second, to *Narbonensis*; and the latter to *Hilary* of *Narbon*, who maintained, that to him belonged the Ordinations of the Bishops of the first *Narbonensis*. Both these Letters are dated the 27th. of September, 417.

He that most opposed *Patroclus*, was *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, who constantly Ordained Bishops in his Province, notwithstanding the Pope's Prohibitions. *Zosimus* undertook him, and cited him to *Rome*. But he not much regarding that Citation, continued to maintain his Rights, and to Ordain, as he had done before. This brought upon him a Condemnation from *Zosimus*, who writ against him, not only to *Patroclus*, but also to the People of *Marseilles*. That they should expell him out of his Bishoprick. His Ninth Letter to *Patroclus*, is upon this Subject, September 27th. 417. And the eleventh to the same, written March 2d. 418. and the twelfth, to the People of *Marseilles*, dated on the same Day. Yet notwithstanding the Pope's Judgment and Threatnings, *Proculus* remained peaceable Possessor of his Bishoprick; and was always acknowledged Lawful Bishop, not only by the *Gallican*, but also by the *African* Bishops. And St. *Jerome* tells us in his Letter to *Rusticus*, That this *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, who was used so ill by the Popes, was a most Holy and Learned Bishop.

The grudge which *Zosimus* bore to *Proculus*, made him condemn likewise two Bishops Ordained by him, called *Ursus* and *Tuentius*; against whom he writ a Circular Letter to the Bishops of *Africa*, *Gaul* and *Spain*; it is the seventh, dated September 20th. 417. He saith of these two Persons whom *Proculus* had Ordained, that they had been both Condemned. The first by *Proculus* himself, and the second by other Bishops: that this Man, after his Condemnation, came to *Rome*; where he did Penance, and abjured the Errors of the *Priscillianists*. He reproaches *Proculus* for regarding neither his Judgment, nor the Judgment of others. He speaks also against *Lazarus*, whom *Proculus* Ordained Bishop of *Aix*, who assisted at the Ordination of *Ursus* and *Tuentius*. He declares that those Ordinations were Illegitimate, having been performed in prejudice of the Bishop of *Arles*, who alone had the Right to Ordain in the Provinces of *Narbon* and *Vienna*. Lastly, he advises the Bishops of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, not to own either *Ursus*, or *Tuentius*, for Bishops, and not to communicate with them.

By these Letters one plainly sees the Reason why *Zosimus* did so much desire to invalidate the Judgment given against *Cælestius*, and *Pelagius*. Their Accusers were *Heros* and *Lazarus*; *Patroclus's* Adversaries, and Friends of *Proculus* of *Marseilles*. He openly declared for *Patroclus*. He eagerly prosecuted *Proculus* and his Adherents. He would have been glad to find Matter of Condemnation against *Heros* and *Lazarus*, by causing them to be looked upon as false Accusers. Perhaps this is the only thing that made him favour *Cælestius* and *Pelagius* at first: But since both of them were convicted of Heresie by the Bishop of *Africa*, The Love of Truth prevailed in him, over the secret Satisfaction which he would have had by the Condemnation of *Heros* and *Lazarus*.

We have three Letters besides ascribed to *Zosimus*, which do not seem to have had any relation to either of these Affairs we have now spoken of.

The first is directed to *Hefychius*, Bishop of *Salona*; to whom he prescribes with much Imperiousness, and with a very Commanding Tone, the Distances which he should cause to be observed between the Sacred Orders. The Date is of February, 418.

The second is directed to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He speaketh there against those who durst go to Court to complain.

Zosimus. plain against him: telling the Clergy of *Ravenna*, That they were Excommunicated. The Letter is of the 2d. of *October*, of the same Year.

The Last, if it be true, is directed to the Bishops of the Province of *Byzacena* in *Africa*; and not to the Bishops of *Byzantia*, as it is in the common Title. There he blames those Bishops for admitting Lay-men to judge Church-men. It is dated *November. 14th. 418.* But it is not probable that

it is Supposititious, because it is of a very different Style from the rest.

Zosimus writes purely, and nobly. He speaks with Vigour, and Authority, and turns every thing to his own Advantage. He discerneth the weak side of his Adversaries, and omits nothing that can do them Hurt. In a word, he writes like a Man thoroughly skil'd in Business, who knows the strong and the weak side of every thing, and the exact Management of Affairs.

BONIFACE. I.

Boniface. I. After the Death of Pope *Zosimus*, the Church of *Rome* was divided about the Election of his Successor. The Arch-Deacon *Eulalius*, who aspired to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, shut himself up in the Church of the *Lateran*, with part of the People, some Priests, and some Deacons, and made them chuse him in *Zosimus's* room. On the other side a great Number of Priests, several Bishops, and part of the People, being assembled in the Church of *Theodora*, elected *Boniface*. Both were ordained. *Eulalius* was ordained by some Bishops, among whom was the Bishop of *Ostia*, who used to ordain the Bishop of *Rome*. *Boniface* was likewise ordained by a great Number of Bishops, and went to take possession of *St. Peter's* Church.

Symmachus, Governor of *Rome*, having try'd in vain to make them agree, writ to the Emperor *Honorius* about it. In his Letter of the 29th. of *December, 418.* he speaks in *Eulalius's* behalf, and judges *Boniface* to be in the wrong. The Emperor believing his Relation, sent him word immediately, That he should expell *Boniface*, and uphold *Eulalius*. The Governor having received this Order, sent for *Boniface* to acquaint him with it, but he would not come to him; so that the Governor sent to him, to signify the Emperor's Order, and kept him from returning into the City. The Bishops, Priests, and the People that sided with *Boniface*, wrote immediately to the Emperor, to intreat him that he would order both *Eulalius*, and *Boniface*, to go to Court, that their Cause might there be judged. To satisfy them, the Emperor sent to *Symmachus* an Order of the 30th. of *January 419* signifying, that he should enjoin *Boniface*, and *Eulalius*, to be at *Ravenna*, about the 6th. of *February*. *Honorius* conven'd some Bishops thither to judge of their Cause; and that they might not be suspected of favouring any one side, he commanded, That none of those who had ordained either of them should be a Judge in the case. The Bishops that were chosen to judge this Cause being divided, the Emperor put off the Judgment till *May*, and forbade *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, to go to *Rome*; and sent thither *Achilleus*, Bishop of *Spoleto*, to perform the Episcopal Functions, during the *Easter Holy-Days*. In which time he prepared a numerous Synod, and invited the Bishops both of *Africa* and *Gaul*; but *Eulalius* could not endure that Delay, and spoiled his Business by his impatience: For whether he distrusted his Right, or whether he was of a restless temper, he returned to *Rome* the 16th. of *March*, and would have stay'd there, notwithstanding the Emperor's Orders, which obliged *Symmachus* to use Violence to drive him out of *Rome*, and the Emperor having been informed of his Disobedience, waited for no other Judgment, but caused *Boniface* to be put in possession, in the beginning of *April 419*.

One of the First Things that *Boniface* did, was to write to the Emperor, to intreat him to make an Edict, to prevent for the future, the Intrigues, and Cabals that were made use of to get the Bishoprick of *Rome*. This Letter bears Date the First of *July*. To cut of the Root of these Divisions, *Honorius* ordained, that if ever two Men should be ordained Bishops of *Rome*, that neither should remain in Possession, but that both the Clergy, and People, should chuse a third.

Boniface's Second Letter, ought to go before this now mentioned, if the order of their Dates was observed, since this is of the 13th. of *June, 419.* It is directed to *Patroclus*, and to the other Bishops of the Seven Provinces of *Gaul*, concerning *Maximus* Bishop of *Valence*, who was accused by the Clergy of that City, who had carried their Accusation directly to the Pope, in all probability about the Contests which had been in that Province, concerning the Right of Primacy. *Boniface* accuses that Bishop not only for refusing to appear at *Rome* to plead for himself, but for avoiding to appear before Provincial Synods, to which he was remitted by the Popes his Predecessors. Yet he declares, that he would not condemn him, because he ought to have been

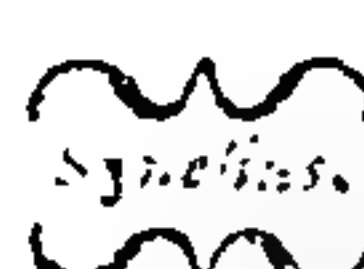
judged in his own Province: wherefore he desireth them to call a Council before the first of *November*, that he might appear there to make his own defence to the Accusations formed against him; adding that if he refused to appear, he should hope no longer, that his absence could put a stop to his Condemnation. 'For, saith he, it is a shrewd Mark of a Man's Guilt, who, when he is accused, and has so many occasions of clearing himself, yet neglects to make use of them.'

Boniface's Third Letter to *Hilary*, Bishop of *Narbona*, of the 2d. of *February 422.* overthrows all that *Zosimus* had done in the behalf of the Church of *Arles*. For upon the complaint of the Inhabitants of *Lodève*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis Prima*, against *Patroclus*, Bishop of *Arles*, for ordaining a Bishop, without consulting with the Metropolitan, he declares that it was an Action against the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, which he could not patiently bear with, because he was obliged to maintain the Canons. Whereof he sends word to the Bishop of *Narbon*, That if that Church be of his Province, he should go to that City, and there perform a lawful Ordination, and put a stop to the Bishop of *Arles's* Presumption, who undertook beyond the Bounds of his Jurisdiction. Lastly, he ordaineth, That for the future, every Province shall be subject to its own Metropolitan. Nothing can be more contrary than the Opinions of *Zosimus*, and *Boniface*, concerning the Dignity, and Jurisdiction of the Church of *Arles*. *Zosimus* is persuaded, that the Bishop of *Arles* ought to ordain all the Bishops of the seven Provinces; and *Boniface* declares, that that is a Violation of the Canons. The former saith, that the Bishop of *Arles* is the sole Metropolitan; and the latter affirmeth, That none can be Metropolitan of two Provinces. *Zosimus* is of Opinion, that the pretensions of *Hilary*, of *Narbon*, and of the other Metropolitans of the seven Provinces, that they have a Right to ordain the Bishops of their respective Provinces, are extremely rash. On the contrary, *Boniface* maintains, that it is a well-grounded Right; and that the pretension of the Church of *Arles* to ordain in those Provinces, is a breach upon the Canons, to which opposition must be made. The one forbids *Hilary* of *Narbon*, to ordain the Bishops of his Province, when he asks it of him: The other enjoins him to it without asking. Can there be a greater contrariety of Opinions betwixt Popes, who succeeded each other immediately. This made *St. Leo* say in the Epistle to the Bishops of *Provincia Viennensis*, that the See of *Rome* had taken away from *Patroclus* what it had given him, by a more just Sentence, than that by which it was granted. ID IPSUM QUOD PATROCLO A SEDE APOSOLICA TEMPORALITER VIDEBATUR ESSE CONCESSUM, POSTMODUM ESSE SENTENTIA MELIORE SUBLATUM. Is it because those Popes thought themselves absolute Masters of these Things? If so, why should they alledge the Canons, and profess to observe them? Is it because they believed that Privileges attended the Persons of Bishops, and not their Churches? Wherefore then did *Zosimus* exalt the Dignity, and Antiquity, of the Church of *Arles* so high, because it was founded by *Trophimus*? We are therefore to conclude, that there is no other Reason of that contrariety, besides the difference of the Opinions of the two Popes: But which of the two was in the Right, and which in the Wrong, is a great Business to be decided, which we shall find afterwards sharply debated in the time of *St. Leo*. In the mean time we may observe, That the common Right was on *Boniface's* side, and that we do not see any Privilege Authentick enough, or any Custom sufficiently established, whereby we should allow to the Church of *Arles*, what *Zosimus* grants to it. There are besides five of this Pope's Letters to *Ruffus* Bishop of *Theffalonica*, and to the Bishops of *Illyricum* recorded in the Council that was assembled under *Boniface II.* in 531. *Boniface I.* was peaceable Possessor of the See of *Rome*, untill the Year 433. Though there were still some Christians of *Eulalius's* Party.

SYNESIUS.

Synesius. *Synesius*, Originally of *Cyrene*, a City of *Pentapolis*, a Platonic Philosopher, and Disciple of the famous *Hypatia*, having spent part of his Life in Worldly Employments was converted and chosen Bishop of *Pto-*

lemas in the Year 520. He was hardly brought to accept of that Office, which seemed to him to be contrary to that Philosophical Life, wherein he had lived till then: neither could he resolve to leave his Wife; nor was he yet fully persuaded



persuaded of all the Articles of the Christian Religion. He believed that Souls were created before Bodies, and could not conceive that the World was to have an end: He did not believe the Resurrection of the Dead, as it is believed in the Church; imagining, that what is said in the Scripture, had some mystical, and secret Sense. He urges these Reasons in his 105th. Letter, to prevent their ordaining him Bishop. *Baronius* thinks, that he did not really hold such Opinions, but that he feigned to have them to avoid the Episcopal Function. But this Conjecture is not at all Probable, because he affirms with an Oath, that he expresses his real Sense: Wherefore it is better to say with the Ancients, that *Synesius's* Merit, and the Need which the Churches of *Africa* stood in of his Protection in a most difficult time, superseded these Considerations, in hopes that being ordained Bishop, he would submit his Opinions to those of the Church. It is related in the *Pratum Spirituale*, that when he was Bishop, a very remarkable thing happened to him; which shews, that he had altered his Opinion, concerning the Resurrection of Bodies. A Heathen Philosopher, one *Evagrius*, *Synesius's* old Friend, came to *Cyrene*. *Synesius* used all his Endeavours to convert him. After several Sollicitations to that purpose, this Philosopher declared to him at last, that the Resurrection of the Body was one of those things which he was most displeased with in the Christian Religion. *Synesius* affirmed, that whatsoever the Christians taught was true, and never left him, till he had Converted, and Baptized him. This Man sometime after his Baptism, having given *Synesius* a Sum of Money to distribute to the Poor, demanded a Bond, to repay it him again in the next Life. *Synesius* readily gave him one. The Philosopher kept it, and sometime before his Death, commanded his Children to put it into his Coffin. Three Days after he appeared to *Synesius* in the Night, and bad him come to his Grave, and take his Bond because he was pay'd; and to assure him of it, he had signified a Discharge with his own Hand. *Synesius* not knowing, that his Children had put the Bond in his Coffin, having sent for them, and learned of them how the business had been carried, telling them withal what had happened, went to this Man's Grave, with his Clergy, and the chief Men of the Town, and caused the Coffin to be opened; where they found the Bond, with a Receipt newly written in *Evagrius's* own Hand at the bottom. The Author of the *Pratum Spirituale*, relates this History, as having learned it of *Leontius of Apamea*, who came to *Alexandria*, in the time of the Patriarch *Eulogius*, to be Ordained Bishop of *Cyrene*; adding, that that Man certified, that this Bond was still kept in the Vestry of the Church of *Cyrene*. This may give some Credit to a Story which would deserve none, were it solely grounded upon the Testimony of the Author of the *Pratum Spirituale*, who is known to be of no great Authority. However, *Evagrius* and *Photinus* affirm, that *Synesius* was no sooner Ordained Bishop, but he yielded to the Opinion of the Church, concerning the Resurrection.

Synesius's Treatises are Philosophical Discourses, written with great nobleness, and loftiness. The Catalogue of them is as follows,

A Discourse of reigning well, spoken in the presence of the Emperor *Arcadius* about the Year 398. when he was Deputy of his own Province that was walled by the *Barbarians* Incursions, to obtain some Succours, and some Ease of the Emperor. *Synesius* speaks there of Government with a wonderful freedom, and declaims openly against Courtiers, against the Luxury and Ambition of Princes. He lays down most excellent Instructions for Kings; He shews what are the truly Royal Virtues, and the Qualities of a good Prince. And discovers at last the Spring of the Empire's Misfortunes, which was the Credit and Power that was given some time since to the *Goths* in the Affairs of the Empire. He composed at the same time another Discourse directed to *Pavonius*, to whom he sent Astronomical Tables which he had made. This Discourse contains a Commendation of Philosophy, and particularly of Astronomy, with a description of the Work which he sent.

The Book Intituled *Dion Pruseus*, begins with the Praises of that great Man mentioned in *Philostratus*. There *Synesius* justifies himself against those that blamed him for applying himself to the Study of Philological Learning, and against such as found fault that the Books he made use of were not very exact. He shews with great Eloquence, that the Study of the fine Learning of Poetry and Rhetorick is of very great Use, and not unworthy of a Philosopher. Afterwards he strongly opposes the second Calumny; proving that it is sometimes good for the Exercise of a Man's Parts, to use Copies that are not so very Correct.

The Praise of Baldness, is one of the most ingenious of all *Synesius's* Works; and though the Matter seems not to afford much of it self, yet he enlarges and beautifies it with variety of wonderful Reasons and Figures.

The two Books of *Providence* contain the History, or rather the Romance of two Brothers, Kings of *Egypt*, called *Osiris* and *Typhon*. It is thought that he describes under those borrowed Names, the State of the Empire in his time.

In the Book of *Dreams*, there are several curious Observations upon the Original, Vertue, and Significations of Dreams.

Synesius's Letters are written with inimitable Eloquence, Pureness, and Dexterity: They are full of Historical Passages, Sublime Notions, Fine Railleries, Moral Reflections, and Pious Expressions. There are 155. of them: We shall speak of those only that relate to Religion, and the Church's Affairs which are but very few.

To this may be refer'd what he saith in the Fourth Letter of a Shipwreck; He observes, That their Pilot was a Jew, who quitted the Helm on the Saturday's-Eve after Sun-set, and that he could not be persuaded to take it again, what Threatnings soever were used, till the Ship was in an unavoidable Danger of perishing. This Letter is of the beginning of the Year 410.

In the 5th. Letter directed to certain Priests, he exhorts them to prosecute the *Eunomians*, and to hinder their Meetings; yet so, that it might appear, that they had no design upon their Estates.

In the 9th. he commends a Letter that was written by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

In the 11th. he declares how unwilling he was to be made a Bishop, and prays God who called him to that State, to give him strength to discharge the Duties of it with Applause and recommends himself to the Priests and Peoples Prayers both Publick and Private.

In the 12th. he exhorts a Priest and a Bishop called *Cyril*, to return to the Church from which they had been divided for a time; affirming, that *Theophilus*, their common Father, had admitted them if he had been alive. This Letter was written after *Theophilus's* Death, which happened in October 412.

The 13th. is an Epistle written from *Alexandria*; wherein he assigns the Day to his Clergy when they were to observe the Feast of *Easter*: The Day there set agrees with the Year 412.

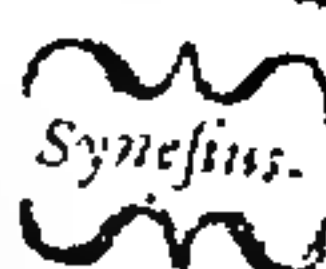
Andronicus Governor of *Pentapolis*, a cruel Man, exercised several Violences against the People. *Synesius*, who was of a meek and merciful Temper, used all his Endeavours to hinder that Man's Cruelties, and to help those Wretches whom he tormented. Among the rest, he succoured a Man of Quality, *Andronicus's* Enemy, whom that inexorable Governor persecuted without any Cause. That charitable Action provoked him, and made him utter in his anger these Impious Words: *That that Unfortunate Man fled to the Church in vain, and that no Man should be taken out of Andronicus's Hands, though he held Jesus Christ by the Feet.* *Synesius* having heard this Blasphemy, excommunicated him in a Synod held in the Year 411. and with him *Thoas*, the Chief Minister of all his Cruelties, with his whole Family. After this Excommunication, he pronounced a Discourse against him, which is the 57th. of his Letters. There he describes that Governor's Cruelty; He speaks of his own former Life, and with what reluctancy he accepted the Bishoprick; he bewails the deplorable Condition of his Country, declaring, that he was altogether unfit to manage a Business of that Nature; wherefore he intreats his Brethren, either to chuse one in his Room, or give him a Colleague that was versed in Business.

In the 53th. Letter, he gives Notice to all Bishops in the Name of the Church of *Ptolemais*, that an Excommunication was pronounc'd against *Andronicus*, declaring, that they ought to shut their Church-Doors against him and all his Accomplices; that if any Man receives him, not regarding the Sentence of a small Church, he breaks the Unity of the Church, and that he will have no fellowship with him.

Andronicus struck with that Excommunication, seem'd to be sorry for his Fault, and promised to do Penance. *Synesius* knowing his humour, did not think fit to admit him; but the other ancienter Bishops were not of that Opinion, and judged that the Excommunication was to be suspended; and that they should forbear sending the Letter that declared him Excommunicated, having taken his word, that thenceforth he should not offer the like Violences. But this Governor, instead of keeping his Promise, was more Cruel than ever; so that *Synesius* published the Excommunication that had been pronounced, and wrote to the Bishops to give an Account of the Governor's relapse in the 72^d. Letter. He makes another Description of this Governor's Violences in the 79th. But at last this cruel Man received the Punishment of his Cruelties, and was dealt withal as he had dealt with others. *Synesius* charitably pitied his Condition, as he observes in the 89th. Letter to *Theophilus*.

In the 66th. *Synesius* maliciously asks *Theophilus*, How he should entertain *Alexandria*, who had been ordained by *St. Chrysostome*, Bishop of *Basinopolis* in *Bithynia*; giving him to understand at the same time, that he approved not of his Behaviour towards those who sided with that holy Patriarch of *Constantinople*. He readily tells *Theophilus*, that he revered his Memory; and, that at least Men ought not to hate an Enemy when he is dead. He adds, that *Theophilus* himself had writ to *Atticus*, exhorting him to admit into his Communion those of *St. Chrysostom's* Party.

That



Synesius. That as for this *Alexander* who was born at *Cyrene*, formerly a Monk, then raised to the Dignity of a Deacon, and a Priest, and at last ordained Bishop of *Basinopolis* by *St. John Chrysostome*, that he was withdrawn into his own Country. *Synesius* durst not admit him to the Communion, nor to partake of the Church's Prayers; but he received him privately into his House, and shewed him much Friendship, it being his Custom so to deal with all guilty Persons. He intreats *Theophilus* to answer him plainly and clearly, whether he should look upon *Alexander* as a Bishop, or no? this Letter is of the latter end of the Year 410. or the beginning of 411.

The 57th. to the same *Theophilus*, contains several remarkable Points of Discipline; shewing the Power of the Bishop of *Alexandria* over all *Egypt*. He had appointed *Synesius* to compose some Disputes among the Bishops of *Pentapolis*, and in this Letter *Synesius* gives him an exact account of what he had done. There were in *Pentapolis* two Villages, *Palebiscus* and *Hydrax*, near *Libya*. Both these had formerly been Subject to the Bishop of *Erythra* the nearest City. Since that under *Orion* Bishop of *Erythra* an Easie Man; the Inhabitants of both these Villages had caused a Young Man, *Syderius* by Name, to be ordained their Bishop, who had served in *Valens's* Army; that they might have a Man of Courage to protect them; without observing the Formalities requisite in a Legal Ordination, for he was ordained by one only Bishop, and without the Approbation of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. But this happening when the Heretical Eactions were formidable, they forbore the Severity of the Laws: And *St. Athanasius* caused *Syderius* to be translated to *Ptolemais*; but towards the latter end of his Life, he returned to his former Church. After his Death, *Palebiscus* and *Hydrax* were reduced to their former dependency upon the Bishop of *Erythra*; the Inhabitants of those Places being willing, according to the Bishop of *Alexandria's* Letters, to own *Paulus* of *Erythra*, for their Bishop. Since that, *Theophilus* upon the Information of some particular Men, offered to give them a Bishop, and gave *Synesius* a Commission to go and ordain him. He being come to the Village, found the People resolved to have no other Bishop but *Paul*, and could never bring them to consent that he should ordain a particular Bishop. He writ all this to *Theophilus*, and insinuates, that though the Inhabitants of those Villages were ready to obey, if he would absolutely impose a Bishop upon them; yet it was not convenient to do it.

There was another Business also to be decided at *Hydrax*. In this Town there was a Castle situate upon an Hill, whereunto belonged a great enclosure, which might have yielded a good income, if they rebuilt the Walls which had been thrown down with an Earthquake. The Dispute about it was betwixt *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Dardania*, and *Paulus* of *Erythra*: The latter to take Possession, consecrated there a Chappel, and alledged, that that place had been long since consecrated. *Synesius* having examined the case, found that formerly Publick Prayers had been made in that Castle during the *Barbarians* IncurSIONs. But he thought that this was not sufficient to make the place sacred, because that by the same Reason, all others would prove consecrated Places, wherein Publick Prayers, and Holy Mysteries had been celebrated in the time of War. As for the Chappel, it was proved that *Paul* had consecrated it to make himself Master of the Place. *Synesius* declared, that it was an ill Example, to make use of the Church's Prayers, of the Holy Table, and of the Mystical Veil, to invade another Man's Estate. And so far from looking upon that Chappel as consecrated, he made no Scruple of declaring it to be common. 'For, saith he, we are to distinguish Superstition from true Religion. 'Superstition is a Vice adorned with the Name of Virtue; 'but Wisdom makes us discover it to be a third sort of 'Impiety: And so I do not think that there is any Sanctity in a thing unjustly undertaken; neither do I regard 'the Consecration that is alledged. It is not with Christians as with Heathens. They do not imagine that their 'God is made to come down with Words and Ceremonies; 'they require a pure Heart, and free from Passions: And 'when Wrath or Anger causes Ministers to act, they do 'not believe that the Holy Ghost accompanies their Motions.' *Paul* did not refuse to take away the Chappel, but since *Synesius* urged to have it done, he presented a Petition full of Invectives against *Dioscorus*, but he soon confessed his Fault and begged Pardon. Then *Dioscorus*, who would yield nothing whilst *Paul* disputed it, proposed of himself to come to an Agreement with *Paul* about that Castle, and so exchanged it, with some Lands hard by, for some other Lands which *Paul* gave him in another place, which lay more convenient for him, though of less Value. *Synesius* gave *Theophilus* an account of all this, and commended *Dioscorus* for relieving the Poor of *Alexandria*.

A third Business that *Synesius* had order to compose, was a Quarrel betwixt two private Persons, *Jafon*, and *Lamponianus*; the latter being accused to have slandered the other, chose rather to confess, than to be convicted, and was required to do Penance, and to separate from the Assemblies of the Faithful. The People requested that he might be Ab-

solved. *Synesius* referred the Matter to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and only gave order to the Priests to admit him to the Communion of the Church, if he should be in danger of Death: For, saith he, as much as in me lies, I will take Care that no man shall die bound with Ecclesiastical Bonds. He adds, that Absolution should not be granted in case of Necessity, but upon this Condition, that if he recover, he shall be in the same State as before. *Lamponianus* was indebted to the Church one hundred forty seven Crowns of the Poores Money, which he had lost by some Misfortune, which he promised to pay; but required time to work, that he might get that Sum.

Synesius writ again to *Theophilus* about some Abuses that were practised in those Parts. Bishops accused one another of Ill Behaviour, rather to make the Governors get Money, than because they had any Grounds for so doing. *Synesius* prays him to make an Order directed to him, whereby that Abuse might be forbidden; but without reproving any particularly, that it might not appear that he had accused them. He saith, that with such an Order, he would put a stop to that Infamy of Bishops. For, saith he, God forbid that I should say, the Infamy of the Church. He observes, that this will turn to greater Advantage for the Accusers, than for the Accused, because they shall be delivered from a greater Evil, since it is a greater Evil to do injury, than to suffer; because the one comes from our selves, and the other concerns other Men. The last thing which *Synesius* acquaints *Theophilus* withal, is concerning certain Bishops, who quitted their Bishopricks without being expelled, to go from Church to Church, to receive there the Honours due to their Character. His Opinion is, that they should not be received, nor Precedency given them; that they might be obliged to return to their Churches. And thus, he thinks, those ought to be dealt withal in Publick; as to what should be done privately, he waits for an Answer to the Letter he writ to *Theophilus*, concerning *Alexander*, which is that now mention'd; He concludes their Letter with those very humble Words: Pray to God for me, and you shall Pray for a poor forlorn Man who wants all things, and needs help, not daring to address to God for himself; for I perceive that every thing is against me, since I undertook to Minister at the Altar, who am laden with Sins; who was brought up out of the Church, and followed all my life-time a Profession different from this. This Letter is of the Year 411.

In the 76th. Letter *Synesius* recommends to *Theophilus*, *Antonius*, who had been chosen Bishop of *Olbiata*, a Town of his Province, and was going to *Alexandria*, to be ordained by *Theophilus*, according to the Custom of that time.

The 95th was written by *Synesius*, seven Months after he was made Bishop; He expresses, with what difficulty he accepted of the Office, and begs of God Grace to discharge it well.

The 105th. is that famous Letter which he writ to his Brother, when he was chosen Bishop of *Cyrene*; wherein he sets down the Reasons that kept him from being promoted to that Dignity. The rest of the Letters contain nothing that is remarkable touching Religion.

We have but two Homilies of *Synesius* which are not entire. The first is the beginning of a Homily upon God's Law, of which he understandeth what is said in the 75th. Psalm, In the Hand of the Lord there is a Cup, &c.

The second is likewise imperfect. It is the Fragment of a Sermon preached upon Easter-Eve. Both these Fragments shew, that *Synesius* did not excell in this kind so much as he did in others; yet he was Eloquent, and composed Pieces of Rhetorick very well; as appears by his Discourse concerning the Ruine of his Province; and by his Panegyrick upon *Anysius*, which come after the two Homilies now mentioned; but there is a particular sort of Eloquence necessary for the Pulpit, which he seems not to have had. He had a better genius for Hymns; We have ten of his which are very excellent, in which there are some Platonic Principles concerning the Trinity. This Author ascribes much to God's Help, and to the Grace of Jesus Christ, which he requires us to ask by fervent Prayer, that we may be delivered from those Passions and disorderly Desires of Lust, wherewith we are transported. We have lost a Philosophical Work of his, Intituled, *Cynegeticks*, mentioned in the 153d. Letter.

Synesius's Style, according to *Photius's* Judgment, is great and lofty, but something Poetical.

He chiefly excelleth in Narratives and Descriptions. He varies the Matters which he treats of, with long Prefaces, and frequent Digressions. He makes them agreeable by excellent Passages out of Histories and Fables, and by the best Thoughts of the Profane Poets. His Philosophy hath nothing harsh or disgusting. He has found a way to render it pleasant and easie. He seems to have designed only to recreate, when he discovers the main Points of Wisdom. The Reader is brought insensibly to the Knowledge of most Important Truths, when he thought to read only pleasant Relations. He observes in his first Letter, that he writ two sorts of Books, some of the most refined Philosophy, and others Rhetorical Pieces; but that they are easily known to be all written by the same Person, who applies himself

Synefius. sometimes to serious things, and sometimes to pleasant ones.-- And indeed, it maintains every where the same Character. His Philosophical Works are adorned with Rhetorical and Poetical Figures, and his Pieces of Eloquence are supported with Philosophical Thoughts. He had a thorough Knowledge of *Plato's* Writings, and from that Fountain, he drew the noblest and the sublimest Notions in the old Philosophy, concerning the Knowledge of the Supreme Being, and Principles of Morality. He wrote but little touching our Religion, and he was far from understanding it so well as he did *Plato's* Philosophy. Yet one may see by his Letters that he was a very Wise, Prudent and Good Bishop. He avoided Business as much as he could; but when he was engaged, he acted very dexterously, and brought every thing to a good issue. His Behaviour was accompanied with great Freedom and Uprightness of Heart. He wanted neither Courage nor Meekness, as there was occasion. His endeavours to avoid being a Bishop, and his manner of speaking of himself, show his great Humility. The Year of his Death is not known.

The Book of *Dreams* was Printed in Greek and Latin, Translated by *Ficinus*, at *Venice* in 1497. and at *Lyons* in 1541. In 1553. *Turnebus* published most of his Works in Greek. The Letters were Printed in Greek at *Venice* in 1499. at *Basle* in 1558. and at *Paris* in 1605. with *Turnebus's* Translation. The Hymns were likewise Printed in 1590. with the Poems of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and those of *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, and Reprinted in 1603. in Latin by *Portus*. In 1653. *Janus Cornarius* translated most of *Synefius's* Works, and his Translation was Printed at *Basle* in 1560. The Discourse of *Government* of the same Translation, was Printed by it self at *Frankfort* in 1583.

At last, *Petavius* having review'd and translated a-new all *Synefius's* Works, caused them to be Printed in Greek and Latin at *Paris* by *Morellus* in 1612. With *Nicephorus's* Notes and Commentary upon the Book of *Dreams*. This Edition was corrected and augmented in 1640. wherein *Synefius's* Works are joined with *St. Cyril's* Catechetical Lectures.

POLYCHRONIUS.

Polychronius. *Polychronius* Bishop of *Apamea*, Brother of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, and Disciple of *Diodorus of Tarsus*, writ some Commentaries upon *Job* and *Ezekiel*; whereof you may find some Fragments in the Greek Ca-

tene, and in *St. John Damascene*, if any Credit may be given to that sort of Quotations. There are Spurious Acts of *St. Sixtus* with *Polychronius*, dated after his Death. He lived about the latter End of the Fourth Century.

ATTICUS Bishop of Constantinople.

Atticus. *Atticus*, the Brother of *Nectarius*, who had been put into the See of *Constantinople*, in the Place of *St. Chrysostome* being dead in the Year of his Ordination, *Atticus* a Monk of *Armenia*, after some Contests *, was chosen to fill that See. He entered upon it in the Year 406. and enjoyed it peaceably until the Year 427. in which he dyed. *Socrates*, who had a very particular Esteem for this Bishop, has described him to us as a Man competently learned, but very wise and prudent, endued with abundance of Piety, Meekness and Charity, who not only took care of the Orthodox, but also won over the Hereticks by his courteous and taking Behaviour. He adds; That while he was a Priest he got his Sermons by Heart; and that after he was a Bishop, he accustomed himself to speak *ex tempore*, but that his Discourses were not beautiful enough to gain the Applause of the People, nor to deserve to be put in Writing. So true is it that a Discourse must be studied with an Intent to please. Nevertheless he helped forward the Conversion of many Persons, and very much increased the Church. His Liberality contributed much towards it; for the People are much better disposed to hear and believe their Pastor, when they see that he provides as well for their Temporal as Spiritual Wants, and at the same time he dispenses to them the Bread of Life to nourish their Souls, he also gives them liberally that by which they may procure Nourishment for their Bodies: And this he did, not only to the Poor of his own Diocese, but likewise to Strangers. *Socrates*, in the Seventh Book of his History, Chap. 25. recites a Letter which *Atticus* wrote to *Calliopius* a Priest of *Nice*; wherein he tells him, That he had sent him Three hundred Crowns, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor of the City of *Nice*. He admonishes him, at the same time, to bestow his Charity upon the modest Poor, and to give them nothing who made a Trade of Begging: He would not have him, in this Distribution, to have any Regard to Religion: And recommends it to him, to give that which is necessary to support Life, to all that are in Want, not excepting such as are of a different Religion. *Socrates* further relates some Answers of this Bishop, in favour of the *Novatians*; but since this Historian was a Friend to that Party, his Testimony is a little to be suspected: However that be, the Answers that are attributed to him are very moderate, for when one said unto him, That he ought not to suffer the Meetings of the *Novatians* in the Cities: He answered, Do you not know how much

they suffered for the Faith under the Emperors *Constantius* and *Valens*? They are Witnesses, beyond Exception, of the Truth of our Doctrine, for having separated themselves a long time from the Church, they are found to have the same Faith with us. He commended *Arseniades*, an Ancient Bishop of the *Novatians*, that he had undergone that Charge for the space of Fifty Years: And he said to this Bishop, I praise *Novatus*, but cannot approve of the *Novatians*. *Arseniades* having demanded of him the Explication of this Paradox; he reply'd, *Novatus* denyed not Communion but only to those who had fallen into Idolatry during the Persecution; I have done the same thing my self; but I cannot approve of the *Novatians*, who exclude the Laity from Communion for trivial Sins. *Arseniades* answered him; That besides Idolatry, there were many other Mortal Sins, for which the Church deposeth the Clergy for ever: And that the *Novatians* did also excommunicate the Laity for ever, who had committed those Sins, leaving the Power of Pardoning them to God only. *Socrates* tells us further, That *Atticus* foretold his own Death to *Calliopius*; and that he did die indeed, according to his own Prediction, in the Year 427. in the beginning of *October*. Besides this Letter of which we have just now spoken, *Theodoret*, in his Second Dialogue, cites a Fragment of a Letter, to *Euphychius*, concerning the Incarnation. He wrote also a Letter to *St. Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to persuade him to put *St. Chrysostome's* Name in the * *Diptychs*, as we understand by the Answer which *St. Cyril* made to him, related in the Fourth Book of *Facundus*; by whom we are informed, That *Atticus* was as moderate as *St. Cyril* was angry upon that account. We have *Atticus's* Letter and *St. Cyril's* Answer to it among the Epistles of the latter. These solemnly Fragments of the Writings of *Atticus* make it evident, That *Socrates* hath passed a sound Judgment of his Character, Style, and Temper. *Gennadius* says, That he had made an excellent Book concerning Faith and Virginity, dedicated to the Princesses, the Daughters of *Arcadius*; in which he condemns the Error of *Nestorius* before-hand. *St. Cyril* cites a Passage of it in his Book to the Empreſſes; which is also repeated, with another, in the Council of *Ephesus*; altho' *Vincentius* doth not reckon *Atticus* among those who were alledged for Witnesses of the Faith of the Church in the Council of *Ephesus*, and says, That these Passages are not to be found in some Manuscripts of that Council.

TICHONIUS.

Tichonius. *Tichonius*, an African, an ingenious Man, of the Party of the *Donatists*, was accounted very skilful in the Literal Sense of Holy Scripture. Nor was he wholly ignorant of Profane Sciences, but was very well versed in Ecclesiastical Studies. He hath composed a Treatise containing Seven Rules, for the explaining of the Holy Scripture; of which *St. Augustine* hath made an Abridgement, in his Third Book of the Christian Doctrine. *Gennadius* teaches us, That he had also written Three Books of the Intestine War, and a Narration of several

Reasons why he quotes the Ancient Synods in the Defence of his own Party. He further adds, That he had made a Commentary upon the *Revelation*, in which he explains that Book in a Spiritual Sense altogether. He therein did reject the conjectural Opinion of the *Millennium*; and maintained, That there should be but one Resurrection of the Good and Sinners, which would happen at the same Time; Inſomuch, that according to his Judgment, the first Resurrection of the Just is here below in the Church, when being delivered by Faith from the Death of Sin, they receive

Tichonius. receive by Baptism the earnest of Eternal Life. He affirms, in that Book, That the Angels are Corporeal. He flourished, according to *Gennadius*, at the same time as *Rufinus* and *St. Austin*, under the Empire of *Theodosius* the Great and his two Sons. We have his Book of the Seven

Rules, published by *Schottus*, and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: It is very obscure, and of little use. *St. Austin's* Tichonius. Abridgment of it is to be seen at the End of his Third Book of the Christian Doctrine.

LEPORIUS.

Leporius. His Monk is numbred among the Ecclesiastical Authors, upon account of a Book, which he made to retract the Errors of *Pelagius* and *Nestorius*, of which we have spoken in the Works of *St. Austin*. We may also see what is said of it by *St. Leo*, among the

Testimonies of the Fathers, touching the Verity of the two Natures in Jesus Christ *Facundus* Bishop of *Harmianum*, l. 1. c. 4. *Gennadius*, c. 59. *Cassian* in the Book of the Incarnation, c. 4. And *Vigilius Tapsensis*, l. 2. of the Trinity.

St. ISIDORE of Damiatra.

Isidore, (a) a Priest (b) of *Damiatra*, † a City in *Egypt*, situated upon the Mouth of the River *Nilus*, flourished in the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger. (c) He embraced a Monastick State, and spent his whole Life in mortifying his Body, by continual Abstinence, and in nourishing his Soul with Meditation upon Celestial Doctrines, in so much that it may be said of him, That he lived an Angel's Life upon Earth, and that he was a Living Picture of a Monastick and Contemplative Life. He was in so great Reputation for his Piety, Doctrine and Eloquence, that the *Greeks* gave him the Surname of (d) *Famous*. *Facundus* reports, That he had written two thousand Letters. *Suidas* attributes to him three thousand upon the Holy Scripture, and five thousand upon different Subjects. *Nicephorus* also reckons ten thousand; but it is as almost incredible that he should write so great a number: But however that be, we have no more than 2012. and there are no more extant in the most ancient Manuscripts. He had composed some other Works. (e) He speaks himself of a Treatise of Fate, against the Gentiles. *Evagrius* makes mention of some Writings of *Isidore* to *St. Cyril*, but it may be he intends the two Letters which he wrote to him, which are still extant, and which are recited by *Facundus*. By them we are taught, that he was yet alive in the Time of the Council of *Ephesus*, but was then very old. The *Greek* and *Latin* Church celebrate his Memory on the fourth Day of February.

Dr. Cave, 2013.

The Epistles of this Author are all *Laconick* that is to say, (as he himself explains it, after *St. Gregory Nazianzen*) they contain a great many things in a few Words. In writing them he follows the Rule which he gives in the one hundred fifty third Letter of the first Book. He there observes, that they ought not to be void of all sort of Ornament; nor on the other side too curiously polished. The first Defect puts into them such a dryness and baseness of Style, that they are thereby rendered over-burdensome to the Reader; but the other makes them weak and ridiculous, and therefore they ought to have so much Ornament as is necessary to render them grateful and profitable. And this he hath Marvellously well performed in all his Letters, for they are written with a great deal of Wit and Elegance, and yet there is not the least appearance of affectation or constraint. His Expressions are fine and delicate, nevertheless he hath not departed from the most natural way of speaking of things. There are no Ambiguities nor false Propositions to be found in them, but they are full of ingenuity and acuteness which runs equally through all of them. Lastly, it may be said of him, that he hath found out the secret so much searched after by others, of mingled Profit and Pleasure together. In truth, though he hath many Letters upon Critical Questions, relating to several Places of Holy Scripture, and whatsoever is of greatest subtilty in the explication of other Mysteries, yet he wants not Expressions to render them very grateful and acceptable to the Reader. But yet he hath joyned Knowledge and Learning with the Elegancy and Politeness of his Language; and his Letters are Collections of an infinite number of Common Places in Divinity, very well treated of and cleared. In them we may find a great many Texts of the Old and New Testament explained, and applied to different Subjects. This is the most common Argument of these Letters. Some there are, wherein he explains and illustrates the Mysteries and Doctrines of our Religion; in others he makes Remarks upon the Discipline of the Church: In the greatest part of

them he propounds and confirms the great Principles of Christian Morality, and teaches in many of them the Rules and principal Maxims of a Spiritual Life. Sometimes he gives lively Instructions, sometimes also he utters smart Reproofs, and more often Charitable Advice. He spares no Man; he speaks with Freedom, Steadiness, and Authority, not only to the Ignorant Laity, or the Monks subject to his Government, but also to Kings themselves, great Lords, Magistrates, and to Bishops of Sees, to whom he was subject. He opposes Vice where-ever he finds it. He gives sharp Reprimands to all disorderly and vicious Persons, of whatsoever condition they be. He applies himself to the Persons themselves, and never dissembles what he thinks of them. He not only flatters no Person in their Vices, but he makes use of no cunning Evasions to sweeten his Admonitions. He tells them plainly and severely what he thinks. He represents to them their Irregularities with all the Candor and Cogency possible, and presses them vigorously to forsake them. He commends very seldom, but when he doth, it is in a way that is not mean, and that cannot puff up with foolish Pride. This is in general the subject of *St. Isidore's* Epistles, let us consider them in particular.

St. Isidore of Damiatra.

Of the Letters of *St. Isidore* upon the Holy Scripture.

The greatest and best part of *St. Isidore's* Letters, are upon several Texts of Holy Scripture. There is hardly a Book, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, of which he doth not explain several Texts. He often recommends the Reading of Holy Scripture, and gives excellent Rules for the good Use and true Understanding of it.

He requires that every one that attempts to read it, should prepare himself, by purifying his Heart, and purging it from Passions and Vice, l. 4. 133. that in Reading it all-a-long he should not only endeavour to comprehend the Sense, but labour earnestly to believe and practise what it teacheth, l. 4. 43. He adds, that we must Read it with a great deal of Reverence, and not seek to dive into the incomprehensible Mysteries, l. 1. 24. That God hath, with much Reason, ordered, That there should be in Holy Scripture some things very plain, and other places very obscure, as a mark of his Wisdom and Providence; for if all of it were clear, what would Man have to stir up his Attention? And if all of it were obscure, how would it be possible to understand it? That which is evident explains that which is obscure; and altho' some places may still remain obscure, yet there is one great Advantage to be drawn from them, which is to debase Man's Pride, l. 4. 82. He also observes, in several places, that the Holy Scripture is written in such a Style, as is to be preferred before all other Authors: For, saith he, the affected Eloquence of Heathen Writers serves only to gratify their Vanity, contributes nothing to Instruction; but the Style of Scripture is plain and natural, and very proper to instruct and inform the ignorant in the greatest Truths, l. 4. 61, 79, 140. He that undertakes to explain Holy Scripture, must have a grave and free elocution, and a Mind filled with Piety and Goodness. He must take the Sense of it, and not impose his own upon it, nor offer Violence to the Words of Scripture, that he may explain them agreeably to his own Fancy, l. 3. 292. He must not take little pieces by themselves, and put that Sense upon them that first comes into his Head, but we must weigh every Word, examine the Context, the Subject of which it treats, and why it was written so, l. 3. 136. Those that maintain, that all that is in

(a) *Priest*.] All the Ancients give him no other Title; and it doth not appear by his Letters that he had any other.

(b) *Of Damiatra*.] *Ephrem* in *Phorius*, c. 228. saith, That he was born at *Alexandria*; nevertheless it may be said, That he was of *Damiatra*, because he retreated into a place near that City, as appears by his Letters.

(c) *He embraced a Monastick State*.] His Letters make it evident enough, and *Evagrius*, l. 1. c. 15. of his History, assures us of it in the same Terms that we have used.

(d) *Famous*.] So *Evagrius* calls him, τὸ καλὸν ὡς τὸ τὴν ποίησιν. Whose Fame is spread far, as the Poet says. They that make use of this passage to prove that he made Poems, understand it ill. *Ephrem* gives him a like Epithet.

(e) *He speaks himself of a Treatise of Fate against the Gentiles*.] *Suidas* says, That he had composed some other Works. He cites the Treatise of Fate, in *Les*. 235. lib. 3. I do not believe it a distinct Treatise from that against the Gentiles, cited in the 137th. and 228th. Letters of the second Book, because what is said in those Places respects the same matter.

the Old Testament hath a respect to Jesus Christ are mistaken, and do an Injury to Religion, by imposing upon the Words of Scripture a far-fetched Sense, which doth not agree to it, that it may have a Relation every where to Jesus Christ. We must content our selves to apply that only to him which is apparently spoken of him, and not constrain our selves to attribute that to him which doth not relate to him; for those who would find Jesus Christ in those places where he is not spoken of, give an occasion to the Unbelievers to doubt of those where he is. *Genesis* is the first and principal of *Moses's* Books, because it is necessary before a Law be established, that the Power and Authority of the Law-giver be made known, and the Rewards which he will give to those that keep his Commandments, and the Punishments which he will inflict upon those that break them, be discovered: Both of which are laid down in the History of *Genesis*, l. 4. 176. In reading the three Books of *Solomon*, we must begin with the *Proverbs*, proceed next to *Ecclesiastes*, and end with the *Canticles*: And that for this Reason. The first of these Books teaches us Moral Virtues; the second shews us the Vanity and Falseness of Worldly Things; and the third inspires us with the Love of Spiritual Things, and represents the Happiness of that Soul, that is in possession of them. If we should read the *Canticles* first, we might be apt to believe that it speaks of a Carnal and Terrestrial Love, but when we are fitted for the reading of this Book by the two other, there is no fear that we shall have any such Thoughts, for the Mind being furnished with Moral Precepts, and loosened from Earthly things, easily understands that the good Things and Beauties which that Book inspires us with the love of, are altogether Spiritual.

Altho' the Explications which *St. Isidore* gives to the greatest part of the Texts of Holy Scripture, upon which he makes any Reflections, do rather respect Morality and Piety than the literal Sense of Scripture, yet that hinders not but that he sometimes discusses and resolves Critical Questions. As for Example, he enquires into the beginning of *Daniel's* seventy Weeks, and explains the History of that Prophecy, l. 3. 89. He observes, upon the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, that the Virgin was of the Tribe of *Judah* as well as *Joseph*, l. 1. 7, 478. He proves that the Text of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, ch. 1. 20. *Joseph knew her not*, i. e. *Mary*, till she had brought forth her first-born Son, doth not prove that *Joseph* knew *Mary* after her Delivery: Whereupon he produces a great many Examples taken out of Scripture, by which he shews, that the Particle *until* doth not signify that the thing was done afterward, but on the contrary it denotes that it never was. He adds, that Jesus Christ upon the Cross recommended the Virgin to *St. John*, because that Apostle was a Virgin, l. 1. 18. He asserts, that the Meat that *St. John* the Baptist did eat in the Wilderness called *akath*, were not, as is commonly believed, Grasshoppers, or a sort of Creatures like Snails, but the tops of Plants or Herbs, l. 1. 132. The Sabbath, called in Scripture *שבת*, or the second Sabbath, *Luke* 6. 1. after the first, hath always seemed a Place hard to be understood. *St. Isidore* gives an Explication of it natural enough: He saith, that it is the first Day of Unleavened Bread, which followed the Feast of the Passover. This was the second Sabbath, or second Festival after the First, on which the Passover was celebrated, l. 3. 110. The three Days and three Nights which Jesus Christ is said to remain in the Sepulchre, are very hard to find out: *St. Isidore* gives two explications to solve it: According to the first, Jesus Christ having been Crucified on *Friday* at Noon, we ought to count the first Day from that Hour to the time when the Earth was covered with Miraculous Darkeness: This Darkeness may very well pass for the first Night. The Darkeness being over and gone, about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon, the Day returned; which may be called the second Day. The second Night was from *Friday* to *Saturday*. The third Day is *Saturday*. The third Night is from *Saturday* to *Sunday*. This first Explication is not at all Natural, not only because it gives the Name of Night to the miraculous Darkeness, but because the Question is not about the time that was spent after Jesus Christ was fastened to the Cross to the Resurrection, but about the time that his Body was in the Sepulchre. We must then rely upon the second: The first Day is *Friday*, the second *Saturday*, and the third *Sunday*, in the Morning of which Jesus Christ rose from the Dead: These three are not whole Days, but ordinarily the Beginning and end of Days are taken for whole Days, when many are reckoned together. As for example, If it be said to a Prisoner on *Friday* in the Evening, within three Days you shall come out of Prison; it is meant that he shall come out on *Sunday*, because whether it be in the Morning or Evening, it is true in some Sense to say, that he hath been three Days in Prison. As for the three Nights, it will be more difficult to find them out: We can count but two, and they are from *Friday* to *Saturday*, and from *Saturday* to *Sunday*. There is neither beginning nor end of the third Night; but neither is it necessary, because that when Jesus Christ said, that he should be three Days and three Nights in the Bowels of the Earth, as *Jonas* was three Days and three Nights,

in the Belly of the Whale, it ought not to be understood literally, it being the usual way of speaking among the Jews, not to distinguish the Night from the Day. It is sufficient to prove the Truth of the Prophecy, That Jesus Christ was as long in the Sepulchre as *Jonas* was in the Belly of the Whale, l. 4. 114. l. 2. 212. There is a place which hath much perplexed all our Interpreters. 'Tis that in which *St. Paul* speaks of *Baptism for the Dead*. *St. Isidore* resolves this Difficulty after a very intelligible and rational manner. To be baptized for the Dead, saith he, is to be baptized into the hopes of being changed into an incorruptible State, l. 1. 221. Some have taken great pains to know, what *St. Paul* means, and what we are to understand in the Creed by the *Quick and the Dead*, which shall be judged at the last Day. *St. Isidore* tells us, that it is either the Body and the Soul, or perhaps the Good and the Sinner, or rather those who shall be then alive, and those who shall be dead before, l. 1. 221. Several Authors have confounded *Philip*, one of the seven first Deacons, who baptized the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, with *St. Philip* the Apostle. *St. Isidore* is not guilty of that mistake, but distinguishes the two *Philips*, l. 1. 447. The curious Enquirers after the *Greek* Antiquities, have taken much pains to know the Original of the Altar erected to the Honour of the unknown God, of which mention is made in the *Acts*: Some affirm, saith he, that the *Athenians* having required the assistance of the *Lacedaemonians*, their Messenger was stopp'd near a Mountain of *Parthenia*, by a Ghost who commanded him to return home, and bid the *Athenians* be of good Courage; for they should have no need of the help of the *Lacedaemonians*, he would assist them: That the *Athenians*, after this, having obtained the Victory, built an Altar to that unknown God, which had given them that Advice, and helped them. Others say, that the City of *Athens* being afflicted with a Raging Pestilence, The *Athenians* having invoked all their other Gods to no purpose, bethought themselves to build an Altar to the unknown God, and immediately the Plague was stayed, l. 4. 69. There are a great number of others of *St. Isidore's* Letters upon several Texts of the Holy Scripture: But as a Proof of his Acuteness and Ability to interpret Holy Scripture, it is sufficient to observe, that he gives ten Explications of one Text of *St. Paul*, l. 4. 829. And that in one Letter of a few Lines, he explains eight several Texts of Scripture, l. 4. 112. so ready and Familiar was it to him. He sometimes unfolds those Texts which the Hereticks did abuse to uphold their Errors, and maintains against their false Glosses those Texts which the Orthodox alledged; he often enlarges upon such Maxims of Piety and Principles of Morality as are contained in those Texts of Holy Scripture which he quotes. He likewise very commonly explains it in a Spiritual Sense, that he may raise out of it some Moral Observations and useful Instructions.

Of his Letters of Doctrine.

Altho' *St. Isidore* hath not professedly treated of any Doctrine of Religion, yet in many of his Letters we find them very strongly confirmed and proved. He shews, that the Heathen Religion hath evident Marks of Falseness, l. 1. 95. l. 4. 27, 29, 30, &c. And that Christianity hath all the Signs of Truth, and opposes those who accuse it of Novelty, l. 2. 46. He affirms, that if we do but compare the Holy Scriptures with the Heathen Writers, we may soon discern on which side the true Religion is, l. 1. 21. That the former contain sublime Truths, which beget Reverence, whereas the latter are full of Fables and despicable Fooleries and Cheats, l. 2. 4. 5. Among the Proofs of the Christian Religion he forgets not to insert that of the confirmation of the Gospel by Miracles, and the destruction of Paganism, l. 1. 271. He confutes the Jews in several places, not only by demonstrating, that the Prophecies of the *Messias* are fulfilled in Jesus Christ, but also by confirming the truth of the Conception of Jesus Christ in the Womb of the Virgin, l. 1. 141. l. 4. 17. He proves, that God hath created Angels, Men and all Beings, l. 1. 343. That all things are over-ruled by Providence, and not by the influences of the Stars, or by Fate, l. 3. 135, 154, 191. That things do not come to pass, because God foreknows them or foretells them, but God foreknows and foretells them because they will so happen, l. 1. 56. He explains the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation in so many Letters, that it is needless to cite them all. Among others, these are worthy of our Consideration about the Trinity, l. 1. 67, 138, 139, 327. l. 4. 99. About the Incarnation, l. 1. 323, 403. He confutes the Error of the *Arrians*, l. 1. 246, 353. l. 4. 31, 334. and of the *Sabellians*, l. 3. 247. He proves the God-head of the Holy Ghost, l. 1. 20, 60, 97, 109, 499, 500, &c. He condemns the Error of the *Nestorians*, and shews that the name of the Mother of God ought to be given to the Virgin *Mary*, l. 1. 54. He also opposes those, who confounded the two Natures, as well as the *Manichees*, who asserted, that the Flesh which appeared in Jesus Christ, was a mere Phantom, l. 1. 102, 303. He refutes the *Marcionites*, l. 1. 111. the *Manichees*, l. 4. 13. the *Montanists*, l. 1.

242. to the 246. and the *Novatians*, l. 1. 100, 338. He maintains the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, both before and after her Conception, l. 1. 23. He is of Opinion, that Jesus Christ came out of her Womb, as well as out of the Sepulchre, without opening the Passage, l. 1. 404. He proves the Soul to be Immortal, l. 3. 295. l. 4. 125. But he confutes the Doctrine of *Origen* about the eternal Præexistence of Souls, l. 4. 163. He also disproves the Opinion of those who believed, that the Soul is part of the Substance of God himself, l. 4. 124. He shews, that the Resurrection of the Body is certain, but the manner of it and time, is uncertain, l. 1. 284. l. 2. 43. He holds, that after the Resurrection, the Bodies of the damned shall be Spiritual, as well as the Bodies of the blessed; that is to say, as he explains it, active, and of the nature of the Air. He believes, that the damned shall be punished in different manners, according to the difference of their Sins, l. 4. 42. He defends the freedom of Man's Will, l. 1. 271, 303, 352, 363, &c. He allows, that Grace is necessary to perform that which is good, but he will have Man on his part to use his diligence and labour, that Grace may be operative. The Nature of Man, saith he, hath received several Graces which it is in Man's power to make good use of. Man's labour must concur with Grace, as the Industry of Sailors is helpful to the prosperous Winds. It is of God's Providence that our help comes, but we must also joyn our endeavours with it, l. 2. 2. We are our selves, saith he, in another Letter, the cause of our own Damnation, and Jesus Christ is the cause of our Salvation; for it is he that hath justified us by Baptism, who hath delivered us from the Punishments we have deserved, and hath enriched us with his Gifts; but all his Graces will be of no advantage to us, if we do not what we are able to do on our part, l. 2. 61. Man, saith he in another place, stands in need of the divine Assistance to accomplish those very things, which seem to be in his Power; but that Grace is never wanting to those, who on their part do what they are able; for if the Divine Providence excites, and stirs up those, who have no desire to do good, with what reason can it deny necessary helps for doing good to those, whose Will is well inclined, and do what they are able? l. 4. 171. Nevertheless, Man must not attribute the good he doth to himself, but must refer all to the Grace of God, otherwise his best Actions will be of no use to him, l. 2. 265, 242. In sum, no Man lives upon Earth, and sins not, l. 1. 435. St. *Isidore* delivers himself upon the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in a way altogether conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the present Church. The Baptism of Infants, saith he, doth not only wash them from their natural Pollution, caused by the Sin of *Adam*, but it also confers Graces: It not only obliterates the Sin of those that receive it, but also makes them God's adopted Children, l. 3. 195. The Veil, that covers the Sacramental Elements, doth undoubtedly overspread the Body of Jesus Christ, l. 1. 123. And the Holy Spirit turns the Wine into the Blood of Jesus Christ, l. 1. 314. The scandalous Lives of Ministers, their Sins and Impieties do not hinder the effect of the Sacraments which they administer, l. 1. 120. l. 2. 37, 52. l. 3. 34, 294. He approves of the Honour which is given to the Martyrs, and the respect which is bestowed on their Relicks. He disallows not the presenting of Offerings at their Altars in honour of them; but the principal respect, which we can give them, is to imitate their Lives, l. 1. 55. l. 2. 89. He prefers a single Life before Marriage, l. 2. 133. He observes, that the Polygamy of the ancient Patriarchs, was then very excusable, because it was necessary that they should have a numerous Posterity; but it may not be now used as a pretence to cover our Incontinence. We will conclude with the Idea and Definition which he gives the Catholick Church: The Faithful, saith he, dispersed throughout the whole World, make up the Body of the Universal Church; every particular Church is a Member of it, l. 4. 103. This Universal Church hath often been assaulted, but it never was, nor ever shall be utterly extinct, l. 3. 5.

Letters concerning the Discipline of the Church.

In the Letters of St. *Isidore* there are a great many important things worthy of our Observation touching the Discipline of the Church. He condemns Symony in an infinite number of them, l. 1. 26, 29, 30, 45, 106, 111, 119, 120, 136, 145, 158, 315. l. 2. 125. l. 3. 17. &c. He taxes all those Exactions which were used upon the account of Ordinations, with this Crime. He condemns, in several places, those who ambitiously sought for Bishopricks. He reminds the Priests about the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance, that they have Power to bind as well as loose; that they neither may nor ought to loose those, who bring no Medicine for their Sins, and who do not endure a Penance proportionable to the greatness of their Crimes. He advertiseth them, that they ought to be Ministers of Jesus Christ, and not Fellow-Criminals; that they are Intercessors with God and not absolute Judges; that they are Mediators and not Masters, l. 3. 260. He tells the Deacons, that they are the Bishops Eye, and that they ought to be

very careful in the management of the Church's Revenue, l. 1. 19. He orders all Ecclesiastical Persons to carry themselves modestly, and avoid the familiarity, converse and sight of Women, l. 1. 89. l. 2. 284, 278. l. 3. 11, 66. He requires them to be subject to Princes, and pay them Tribute, l. 1. 48. He observes, that in the Apostles time the Christians had no Churches, but that in his time they were become very sumptuous and fine, l. 2. 246. He blames the Bishop of *Damiata* for having built a stately Church, with the Money which he had scraped together by selling Ordinations, and other Exactions of the People. He tells him, that it is to build *Zion* by Blood, and establish *Jerusalem* by Iniquity; as it is said in the Prophet *Micah*; *That a Sacrifice made up of another Man's Substance, is an Horror and an Abomination to the Lord.* He advises him to give over building that Church at the expence of the People, if he would not have that lofty Temple convince him of Injustice before God, and be a Monument, that shall cry eternally against him, and which shall require the restitution of what he hath taken from the Poor, and Vengeance for oppressing of them, l. 1. 37. We find also some Ceremonies of the Church taken notice of in St. *Isidore's* Letters. In his time the Bishop wished Peace to the People, and the Congregation answered, *And with you also*, l. 1. 122. The Deacons which ministred at the Altar wore a Linen Vestment, and the Bishops had a kind of a Cloak made of Woollen, which covered their Neck and Shoulders, which they put off when the Gospel began to be read. The first of these Habits, according to *Isidore*, denotes the Humility of Jesus Christ; and the second, represented the wandring Sheep, which the good Shepherd brings home upon his Shoulders, l. 2. 246. The Custom then was to allow Women to sing in the Church; but St. *Isidore* says, that they had abused that practice, by causing themselves to be admired for the sweetness and harmony of their Voice, and were no less blame-worthy, than if they sang prophane Songs, and that they ought to be forbidden singing in the Church for the future, l. 1. 90. Divorce was only allowed in case of Adultery. The Reason which St. *Isidore* gives for it, is this, that Adultery is the only Sin by which conjugal Faith is violated, and which brings into a Family the Children of Strangers, l. 2. 376. He could not bear those who asserted, that Comedies might be of good use to beget a detestation of Vice, and make Men more virtuous. The aim and design of Comedians, saith he, is clear contrary; and their Art hath no other end, than to hurt and corrupt good Manners, l. 3. 336. Those, who are pleased to see counterfeit Passions represented, ordinarily become passionate; it is then necessary to keep from going to Comedies; for it is easier to avoid the occasion, and to oppose the first approaches of Vice, than to stop the course of it, when it is once begun, l. 5. 433. He says, that a Person condemned by his Bishop ought no where to be received into Communion; but he observes, That altho' this were the regular course, yet many Bishops of his time had neglected it; and that was the reason, that the good Bishops dare not take upon them to correct their disorderly and vicious Clergy.

Letters of Pious Advice and Instruction.

There never was in the Church a more strict, or free Censor of Manners than St. *Isidore* of *Damiata*. The Church of *Damiata* was then governed by a Bishop, called *Ensebius*, who sought his own advantage more than that of Jesus Christ. Altho' St. *Isidore* looked upon him as his Superior, yet he was not afraid of violating the respect due to him, by telling him with all the freedom imaginable, that he did not lead a Life as became a Bishop. He made no scruple to reprove him for his Vices, to write of them to his Friends, to discover them to the publick, that he might make him ashamed of them, and to lament the unhappiness of the Church of *Damiata* in having such a Bishop. In his other Letters, he speaks the same things for the most part; sometimes he accuses him of selling Ordinations, sometimes he reproves his Covetousness, sometimes he taxes his Pride and Ambition, and sometimes he suspects him to be guilty of living disorderly. In a word, he gives him every where the Character of a Bishop altogether unworthy of his Ministry. He hath no more regard to the reputation of his inferior Ministers. His Arch-deacon *Pansophius*, and his Steward, called *Maro*, are taxed with the Crimes of Symony and unjust Exactions. The Monks, *Zosimus* and *Palladius*, meet with no better Treatment; he describes them as Debauchees who led a lewd and disorderly Life. Another Priest, called *Martinianus*, who after the Death of *Ensebius* strove to get himself ordained into his place, is also accused of many Crimes by *Isidore*. He wrote also of him to St. *Cyril* to hinder him from ordaining him Bishop of *Damiata*. If we will take the pains to read the Letters which he hath written to the Persons already named, and to his Friends upon the same Subject, we shall find therein excellent Instructions for all Bishops. Particularly we may see against those that Hunt after Bishopricks, l. 1. 23, 28, 104. l. 2. 127. and many others against the Bishops, who conferr Ordinations for Money, l. 1. 26, 29. and others which we have cited

in speaking of Symony. Against proud and covetous Bishops, and who make not a good use of the Revenues of the Church, *l. 1. 38, 44, 57, 215.* Against their lording and tyrannical Humour, *l. 2. 208, 209.* He describes the excellency of the Priesthood, *l. 2. 200.* and prefers it before the temporal Government; because Bishops govern the Soul, whereas Princes have Power only over the Body. He speaks, in several places, of the necessary Qualifications of a Bishop, and of the difficulty that there is in discharging that Ministry well, *l. 1. 104, 151. l. 3. 216, 259. l. 4. 213, 145.* He admonishes those that desire to be Bishops, that they ought to purifie themselves before they undertake to purifie others, *l. 2. 65.* He thinks, that there are two Things absolutely necessary for a Bishop, Eloquence and Holiness of Life; that if these two go not together, 'tis impossible that a Bishop should do any good in his Place, *l. 1. 44. l. 2. 235. l. 3. 259.* That Gravity, and a Constancy in his Actions, ought also to be joyned with these two Virtues, *l. 1. 319. l. 2. 290.*

But St. *Isidore* did not only use such Admonitions and Reproofs towards his own Bishop and Clergy to amend them, but also he dealt in the same manner with St. *Cyril*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in writing to him about the Troubles that happened at the Council of *Ephesus*. He accuses him for acting too rashly and fiercely, and tells him, that many of those that were assembled at *Ephesus*, boldly asserted, that he sought more to be avenged of his Enemy, than to settle the Orthodox Truth. He is, say they, a true Nephew of *Theophilus*, he hath the same Spirit and Behaviour; and as this last thundered out his Fury against the Blessed *John*, his Nephew hath done the same, altho' there be a great deal of difference between the Persons accused, *l. 1. 310.* He wrote to him after the same fashion in another Letter. The Examples of Holy Scripture, saith he, create in me such an horror as obliges me to write to you. For whether I look upon my self as your Father (as you call me) I am afraid least if I do not admonish you, I should be punished as the High-Priest *Eli* was, for having not reprov'd his Sons. But if I consider my self rather as your Son, upon the Account of St. *Mark*, whom you represent, the punishment of *Jonathan*, who was slain, because he did not hinder his Father from consulting the Witch of *Endor*, is a Warning to me. Wherefore, to avoid my own and your Condemnation, I am obliged to admonish you to lay aside the Disputes now on foot, and not engage the Church of Christ in a particular and domestick Quarrel, and so raise a perpetual Schism in the Church under the pretence of Religion, *l. 1. 370.*

It was the Grief that St. *Isidore* had, to see the Orthodox Bishops divided among themselves, that made him speak thus. He imagined that St. *Cyril's* Rashness was the Cause of it. He thought that he sought to revenge an old Quarrel: And it appears likewise, that he suspected him, not to have a thorough-sound Opinion about the Incarnation, *l. 1. 323.* But, afterwards, being better informed, he approved his Doctrine, and exhorted him to continue stedfast in it, and not contradict himself, as it appears by Letter, 324. *l. 1.* St. *Isidore* wrote not only to St. *Cyril*, to endeavour a Pacification between the Bishops of the Council of *Ephesus*, but thought himself obliged to write to the Emperor *Theodosius*. He advised him to go himself to *Ephesus*, to appease the Troubles; and admonishes him, not to espouse the Animosities of either Side, nor suffer his own Officers to intermeddle with Matters of Doctrine, *l. 1. 311.* Thus did St. *Isidore*, without leaving his Retirement, engage himself in the greatest Affairs of the Church, and joyned with the Prayers, which he made to God for the Peace of his Church, the most effectual Counsels and Advice.

So that he was none of those Monks who were contented to bewail their own Sins, and pray to God for others in secret, and who remain in perpetual Silence, without concerning themselves with what happens, or having any Commerce with other Men. He found out a way to joyn the Love of Solitude with the Knowledge of what happens in the World; Piety and Silence with Charitable Advice and Admonitions; Mental Recollections with a continual Observation of others Actions: And, to speak in one Word, all the Exercises of a Monastick Life, with the Care and Vigilance of a Pastor. There were no Persons, of whatsoever State and Condition they were, but he gave them Advice and Instructions about their Employments and Duties. We have already seen after what manner he gave them to Bishops and Ecclesiastical Persons, let us now take a view of some of them, which he gives to the Laity.

Advice to Kings. If you will obtain the Eternal and Incorruptible Kingdom, which God will give to those who govern well here below, as a Reward, you must make use of your Power with Moderation and Goodness, and liberally dispense your Riches to the Poor; for 'tis not a Prince's Power that saves him, but his Justice, Goodness and Piety: He cannot avoid being counted an Idolater, if he unjustly hoards up his Temporal Riches, without distributing them to the Poor, *l. 1. 35. to Theodosius.*

Advice to Magistrates and Governors. They ought to think with themselves, That the Time of exercising their

Offices is short; That Life it self is not of long continuance; That the Rewards or Torments of another World are Eternal; That they ought to Administer Justice freely to all the World, use their Authority with gentleness, and give no Man a just Ground of Complaint, *l. 1. 31, 47, 48, 133, 165, 191, 208, 290.*

Advice to Courtiers. Not to misuse the Favour of their Prince, but to employ it for the Good and Safety of the People, and to imitate *Daniel*, *l. 1. 36, 47, 48.*

Advice to Soldiers. Not to take too much upon them, to do no Violence nor Injustice, &c. *l. 1. 40. 87. 297, 327.*

Advice to Subjects. Jesus Christ submitted himself to the Laws of the Emperors, and paid Tribute, to teach us Obedience to Kings, and not exempt our selves from paying their Dues, upon the Pretence of Poverty, *l. 1. 206, 408.*

Advice to Women. If they would be commended as *Judith*, *Susanna* or St. *Thecla*, they must imitate the Virtues of those Illustrious Women, *l. 1. 187.* That Christian Women should modestly apparel themselves, and that they should not use the Adornings and Finery of the Women of the World. Upon this occasion he relates a remarkable Story of a Young Woman, who coming into the Sight of a Young Man, who was extremely in Love with her, cured him of that fond Passion by presenting herself before him with her Hair crop'd, and her Head covered with Ashes, *l. 2. 53, 145.* He recommends Modesty also to them, but more especially to Widows, *l. 1. 179.*

Advice to Parents. Concerning the Education of their Children, *l. 1. 316.*

Advice to those that take the Holy Sacrament with a defiled Conscience, *l. 1. 170.*

Advice to Sinners. The most perfect State is not to sin, but it is good to repent when we have sinned, and to rise again, as soon as may be, from our Fall. Since you are fallen from your first Estate, which is above your Strength, have a care that you do not neglect the second means of gaining your Salvation, and take heed that Despair do not entirely ruin you, *l. 1. 381. l. 2. 160. l. 3. 62.* Yet the Hopes of Pardon ought not to encourage us in Sin, for it is much easier to preserve Innocency than to restore it, forasmuch as some Scar always remains after the Cure, and it can never be recovered but with much Pain, *l. 3. 157.*

Advice to a Physician, who lived wickedly. You profess a Science which requires a great deal of Prudence and Wisdom, but you have a Spirit of Contradiction; you cure small Wounds for others, but do not heal your own Distempers, which are very great and dangerous: If you will be a True Physician, begin to cure your own diseased Soul, *l. 1. 391, 437.*

There are an infinite number of such like Instructions in the Letters of St. *Isidore*. They are full of Maxims of Piety and the Rules of a Spiritual Life. He, in several Places of them, recommends Charity, Humility, Vigilance, Holiness, Modesty, Sobriety, Patience, Contempt of the World, Repentance, Labour, Prayer, and other Christian Virtues, of which he teaches the Practical Part. He renders the contrary Vices detestable, and propounds fit Remedies for us to apply to them. He principally inveighs against three Vices very common in his Time, Ambition, Covetousness and Intemperance. Lastly, All his Letters are full of most solid and profitable Christian Maxims: This is an excellent one, which he often repeats; Our Lives must correspond with our Words, and we ought to practise our selves what we teach others, for it not enough to say, but we must do what we say.

Letters concerning the Discipline and Life of the Monks.

As St. *Isidore* professed a Monastick Life, so 'tis to the Monks that the greatest part of his Instructions, which we have already spoken of, are directed. He extols a Monastick State in general, *l. 1. Let. 129.* and gives the Description of a true Monk, *l. 1. 200, 298, 303, 319.* He makes that estate to consist principally in two things; In Retiredness and Obedience, *l. 1. 1.* The Apparel of the Monks, according to him, ought to be like St. *John Baptist's*; that is to say, of Hair, and their Food ought to be nothing but Herbs: But if they are not able to undergo so great Austerities, they ought to live in that Way which the Bishop commands them, and follow the Rules which he shall prescribe them, *l. 1. 5, 74.* They ought not to live as they list, but put themselves under the Government of some Superior, *l. 1. 193, 260.* They ought not to concern themselves with worldly Affairs, nor maintain any Trade or Commerce with the World, *l. 1. 25, 75, 92, 220.* When any Man hath once embraced a Monastick Life, he ought to persevere with Zeal, *l. 1. 91, 110.* Inconstant and fickle Monks are blame-worthy, *l. 1. 41, 173, 314, 318.* They ought not to be allowed to live in Idleness, but they must be employed and labour, *l. 1. 49.* They may not read the Books of Profane Authors, nor affect to speak or declaim elegantly, *l. 1. 62, 64.* I omit to speak of the Practice of such Christian Virtues as he recommends to them, and of those Vices which he reproves in some Monks of his Time, because that were to repeat what we have already said.

What

St. Isidore of Damia-
ta. What we have spoken of St. Isidore of Damia-
ta, may suffice to inform us of his Style and Person: Nothing re-
mains more to be spoken of but the Editions of these Let-
ters, which I shall do in a few Words. The three first
Books were translated into Latin by the Abbot Billius, and
printed after his Death in Greek and Latin, at Paris in
1585. with a Collection of the excellent Observations of
that Learned Man, as well upon St. Isidore as upon other
Greek Fathers. Ritterhusius added a Fourth Book to these,

and caused it to be printed with [the other Three, and] his
own large Notes, [upon all the Four Books] by Commel-
inus] at Heidelberg] in 1605. The Jesuite Schottus joyned
a Fifth Book to them, which was printed in Greek at Ant-
werp in 1623. in Latin at Rome in 1624. and in Greek
and Latin [illustrated with Notes, Glosses and Argu-
ments] at Frankfort in 1629. They are all collected into
one Volume, and printed in the last Edition at Paris, in
1638.

JOANNES CASSIANUS.

J. Cassian. Joannes Cassianus, a Native of Scythia (a), having de-
voted himself to God in his Childhood, withdrew
himself into the Monastery of Bethlehem (b); after-
wards, being desirous to attain the utmost perfecti-
on of a Religious Life he departed from thence, with a-
nother Monk named Germanus with whom he had con-
tracted an intimate Friendship, to go into Egypt and The-
bais, to see the Solitaries and Monks of that Country, and
gather some Advantage by their Example and Instructions.
Having lived Seven Years (c) in that Contry, and con-
ferred with the most Spiritual and most eminent Abbots of
those Quarters, they returned to their Monastery, as they
had obliged themselves; and having discharged this Duty
to their Ancient Brethren, they went from thence into the
Desart of Scythia. It is probable, that the Contentions of
the Monks of Egypt with the Bishop of Alexandria forc'd
them as well as many others, to retreat to Constantinople:
But however that be, it is certain that they were at Con-
stantinople when St. Chrysostome was banished, and that they
were sent to Rome to carry the Letters of the Clergy of
that City thither; containing the Complaints of the Vio-
lence which had been used against their Bishop, as we read
in the Life of St. Chrysostome, written by Palladius. Ger-
manus the Priest, saith he, and Cassian the Deacon, Persons
of eminent Piety, who were for St. Chrysostome, came af-
ter Palladius, and brought Letters from all the Clergy of
Constantinople, relating, how that their Church had suffered
intolerable Oppression and Tyranny, their Bishop having been
driven out by Force, &c. St. Innocent returning an Answer
to this Letter, says also, That it was brought by Germanus
the Priest and Cassian. It cannot rationally be said, That
this Cassian is a distinct Person from this of whom we are
speaking, since he not only bears the same Name, and hath
a Companion of the same Name, but also because we un-
derstand by Cassian himself, that he was the Scholar of St.
Chrysostome. Gennadius also, takes notice, that he was or-
dain'd by that Holy Bishop. Afterward he was promoted
to the Order of Priesthood, it is likely in the West, and ne-
ver returned again into the East. But however that be, it
is out of doubt that he spent the latter part of his Life at
Marseills; where he founded two Monasteries, one for
Men and another for Virgins: There he composed all
the Works which he left us. He dyed under the Em-
pire of Theodosius and Valentinian, about the Year Four
hundred and forty. The first of his Works is his *Institutio*
Monachorum, i. e. Instruction of Monks, divided into
Twelve Books: The first Four which treat of the Habit
and way of Living used by the Monks of Egypt, are
look'd upon by Gennadius and Photius as a distinct Trea-
tise. The Eight last are so many Precepts against the Eight
Capital Sins; nevertheless, it appears by the Preface and
the Sequel, that Cassian intended these two Parts for one
entire Work only. This Treatise is dedicated to Castor
Bishop of Apta; who desiring to model the Monasteries
in his Province, like to the Egyptian, requested Cassian,
who had conversed a long time with those Monks, to
lay down a Platform of their way of Living; to be, as
it were, a Pattern for the Western Monks. In the First
he speaks of the Habits of the Egyptian Monks and de-
scribes them much after this Manner. Their Habit was
merely to cover their Nakedness, and secure them against
the Injuries of the Weather: It had nothing extraordinary
either in the Colour or Fashion, lest the singularity of it
should give them an occasion to be Proud. They wore a
Girdle about their Loyns, and a Cowle upon their Heads.

Their Linnen Coats had short Sleeves, which reached no
further than their Elbows, the other part of their Arm was
naked. They had over their Habit a kind of Scapular, and
a little short Cloak, which came down no further than the
Shoulders. They had also a kind of Safe-guard of Leather,
which they used in bad Weather. They carried a Staff.
They wore no Shoes. They had only single Breeches to
save themselves from Heat and Cold, and those also they
put off when they went to Celebrate, or Receive the Holy
Sacrament.

In the 2d. Book, Cassian, to obviate the great diversity
which was in the Monasteries touching the Multitude of
Psalms, which were sung at Divine Service, relates the
usages of the Monks of Egypt and Thebais. First, he ob-
serves, that these Monks at their entrance into the Mona-
stery, forsook all things, laboured with their Hands, and
lived in obedience. He then speaks of the Divine Offices
of the Monks of Egypt and Thebais: They recited their E-
vening-Service, and their Night-Service; the 12 Psalms.
On Saturday and Sunday they read two Lessons, which,
during the whole Lent, were both taken out of the New
Testament: On other days, one out of the Old, and ano-
ther of the New Testament. At the end of every Psalm
they made a pause, and all the Monks rising up, made a
Prayer with themselves; then they cast themselves flat on
the Ground, and being risen again, they made another short
Prayer, without singing the Gloria Patri, as is the custom in
the West. The Psalms were not sung by the Monks in a
Choir, but one of them sung them, and the rest, sitting in
silence, hearkened to him; now and then he made stops,
that they might lift up their Hearts to God. Divine Ser-
vice being ended, they betook themselves to their Cells
modestly and silently, and went to their Labours there.
They who committed any Fault, were excluded the Ser-
vice, and it was not allowed any other to pray for them.
They did not kneel down, nor fast from Saturday-even-
ing to Sunday-evening, nor from Easter to Whitsontide, fol-
lowing the ancient Custom of the Church.

In the 3d. Book he speaks of the Offices of the third,
sixth and ninth Hours, in every of which they recited 3
Psalms. The first Office which Cassian calls the Mattins, was
not used in Egypt; but he tells us, that it was newly set-
tled not only in the West, but also in his Monastery of
Bethlehem. They that came to the Church which he calls
an Oratory, after the first Psalm was ended, did not enter at
all, but stayed at the Door till the rest came out, and then
cast themselves flat on the Ground to beg pardon for their
Sloth. In the Night-service it was allowed to go in, till
the end of the second Psalm. Besides these Offices there
were Vigils on Friday-night to Saturday, in which they re-
hearsed three Anthems and three Psalms. They never Fast
in the East on Saturday; as they do at Rome. Cassian thinks,
That this fast was appointed at Rome, because St. Peter
fasted to prepare himself for the encounter with Simon
Magus; but he adds, that such a Custom ought not to be
established upon that Example. On Sunday they celebrated
but one Mass only, to which they joyned the Offices of
the third and sixth: They recited some Psalms before and
after Dinner. At Supper, they contented themselves to make
a short Prayer, because that was an extraordinary and unu-
sual Meal among the Monks.

The 4th. Book contains the Qualifications required in that
Person, who desires to be admitted into a Monastery. He
that offers himself for this end, must remain at the Gate,
and beseech the Monks many times to receive him. He

(a) A Native of Scythia.] Gennadius says plainly, That he
was a Scythian. M. Holstenius and F. Norris endea-
vour to prove that he was a Frenchman; and this they pretend
to do from ch. i. conf. 24. but that Place doth not prove what
they assert, nor destroy the Testimony of Gennadius, which is
of great weight. Photius says, That he was a Roman, but he
means it of the Place of his Abode, and the Tongue he wrote
in. Honorius calls him an African, perhaps because he thought
that Scythia was in Africa. Some say he was a Native of Scythia
and born at Carthage, but this is without Ground. What some
say, That he wrote too elegantly in Latin to be a Greek, is not
to be regarded. It is very possible that a Greek, living among
the Latins, might write Latin as well as he hath done: Be-
sides, he lived in an Age, when almost all Learned Men were
skilled in both Tongues.

(b) He withdrew himself into the Monastery of Bethlehem.]
He says so himself in the Preface of his Institutions, dedicated
to Castor; where speaking of his First Exercise in that Mona-
stery; he says, *A pueritia nostra constituti.*

(c) Having lived Seven Years.] In his First Conference, ch. i.
he tells us, That it was the Desire he had to visit the Monks,
and profit by their Instructions, that made him undertake that
Voyage: Germanus, with whom he travelled, had been longer
in the Monastery than he; they always were very intimate. He
relates, in his Conferences, the principal Discourses which they
had with the most Spiritual and Religious all-a-long their Voyage,
and the Places whither they went, in the seventeenth Conf.
ch. 31. He says, That at the end of Seven Years they perform-
ed their Promise, which they made, of returning to the Mona-
stery; and then went into the Desart of Scythia.

J. Cassian. must give proofs of his Patience, Humility and Contempt of the World, and be tryed with Denyals and Affronts. They by no means will allow that he give his Estate to the Monastery into which he goes, for fear that afterward it should give him an occasion to exalt himself above the other Monks. They make him to lay aside his former Garb, and the Abbot must give him another, to shew him that he ought to be entirely stripped of all. Nor will they immediately after admit him into their Society. They put him with an old Monk into an Apartment near the Gate, where they receive Guests; and when they had served him a long while, they put him under the government of another Senior, who had the care of Novices; there they teach him to subdue his Passions and renounce his own Will. They oblige him to reveal all his Thoughts to this Senior, and exercise him with the meanest Works, to try his obedience, they give him no other Food but boild Herbs with a little Salt: But *Cassian* observes, that this austerity in Eating is not practicable in the West. These Holy Monks are so subject to the sound of the Bell, that they are obliged to leave whatsoever Work they are about, to go whither it calls them, although it be a Letter, They can possess nothing of their own. They make them do Penance for the least Faults. They read in the Hall at Dinner-time. It is forbidden them to eat any where but in the Hall. They wait upon each other at Table. Lastly they perform a blind obedience to their Superior, who commands them to do things which seem impossible. *Cassian* relates some Examples which seem incredible, and it would be dangerous to imitate.

This is the Subject of the Four first Books of *Cassian's* Institutions, which *Gennadius* and *Photinus* have looked upon as a distinct Work from the Eight last. And, indeed, these are upon another Subject. He teaches us, in them, to resist the Eight principal Vices, with which Men are tempted. (*viz.*) Gluttony, Uncleaness, Covetousness, Anger, Sorrow, Trouble, Vain-glory and Pride. In every Book he gives us the definition of these Vices, shews us the pernicious effects of them, propounds Examples to confirm it, how much they ought to be detested. He prescribes Rules for the contrary Virtues, and teaches us fit Remedies to defend our selves from them. He maintains, that without Grace Man can do no good thing, nor resist any Temptation; but he believes, that this Grace is given to all that use their Endeavours.

* Forum
Julii.

† Scetis,
Soz.

But *Cassian* doth not think it enough to propound the Life of the *Egyptian* Monks as an Example to the Western, and propose Methods of resisting the most ordinary Temptations. He hath also collected the Instructions, which he had heard from the Mouths of the most Illustrious Abbots of those Deserts, in the Conferences he had with them. *Cassian* hath made 24 Books of these, which he intitles, Collations or Conferences. The ten first are dedicated to *Leontius* Bishop of * *Frejus* and *Helladius* the President of the Abby built by *Castor*, who was dead. The first and second contain the Discourses of *Moses*, Abbot of the Desert of † *Schete*, in which, having spoken in general of the end of a Monastick Life, and the means of arriving at the end, he treats of the Spirit of Prudence. In the third the Abbot *Paphnutius* explains in what Particulars the forsaking of the world consists, *Germanus* the Companion of *Cassian* having put some Questions to him, touching the Abilities of the Free-will, he speaks of the necessity of Grace, even for the beginning of Faith. In the fourth the Abbot *Daniel* shews of what use Temptations and the Motions of Concupiscence are. He teaches us the means to resist them; always owning, that without Grace all human Attempts and industry are to no Purpose. In the fifth, *Serapion* discovers the eight principal Vices, and teaches us fit Remedies to be applyed against them. In the sixth, a Monk, who had a Cell between the Deserts of *Scythia* and *Nisria*, endeavouring to explain the Question which *Cassian* had propounded, Why God did permit that the Monks be taken and put to Death by the *Arabians*? treats of the Happiness of the Death of the Saints. The Abbot *Serenus* explains in the seventh Conference the various Temptations of the Devils, and the Stratagems which they make use of to draw the Soul of Man into Sin. They cannot force or constrain it, but they stir it up to evil. They do not certainly know the secret thoughts of Man, but guess at them by the Motions of the Body. Every Evil Spirit is Appointed to excite some passion, they know one anothers designs to do Man a Mischief, yet they cannot possess him without the Divine permission: The Vertue of the Cross drives them away. They could not possess Mens Bodies, if they had not gotten some footing in the Soul, or God did not permit them to enter to punish some Fault. It is better to be tormented in our Bodies by the Devil, than to have the Soul subject to his Power by Vice. We ought to pity the Case of such as are tormented by Devils; *Serenus* thinks it not reasonable, that they should be deprived wholly of the Communion, which is contrary to the ancient discipline of the Church. Lastly, he makes some Observations upon the nature and differences of Devils, but he handles this matter more largely in the 18th Conference where

he speaks of the Fall of Devils and the Sin of the first Man. He believes, that the Devils have subtil airy Bodies, and every Man hath a good and a bad Angel. In the two following Conferences is related the Discourse of the Abbot *Isaac* upon Prayer. This Holy Man having taught us how we must prepare our selves for Prayer, distinguishing it into 4 sorts as the Apostle *St. Paul* doth, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks, he shews for what Persons every one of these Prayers is necessary, and the fittest Seasons when we need them. He afterwards, expounds the Lord's Prayer, and from thence passes to private Prayers which proceed from the bottom of the Heart, which are often accompanied with Tears, and an assurance of being certainly heard. The second Conference is prefaced with a relation of the Troubles raised among the Monks by the Paschal Letters of *Theophilus*, written against the Error of the *Anthropomorphites*. *Cassian* tells us, that the greatest part of the ancient Monks explaining these Words of *Genesis* in a gross Sense, Let us make Man in our Image, and in our Likeness, imagined that God had a Body like ours, and so did represent him to themselves in their Prayers.

The Bishop of *Alexandria* had a custom of publishing on what Day *Easter* should be celebrated every Year. And this he ordinarily did on the Feast of *Epiphany*; upon which, according to his remark they not only kept the Festival of Christ's Baptism, but also his Nativity in *Egypt*. Having given notice in his Church, in his Sermon, he made it known to the Churches and Monasteries of *Egypt* by his Letters, which were called, *Paschal Letters*. *Theophilus* having taken an occasion to write in one of these Letters against the Error of these Monks, they are extremely disturbed at it, and all the Monks of the Monastery of *Schete*, except *Paphnutius*, treated their Archbishop as an Heretick, and undertook to confute his Letter. These good Monks had accustomed themselves to represent God in the figure of a Man, and they could not free themselves from this Imagination which was so strongly engrained in their Minds, that an old Man named *Serapion*, (who was convinced of his Error by the Abbot *Paphnutius*) and a certain Deacon of *Cappadocia* called *Photinus*, going to Prayers, and not representing God to himself in a bodily Shape, as before, fell to Weeping and Crying, Oh miserable Man that I am! They have taken away my God, insomuch that I know not how to adore and pray unto him more! this having passed after the first Conference which *Cassian* and *Germanus* had had with the Abbot *Isaac*, they thought at their return to find him full of the fancy of the Abbot *Serapion*, and asked him what he would do, since so Holy a Man was fallen into so gross an Error? The Abbot *Isaac* having answered them, that that Error was a Relick of *Paganism* which the Devil still preserved in the Minds of many ignorant Persons; adds, that those who are perfect and well instructed have no such thing for the object of their Prayers, the only end of which is spiritual Love, which hath nothing carnal. Afterwards he recommends a very useful practice to them, which is to say every Moment and in all the Actions of Life, this short Prayer of the Psalmist, O God, haste thee to help me, make haste, O Lord, to deliver me. He speaks in the last place of the way to avoid distractions, and to restrain the thoughts from wandring.

The seven following Conferences are dedicated to *Honoratus* the Abbot of * *Lerins*, who was after ordained Bishop of † *Marseilles* in 426.

The three first contain the Discourse of the Abbot *Charemon*. In the first he treats of the State of Perfection, and the way to attain it: Charity is the principal. In the second he speaks of Chastity, and the means of obtaining it. The third is that famous Conference of the Protection of the Divine Assistance, wherein he treats of Grace and Free-will. These are the Principles, which *Cassian* lays down in it under the Name of the Abbot *Charemon*. 1. He supposes that Grace is the source not only of our Good Actions but also of our Good Thoughts. He adds, that this Grace is always present with us, and sometimes goes before the beginning of our good desires, but always follows them: That the Free-will is much impaired by the Sin of the first Man, but is not utterly extinguished: That there remain in us some knowledge of Goodness and Seeds of Virtue: That Grace is given to perfect this Knowledge, and strengthen these Beginnings: that although Man can naturally chuse good, yet he hath need of Grace to accomplish it: That this Grace goes sometimes before the desires and first motions of the Will, but most commonly follows them: That these two things being usually mixt together, it is hard for us to know whether God shews us Mercy, because we have Good inclinations in our Hearts, or whether God's Mercy is precedent to those Motions: That it is safest to say, That sometimes Grace inclines the Will to Good, as it did in the Conversion of *St. Paul* and *St. Matthew*, but there are some Occasions when it follows it, as it happened in the Conversion of *Zacchaeus*, and the Good Thief: That Man may of himself have a desire to be converted, and the beginning of Repentance and Faith: That he may Pray, seek a cure, send for the Physician, resist Temptations; but he can't be cured, he can't be just he,

* *Lerins*,
an Island,
adjoyning
to France.
† *Marseille*.

J. Cassian. he can't be perfect, and he can't be a perfect Conqueror without Grace: That this Grace is a Free Gift, altho' God never denies it to those that are laborious on their Part: That we ought not to believe that no good proceeds from Man: The good we do, depends partly on Grace, and partly on Free-will. These are the Principles which *Cassian* delivers in his 13th. Conference under the Name of the Abbot *Cheremon*, which have given *Prosper* an occasion to write against him, in defence of St. *Austin's* Doctrine which *Cassian* seemed to oppose in this Conference.

The 14th. Conference is a Discourse of the Abbot *Nestorius* touching Knowledge and spiritual Sciences. The 15th. is another of his Discourses about the Miracles done by the *Anchorets*. Having discoursed upon them for some time, he makes two reflections, (*viz.*) one is, that Humility is to be preferred before the Power of doing Miracles: The other is, that it is more for our advantage to banish Vice from our Hearts, than Devils from the Bodies of others.

The 16th. is a Discourse of the Abbot *Joseph* about Friendship grounded upon Charity, Humility, Kindness and Christian Patience. In the 17th. the same Abbot desiring to persuade *Germanus* and *Cassian* not to return to their Monastery in *Palestine*, although they had promised it, undertakes to demonstrate by several Examples taken out of Scripture, that it is sometimes lawful and profitable to lye. The seven last are written to four Abbots after the Ordination and yet before the Death of *Honoratus*, that is to say, between the Years 426. and 429.

The 18th. which is the 18th. speaks of the several sorts of Monks; the Abbot *Piammon* is made to speak it. He distinguishes the Monks into three sorts: 1. *Cenobites*, who lived in common under an Abbot, imitating the Life of the Apostles. 2. *Anchorets*, who after they have been instructed and educated in the Monasterys, withdraw into the Deserts. The Authors of this Order, were St. *Paul* the Hermit, and St. *Anthony*. And 3. *Sarabaites*, who pretended to retire from the World, and joyned themselves together by two or three in a Company, to live after their own Humour, not being subject to any Man. He looks upon these last as a corruption of the Monastick State, rather than a distinct Order. He adds to these a 4th. sort of Monks, made of those who being not able to endure the Monastick Life in a Convent, retreated alone into certain Cells to live more at liberty. This Discourse concludes with some Instructions about Humility and Patience, and against Envy. The Abbot *John*, who speaks in the following Conference, having been an *Anchoret*, had betaken himself to a Monastery. It was therefore demanded of him, which of the two Orders was to be preferred? He thought the Life of the *Cenobites* to be best for those who are not absolutely perfect; he shews that none but those who have attained to a degree of eminent Perfection, are capable of living an Hermit's Life.

The 20th. Conference is a Discourse of the Abbot *Pianphius* about true Repentance. It consists in his Judgment in never committing those Sins of which we repent, or which our Consciences accuse us of: Also we ought to believe, that our Sins are pardoned, when we have renounced our Passions and our Desires of this World. It is good for a Man to call to mind his Sins at the beginning of Repentance, but he must afterwards forget them. There are many other ways of blotting out Sin, besides by Baptism and Martyrdom; Charity, Sorrow, Confession, Alms-giving, Prayers, &c. are means of obtaining Remission. If we are ashamed to confess our Sins to Men, it is sufficient to acknowledge them before God; which ought to be understood of ordinary Sins. When our greater Sins are remitted, and we feel no more the Motions nor Desires to commit them, we must quite forget them. But we must not do so with little Sins, into which we fall every day; and therefore must repent of them daily.

The 21st. Conference is the Abbot *Theonas's*. He describes his own Conversion, and relates, how he left his Wife against her Will to retire himself into a Monastery. But *Cassian* is careful to advertise us, that he doth not propound this Example as lawful to be imitated. Lastly, the Question is put, why the Monks observe no Fasting-days from *Easter* to *Whitsontide*? For resolution of this Question, he lays it down, that Fasting is in it self a thing indifferent, and not always convenient to be used; and maintains, that it is an Apostolick Tradition not to fast in those days of Joy. This Question gives an occasion for another, why Lent, in some places, is kept six Weeks, in others seven, since neither way, if we take away *Saturday* and *Sunday*, it is not of forty days continuance? *Theonas* answers, that the 36 days of Lent contained in the 6 Weeks, make the tenth part of the Year which is Holy to God. That those whose Lent is seven Weeks long, have 36 Fasting-days, without counting *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, because the Fast of the Holy *Saturday*, which they continue without interruption to *Easter-Sunday*, may well pass for two: That those, who keep a six weeks Lent only, fast on *Saturday*. In sum, that that time is called *Quadragesima*, altho' we fast but 36 days, because *Moses*, *Elias* and *Jesus Christ* fasted 40 Days: That the Perfect are not tied to this

Law, which was ordained for those only who spend all their Lives in Pleasure and Delights, that being forced by a Law they may at least spend that time in God's Service. But as to those who give their Life entirely to God, this Law was not intended for them, they are freed from paying these Tythes. Upon this ground, he affirms, that there was no Lent observed in the Primitive Church, and that it was established for no other reason but because of the negligence of the Faithful. Lastly, *Theonas* concludes, that it is Love that makes the Precepts of the Gospel lighter and easier to be born than those of the Law. About the end, *Germanus* asks him, why those who fast much, do find themselves often troubled with the Temptations of the Flesh? the resolution of this Question is put off to the next Conference, where he treats of Nocturnal Pollutions, which happen either through immoderate Eating, or through Negligence, or lastly, by the craft of the Devil. These last are no Sin: and if the judgment of this Abbot may be followed, they need not hinder us from approaching the Holy Sacrament, altho' we ought to receive it not without much dread, and believing our selves unworthy: That we must be truly Holy, that we may approach it; but it is not necessary to be without Sin, because then no Body may receive it, since none but *Jesus Christ* is free from all Sin. In the 23^d. Conference the same Abbot explains this Text of St. *Paul*, *The good that I would, I do not; and the evil that I would not, that I do*; and some other places of like nature. He holds, that we must understand them of St. *Paul* and the Apostles, and not of Sinners. For the explication of them, he says, that the Good which Man cannot do, is absolute Perfection, and a total freedom from Sin. He adds, that those that aim at a State of Perfection, often fall themselves, drawn away by the motions of the Flesh and Passions, and therefore acknowledge the necessity of Grace. He owns, that Concupiscence is an effect of *Adam's* Sin, which hath brought Mankind into Bondage. That *Jesus Christ* came to deliver him from it, and that he hath done it, by restoring him again his Liberty entire, and not by clogging it. That altho' we have the knowledge of Goodness, and desire spiritual and celestial Goods, the Flesh often pulls us down to the Earth, and fills us with earthly desires, which do not indeed hurry good Men into enormous Sins, but yet make them fall into venial Sins, and so the most Holy and Just Men do truly call themselves Sinners, and desire of God every day the pardon of their Offences. That it is almost impossible to avoid all Sin even in our Prayers, either through distraction or carelessness; but yet these Sins ought not to discourage us from receiving the Communion. *Germanus* and *Cassian* having declared to the Holy Old Man *Abraham*, that they had a desire to return into their own Country, alledging that they might do much good there both by their Example and Exhortation. This Holy Abbot diverts them from this Design, and tells them plainly, that it was nothing but an hankering Mind, that they had to the World. He then enlarges upon the necessity of retirement, and an entire separation from the World. He speaks also of the Mortification of the Senses, and Lusts of the Flesh, which renders *Jesus Christ's* Yoke pleasant and easie to be born. He confesses, that we must allow our selves sometimes Recreation. Lastly, he proves, that those who have renounced the World entirely, enjoy Riches, Pleasures and Honour, infinitely more real and substantial than those that Worldlings enjoy, and that so the Promise of *Jesus Christ*, which gives all those, who leave any thing for him, hopes of receiving an hundred fold, is accomplished in them, even in this present World.

Cassian having finish'd this Work before the Year 429. was resolved to continue silent, and write no more; but he was over-persuaded by St. *Leo*, who was then Archdeacon of *Rome*, to write a Treatise upon the Incarnation, against the Heresy of *Nestorius*, which then began to spread it self; in which he confutes the first Sermon of *Nestorius*. This Work is divided into seven Books. In the First, having compared Heresy to an *Hydra*, he makes a Catalogue of the principal Heresies: And, insisting upon the *Pelagian* Heresy, he observes, that the Error of those who hold, that it was not a God, but a Man that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was taken from the Principles of the *Pelagians*. *Leporinus* was the first Author of that Erroneous Doctrine, and preached it to the *French*, but retracted it in *Africa*. In the second and third Book he proves, that *Jesus Christ* is God and Man, and the Virgin may be called the Mother of God. In the fourth he endeavours to shew, that there is but only one *Hypostasis* or Person in *Jesus Christ*. In the fifth he comes to a close Examination of the Error of *Nestorius*: He confutes his *Theses*, and shews, that the Union of the two Natures in one Person alone, makes it lawful to attribute to the Person of *Jesus Christ*, whatsoever agrees to both Natures. In the last Place, he proves, that the Union of the two Natures is not a Moral Union only, nor a Dwelling of the Divinity in the Human Nature as in a Temple, as *Nestorius* asserts; but it is a real Union of the two Natures in one Person. In the Sixth he falls upon *Nestorius* with the Creed of the Church of *Antioch*, where he was brought up, taught and baptized. Some have

needlessly enquired, by what Council of *Antioch* that Creed *J. Cassian* was made. *Cassian* speaks of the Creed which was usually recited in the Church of *Antioch*, and not of a Creed composed by any Council of *Antioch*. But we must not forget here what *Cassian* observes, that the Creed (**Symbolum*) is so called, because it is a short Collection of all the Doctrines contained in Holy Scripture. He urges *Nestorius* extremely with the Authority of the Creed of his Church, which contained the Faith which he had embraced when he was baptized, and which he had always professed. 'If you were, saith he to him, 'an *Arian*, or a *Sabellian*, and I could not use your own Creed against you, I would then convince you by the Authority of the Testimonies of Holy Scripture, by the Words of the Law, and by the Truth of the Creed acknowledged by all the World. I would tell you, that tho' you had neither Sense nor Judgment, you ought to yield to the Consent of all Mankind, and that it is unreasonable to prefer the Opinions of some particular Men before the Faith of the Church. That Faith, say I, which having been taught by Jesus Christ, and preached by the Apostles, ought to be received as the Word and Law of God. If I should deal thus with you, what would you say? I was not brought up in this Faith, I was not so instructed, my Parents, my Masters taught me otherwise, I have heard another thing in my Church, I have learned another Creed, into which I was baptized: I live in that Faith of which I have made Profession from my Baptism. You would think that you had brought a very strong Argument against the Truth upon this Occasion. And I must freely own, 'Tis the best Defence that can be used in a bad Cause. It discovers at least the Original of the Error: And this Disposition were excusable if it were not accompanied with Obstinacy. If you were of the same Opinions which you had imbibed in your Infancy, we ought to make use of Arguments and persuasions to bring you from your Error rather than severity to punish what is passed; but, being born, as you were, in an Orthodox City, instructed in the Catholick Faith, and baptized with a true Baptism, we must not deal with you as an *Arian* or a *Sabellian*. I have no more to say but this, follow the Instructions you have received of your Parents, depart not from the Truth of the Creed which you have learned, remain firm in the Faith which you have professed in your Baptism.

'Tis the Faith of this Creed which hath gained you admittance to Baptism; 'tis by that that you have been regenerated; 'tis by this Faith that you have received the Eucharist and the Lord's Supper. Lastly, I speak it with Sorrow, 'tis that which hath raised you to the Holy Ministry, to be a Deacon and Priest, and made you capable of the Episcopal Dignity. What have you done? into what a sad Condition have you cast your self? By losing the Faith of the Creed, you have lost all; the Sacraments of your Priesthood and Episcopacy are grounded upon the Truth of the Creed. One of these two things you must do; either you must confess, that he is God that is born of a Virgin, and lo detest your Error; or if you will not make such a Confession, you must renounce your Priesthood, there's no middle way; if you have been Orthodox, you are now an Apostate; and if you are at present Orthodox, how can you be a Deacon, Priest or Bishop? Why were you so long in an Error? Why did you stay so long without contradicting others? Lastly, he exhorts *Nestorius* to reflect upon himself, to acknowledge his Error, to make Profession of the Faith into which he was baptized, and have recourse to the Sacraments, *That they may regenerate him by Repentance* (they are *Cassian's* very Words) *as they have heretofore begat him by Baptism.* With this Discourse he mingles Arguments against the Error of *Nestorius*, whom he undertakes to confute in the last Book, by answering the Objections which he proposed, and by alledging the Testimonies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church against him. He concludes with a Lamentation of the miserable Condition of *Constantinople*, exhorting the Faithful of that Church to continue steadfast in the Orthodox Faith, which had been so learnedly and eloquently explained to them by *St. Chrysostome*. He seems to be much troubled for the Misery of that Church. 'Altho' I am very little known, saith he, am of no worth, and dare not rank myself with the great Bishop of *Constantinople*, nor assume the Title of a Master, I have the Zeal and Affection of a Scholar, having been Ordained and Presented to God by *St. John* of blessed Memory. And altho' I am far distant from the Body of that Church, yet I am united in Heart and Spirit, which makes me to sympathize in her Grief and Sufferings, and pour out my self in Complaints and Lamentations.' This and the foregoing Place teach us, that this Treatise of *Cassian's* was composed before the Deposition of *Nestorius*, or at least before it was known in the *West*. They also give us ground to conjecture, that the Reason why *St. Leo* imposed this Task upon him, to write against *Nestorius*, was this, that being known at *Constantinople* to be *St. Chrysostome's* Scholar, his Work might have more Weight, and be more effectual than if any other had written on the same Subject.

The Institutions of *Cassian*, saith the learned *Photius*, are very useful, especially for those who have embraced a Monastick Life. It may likewise be said, that they have something so Powerful and Divine, that the Monasteries which observe that Rule are flourishing, and make themselves eminent for their singular Virtues; but they that do not observe it have much-a-do to uphold themselves, and are always near a Dissolution: And indeed of all the Rules for Monks there are none in my Judgment that are more Useful, Spiritual, and tend more to Perfection and true Devotion. He meddles not with Actions and Observances of little consequence. He insists upon Substantials, and the Ends of a Monastick Life, by explaining the principal Virtues, which they ought to practise, and discovering the most dangerous Temptations in which they are likely to be engaged, and by giving them Rules to avoid and resist them. He never delivers his own private Thoughts and Imaginations about it, but he makes Observations, and delivers Rules and Maxims taken out of Holy Scripture, and backed with an infinite Number of Holy Testimonies. This is it that makes them generally esteemed by all those who have written of a Religious and Spiritual Life. His Conferences themselves, although they be in my Opinion much inferior to his Institutions, have been commonly read by the Monks. *St. Benedict*, *Cassiodorus*, *S. Joannes Climacus*, *Rabanus*, *St. Gregory*, *Petrus Damianus*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Thomas*, and some other Founders of Orders, have recommended the Reading of them. Nevertheless, this very Work, so much praised, commended and esteemed by these Holy Men, hath been strongly opposed by *St. Prosper*, in a Book made on purpose, as containing Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of *St. Austin* concerning Grace, and the Strength of Free-Will. It is easy to judge, because we have said, that 'tis the Thirteenth Conference which he principally disputes against. It is true, *Cassian* doth not deliver these Principles in his own Name. The Abbot *Charemon* pronounces them, but it is lost Labour to make use of that Excuse to defend *Cassian*; for as *Prosper* observes, 'Tis *Cassian* that makes him speak, and who relates this Discourse, and sufficiently evidences that he approves and fully follows the Opinion of that Abbot. Besides, it is certain that *Cassian* was one of the Clergy of *Marseills*, who discovered, that *St. Austin* in defending the Church's Cause against the *Pelagians*, had pushed things too far. This was the Reason that induced Pope *Gelasius* to reckon the Works of *Cassian* among the *Apocryphal* Books. Some affirm, that he changed his Opinion, otherwise *St. Leo* would not have invited him to write against *Nestorius*: But this is a Conjecture for which they bring no Reason, and which doth not appear probable in the least. *Cassian* finished his Conferences in 429. He wrote his Books of the Incarnation in 430. Is it credible, that he could be brought from his Error in so small a Time? Have we any Recantation extant? Doth *St. Prosper* any where mention it? Is it spoken of in any Author? But, say they, is it likely that *St. Leo* would intreat a Man who was in an Error, and who had published an Heresy, to write in the Defence of the Church? This Objection would have some probability, if the Opinion of *Cassian* concerning Grace had been look'd upon as a Condemned Heresy: And if *Cassian*, and those that were of the same Judgment with him, had been declared Hereticks. But *St. Prosper* himself owns, that there was no such thing; but, on the other hand, that those who did not fully approve of *St. Austin's* Doctrine were in the Church and of the Church, were eminent Men, preferred to the Church-Dignities, endued with much Learning, and made a great shew of Virtue and Piety; that they were generally esteemed and acknowledged virtuous Men: That *Cassian* was a Man of Worth and Learning. Lastly, That these Persons not being severed from the Church, we ought to bear with their Judgment, and not despair of their Amendment. This is what *St. Prosper* himself speaks of *Cassian*, and those who were of the same Sentiments. After all this, may we count them for Hereticks, since their greatest Adversary owns that they were not so? So that nothing hinders but that *St. Leo* might desire *Cassian* to write against *Nestorius*, although *Cassian* were always of the same Opinion which he delivered and approved in his Conferences. Nothing hinders but that we may give him the Title of *Blessed* and *Saint*, which several Authors have freely bestowed on him, and which seems to be acknowledged at *Marseills*.

The Style of *Cassian's* Books is suitable to the things that he treats of, if we believe *Photius*; for, besides the Elegancy, it is very fit to insinuate into the Mind the Maxims which he propounds, and also to persuade Men to follow them: He orders the whole with so much Art and Prudence, that the Second Book, *i. e.* the Eight last Books of Institutions contain not only Moral Instructions, but also fit Motives to allure to Virtue, and to terrify and fright, so as to stir Men up to Repentance. All that have spoken of *Cassian* agree, that he had a very free Elocution: But there is nothing Lofty nor Great in his Style. He wrote in *Latin*, as it appears both by the Style and his Prefaces. There is some probability that his Works were tran-

St. Cassian. translated into Greek, since Photinus had read them, and does not say that they were written in Latin. St. Eucherius abridged them, as Gennadius observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, ch. 63. After him Victor, an African, undertook to take out what was contrary to the Doctrine of St. Auslin, and add to it what he thought wanting in it. Cassiodorus is Witness of this Fact, and says, that he expected this Book; which perhaps, was the cause that Ado attributed this Correction of Cassian to him. We find the Extracts of Cassian in the Fourth Book of the Lives of the Fathers, published by Rosweid but it is not known who was the Collector of them.

The Twelve Books of Institutions were printed at Lyons in 1516. And with the Paraphrases of Dionysius Carthusianus,

at Basil in 1559. And at Colon in 1540. His Conferences also were published at Basil in 1559. And his Seven Books of the Incarnation reprinted in 1571. Ciaconius procured them to be printed all together, the First Edition is at Rome in 1590. [1580. It was also printed at Rome in 1611 in Octavo.] The Second at Lyons in 1606. Cucquius, a Divine of Lovain put out a New Edition of them at Antwerp in 1578. Since Alardus Gazæus, a Benedictine Monk of the Abby of St. Vast at Arra. caused them to be printed with long Commentaries [of his own and others] The First Impression was made at Doway in 1616. [Two Volumes in Octavo,] the Second at Arras in 1628. [Folio,] the Third at Paris in 1642. by Contereuus.

ST. NILUS.

St. Nilus. **S**T. Nilus, a Governor of Constantinople, and Scholar of St. Chrysostome, having withdrawn himself from the World, from living with his Wife, with his Son Theodulus, betook himself to a Solitary Life, in the Desert of Sinai. He suffered there an inhumane Persecution by the Incursions of the Barbarians; who put to Death many of those Monks, and carried his Son Theodulus captive. He flourished under the Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius, and lived to the Empire of Marcian; in the beginning of which he died, about the Year 451. (a).

The Works of this Holy Religious Man, known and esteemed by the Ancients, have been printed several Times as well by themselves as in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and not long since were published in Greek and Latin, by the Care of Suarez, at Rome [1673.]

The First is a Treatise of the Monastick Life, which had been translated already by Zinus, and was printed at Venice, with some other Works of the same Author, anno 1657. and since put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. St. Nilus, in this Tract, reproves the Vices and Disorders of the Monks of his Time which he describes in a very smart manner. He condemns those who were ambitious to be Superiors and Governors of others, not having acquired by long Exercise such Virtues as were necessary to discharge that Office well. He also gives them many very useful Precepts and Instructions, which he delivers by Allegories. He exhorts the Religious to renounce their Estates wholly, and all worldly Pleasures, and to practise the Virtues that are becoming Monks, recommending in an especial manner Retirement and Solitude. This Treatise is written with much Fervor and Acuteness, and is full of very Judicious Observations. What he says in the beginning concerning the Rise, Perfection and Decay of the Monastick State, is well worth our Consideration. Having shewed, that neither the Heathens nor the Jews had any true Philosophers nor perfect Sages; That Jesus Christ is the First who manifested to Men the true way of Virtue and Wisdom, and that the Apostles and First Christians imitated their Master in all things, and following his Steps, have given us Examples of a most Wise and Regular Life and Conversation. He adds, that the Zeal of Christians, who should follow that Example, being cooled, some Persons have taken up a Resolution to abandon the perplexing Business of the World, and the Tumults of the Cities, to retire themselves in Solitude; that these Persons have exactly imitated the Apostles, in curbing their Passions and renouncing the Riches and Pleasures of the World, in contenting themselves with meer Necessaries, in living in great Union, and having all things in Common; but that at length this Profession, so Holy in the Original, had degenerated by degrees, and was now become clear another thing. That the present Professors of it disgraced their State, and the Memory of their Predecessors by their Disorders and Irregularities.

The Second Treatise dedicated to the Monk Agathius, is intituled *Perisseria*, from the name of a noble Lady, whom Agathius had propounded to St. Nilus, as an eminent Example of Virtue and Piety, in an Age which he affirmed to be as Corrupt as his. This Treatise contains in it several moral Considerations about Temperance, Humility, Prayer, Contempt of the World, and the Obligation of doing Alms. He describes the miserable condition of the Worldly-minded Man, when he comes to the Point of

Death. He advises them that are Rich, to distribute to the Poor their Estates, rather than bequeath or leave them to their Heirs. He bewails the Misery of those, who being at the Point of Death, think of nothing but Worldly Business. He derides the Folly of those Persons, who give the Poor Legacies after their Death, but enjoy their Estates as long as they live, without bestowing any thing on them. He inveighs against the Luxury, Covetousness and Injustice of the Rich Men of his Time. The rest of his Discourse is about the Life of Good Men, and the Temptations, Persecutions and Misfortunes, which they must endure. And he gives us several Famous Examples of this taken from the Old and New Testament.

The Third Treatise of St. Nilus, is a Discourse of Voluntary Poverty, dedicated to a certain Deaconess of the Church of Ancyra, called Magna. It treats at large on the Happiness of those who have forsaken their worldly Possessions for the Service of God. He commends that Estate, and recites many Passages of Holy Scripture in praise of it, but many of them do not prove what he designs. He also recommends Obedience, Concord and Humility.

The following Discourse is a Sermon of Morality; whose Subject is no special Matter and in which there is nothing remarkable.

The Manual of Epictetus, which follows in the Roman Edition, is nothing like the Works of St. Nilus. He that published this Edition affirms, that this Manual was extracted out of Epictetus's Works by St. Nilus; but he brings no Proof of it: And Simplicius assures us, that it was an Arian that made this Manual. We have already observed, that the Book call'd Pachy, and another Dogmatical Discourse, belong to Evagrius Ponticus.

The Treatise which begins at Page 377. is upon this Question, viz. *Whether the Life of the Anchorites or Hermites, which St. Nilus also calls Hesycasts, or Quietists, who dwell in Solitude, is to be preferred before the Life of those Religious who dwell in Cities.* This is a very Curious Question, about which the Judgment of the Spiritual Men is much divided. St. Nilus takes the affirmative for the Hermites, but many others as he confesses, were of a contrary Opinion. There are Reasons of both sides: They who prefer the Religious who live in Communities in Cities before the Anchorites, say; That they have more Worth, because they meet with more Opposition, whereas they that live in Solitude, being at Quiet, and not subject to Temptation, have not so much Virtue. St. Nilus answers to this Reason, which seemed very plausible; That there are as many Temptations in Solitude as in Cities, and that the Reason why some Persons argue so, is, because they mind outward Sins only, not considering that there are infinite Temptations and Spiritual Sins, which encounter us as well in Privacy as Cities. The Reason which St. Nilus brings for his Opinion is, that those who are in Cities are exposed to Danger, and can with more difficulty preserve their Virtue, being continually assaulted with irregular Passions and Motions. He supports this Opinion with Comparisons and Examples.

The *First Treatise to Eulogius is a Discourse of an uncertain Argument, which contains useful Counsel and Advice for Monks. The † Second is an Opposition of Vices to Virtues.

The Treatise of the Eight Vices is of the same Nature. There are two that bear that Title, both attributed to St.

*Tratatus Asceticus.
†De vitiis, quæ sunt virtutibus opposita.

(a) **H**E died about the Year 451. It is certain, that he lived under Arcadius; and that he was likewise a Recluse from that Time, since he wrote two Letters to that Emperor, about the Banishment of St. Chrysostome, which happened in 405. which are Letter 279. lib. 3. and 265. lib. 2. He must needs be pretty ancient, since he had been Governor of Constantinople. He was about Fifty Years Old when the Monastery of Sinai was afflicted by the Incursions of the Barbarians, as he himself says, Now this must needs happen about the Year 410, or 411. He could not then live to the Empire of Maurice, which did not begin till the Year 583. Wherefore we must correct the Menologies, where it is said, That he lived under, or, to the Empire of Maurice, and put the Name of Marcian instead of that of

Maurice. Allatius affirms, That he lived in the Sixth Age, because in *Let. 70. lib. 1.* directed to Tribunes Zexarius, he proves, That the Kingdom of the Jews is destroyed for ever, because there have passed Five hundred Years since the Death of Jesus Christ, and yet it hath not been re-established, nor have the Jews had any Help. But St. Nilus doth not precisely say, that the Five hundredth Year was passed, but that it drew near; *ὁ δὲ χρόνος πενταχαιστότου ἐγγύς*. That is to say, *Lo! it draws apace to Five hundred Years.* Four hundred Years are quite pass'd, and we are going on in the Fifth Age. We have placed this Author after Isidore and Cassian, because he hath written upon the same Matters.

St. Nilus. Nilus: The first is that which is meant here, which was translated by Zinus, and hath been published by F. Combefis and M. Bigozius; who hath joyned to it a very ancient Version which he found at Florence. The other Treatise, which is Translated into Latin by Billius, among the Works of St. John Damascene, hath been published by Costelieri in Greek, in his last Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*. I believe that the first is the Original of St. Nilus, and that this last was made by some other, who hath taken his Sense and Expressions from this Saint and several others.

To these Treatises may be joyned the Discourse of Evil Thoughts, or of the Temptations of the Devil; where he prescribes the means of Conquering them. Photius makes mention of a Treatise of St. Nilus concerning Prayer, divided into One hundred fifty and three Chapters or Sentences: They are very useful Directions or Maxims to learn to pray well. They were put out in Latin by Turrian. The greatest part of the Sentences, from page 543, to 575, are rather Evagrius's than St. Nilus's, or perhaps both of them; for these ancient Monks had such particular Sentences and Thoughts, which they would often repeat, which were common to them with many others. Moreover, the greatest part of these Collections of Sentences, for the use of the Monks, were made by mean and obscure Monks, who writing down the Sentences which they had learned from their Masters, or taken from their Works, did put, in one Collection, the Sentences and Maxims of several Persons, inasmuch that we cannot tell exactly to what Author the greatest part of these Sentences belong. There are also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* Two hundred twenty nine Sentences in Greek and Latin attributed to St. Nilus, which are of the same Nature with those before-mentioned, published by Turrian, and printed at Florence in 1578. in Greek, and at Antwerp in 1590. in Latin, and in several other Places, as at Colen, Basil, Hamburg in 1614. at Naples in 1604. with the Commentaries of Paul Minerva, a Dominican, who attributes these Sentences to another Nilus, a Bishop and Martyr, but he gives us no proof of it. This Volume of St. Nilus's Treatises concludes with a Sermon of this Author's upon these Words of the Gospel, *But now he that hath a Scrip let him take it, &c.* To which may be added some large Fragments of two Sermons upon the Feast of Easter, and three other Sermons upon Pentecost, recited by Photius in the Two hundred and seventy sixth Volume of his *Bibliotheca*.

Albinianus These are all the Works of St. Nilus contained in the Edition printed at Rome in 1683 [1673.] to which we must add the Seven Narrations of the Persecutions of the Monks of Sinai, published by F. Poussinus, and printed at Paris in 1639 (Quarto,) with a Discourse of the same Author, in the praise of one named Albinianus. There is a Commentary upon the *Canticles*, which is said to be taken out of St. Nilus, Gregory Nyssen, and Maximus, but these sort of Works are of no great Authority. St. Nilus hath written a Book Of Contrition, of which he speaks in the eleventh Epistle of the third Book of his Letters: And he observes, in the beginning of his Book Of Repentance, that he had spent some Labour upon the *Psalms*. Sixtus Senensis saith, That he made a Commentary upon Job, but I can find no Body else that makes mention of it. There are also some other Treatises about the Monastick Life, in the Libraries, bearing St. Nilus's Name, which are not yet published, as the *Manual of Repentance*, *The Monk's Dial*, &c. The Seventh Council, Act. 4. cites some of his Letters, which the *Iconoclasts*, had alledged for themselves. Some of his Sentences also are to be seen in the *Scala Paradisi* of St. John Climacus, and in other modern Greek Authors.

Only the Letters of St. Nilus remain to be spoken of, which are very numerous. F. Poussinus hath published 335, [355. Cave,] of them out of the Florentine Library, which were printed in Greek and Latin in Quarto [at Paris] in 1657. And since that time Allatus hath put out a far greater number from the Manuscripts of the Vatican Library. He hath divided them into four Books, turned them into Latin, and caused them to be printed at Rome, in Folio, anno 1668. [with a Dissertation of Nilus.]

The greatest part of these Letters are Papers, which contain Moral Sentences, Precepts, Instructions, Reproofs, and Explications of the Doctrines of the Church, and of some Texts of Holy Scripture. They are written with much Ingenuity; the Sentences are Witty and Noble, and the Style is very fine. He speaks to the Persons of Quality, and Dignitaries of the Church, though his Superiors, with a great deal of Freedom. He instructs his Inferiors with much Love: He reproves Sinners with a Constancy that hath nothing sharp and cruel: He says nothing disagreeable to the Condition of the Person to whom he writes, or to the things he treats of. He is serious when he ought to be so: He derides handsomely when the Subject requires it: He uses pleasant or smart Terms, according as the Persons are with whom he has to do. In a Word; He never recedes from the Character which he ought to have, but all along a free Air and a wonderful Readiness of Speech is discernable in him. There a great many of his Letters which

manifest his Learning and Knowledge. He explains the Mysteries of Religion very elegantly. He contutes the Hereticks neatly. He relates ancient Histories, and gives very Spiritual Explications to some Places of Scripture. He makes many curious and solid Remarks. Lastly, it may be said, That his Letters are as a Magazine, of an infinite number of excellent and fine Thoughts upon all sorts of Subjects. He explains the Mysteries of the Trinity against the Arians and Macedonians; and of the Incarnation, against the Appollinarists, in several of his Letters. In some of them he derides the Error of the Valentiniens: In others he scoffs at the Vanity of Paganism. He saith, in the Forty fourth Epistle of the first Book, that the Bread and the Wine of the Sacrament after the Words of the Priest are no longer common * Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He adds, in the One hundred forty and fourth Letter, that the Christians were † nourished with this Body and Blood: He commands them to receive it in a state of Holiness; and to shew with what Reverence it ought to be approached. He tells us, in the Two hundred ninety and fourth Letter of the same Book, that St. Chrysostome, celebrating the Divine Mysteries, saw the Angels assisting the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons at the Distribution of the adorable Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He often recommends Penance. In the Two hundred forty and third Letter of the third Book, he admonishes a Priest, not to deal too roughly with a Person who had confessed his Sin publickly; and advises him to give him Absolution, not requiring any other Penance; not that he thought that he ought always so to deal with Offenders, for, on the contrary, he acknowledges that it is good and necessary for a Sinner to fast, watch, to lie on the Ground, to cover himself with Sack-cloth and Ashes; and lastly, to perform rigorous Penance: But he requires that it be remitted, for the sake of those who are not able to endure those Austerities, and that Absolution be given them immediately after the Confession of their Crime. He observes upon that occasion, that a Priest ought to be active, to plant the Vine of the Lord, and slack to pluck it up. He dislikes the cruel Treatment of Sinners, lest thereby they be driven to Despair. In the One hundred and ninetyeth Letter of the second Book, he reproves a Bishop who would not receive Hereticks into the Church: And to render him inexcusable, he relates a Story, which he says happened in the Apostles time to one Carpus a Bishop, who having used too much Rigour toward the Younger sort, who had sinned was rebuked miraculously. He speaks of the Usefulness of the Sign of the Cross, and commands Christians to make it often, in Letter Eighty seven, Book One, and in Letter Three hundred and four, Book Two. In Letter Sixty four, Book Four, inscribed to Olympiodorus, and recited in the Second Council of Nice, he blames this Lord, that he had caused the shapes of Beasts, and other strange Figures to be painted upon the Walls of the Church. He tells him, that we may only paint the Cross in the Chancel, and round the Church place Pictures of the History of the Old and New Testament, that those that cannot read may learn the History of the Bible. The *Iconoclasts* had falsified this Passage; and whereas it is said in that place, that we may paint Pictures, they put instead of it, We must white-over the Walls of the Church. The Last Letter contains the Relation of a Miracle done by the intercession of a Martyr called Plato, who had freed the Son of a certain Monk of Mount Sinai from the Captivity he was in; an History which proves that the Intercession and Invocation of Saints was in use at that Time. I have forgotten to observe what St. Nilus maintains in Letters Two hundred sixty and nine, and Two hundred and seventy, Book One; that Mary, the Mother of Jesus Christ, was always a Virgin, before, after, and in her Delivery. He exhorts Men to labour, yet acknowledges, that all our Labour is of no use, without the assistance of God: That these are the Principal Points of Doctrine, which may be gathered out of St. Nilus's Letters. There are an infinite Number of Moral Points, which it would be too long to recite particularly. It may suffice to say, that he commends Charity, Peace, Vigilance, Mortifications, Watchings, Obedience, Humility, Alms-giving, and other Christian Virtues. He gives also many useful Counsels to those who profess a Religious Life, and who may be very serviceable to Superiors; as also to those who are charged with the Government of others: read upon this Subject, Letter Three hundred and three, Book Three, and Letter One, Book Four. In several Places he extolls the State and Condition of the Monks, and observes very well, in Letter One, that Princes and great Personages are obliged to desire the Help of their Prayers to obtain the Graces they stand in need of. Among all the Excellencies that we have taken notice of in St. Nilus's Letters, there are some false Notions, forced Allegories, impertinent Comparisons, and Apocryphal Stories. This, for example, is laughed at by St. Jerome, and that with good reason. He says, in Letter Two, Book One, That Palestine was the Place of Adam's Habitation; that he dyed in Mount Calvary; and that from thence it had that Name; for Men wondering to see a bare Skull

* Not common but holy Bread † because still Bread and Wine.

St. Nilus.

Skull in that Place, called the Place Calvary. St. Jerome says fitly; That that Exposition is plausible, and pleases credulous People, but is by no means true. *Favorabilis interpretatio, & mulcens aurem populi, non tamen vera:*

Yet Origen, St. Ambrose and St. Epiphanius, in Her. 46. agree to it. But St. Jerome's Opinion, who assures us, that St. Nilus 'twas the Place of Execution of Malefactors, is much more probable.

The Author of the Confessions of Faith, attributed to RUFINUS.

The Author of the Confessions of Faith, &c.

F Sirmondus published, in 1650. a long *Confession of Faith*, which bears the Name of *Rufinus*; and which *Joannes Diaconus* hath attributed to him, that was a Priest of *Aquileia*. But this learned Jesuit, at the same Time assures us, that it cannot be his; because it expressly contradicts the Doctrine of *Origen*, which *Rufinus* never condemned. In the Manuscripts of the Abby of *Corby*, *Pelagius* is said to be the Author of that Writing which he published under *Rufinus's* Name.

F. Garner hath also put out since another *Confession of Faith*, much shorter than the former, made up of twelve *Anathemas*, which is found at the beginning of the Collection of Pieces composed by *Marius Mercator*. This also condemns the Opinions of *Origen*, and particularly that of the Pre-existence of Souls, which the Priests of *Aquileia* never would condemn: So that this cannot be *Rufinus* of *Aquileia's*, no more than the former. Nevertheless it appears to be him to whom it is commonly attributed, and not another *Rufinus*, as *F. Garner* affirms. 1. Because the Author, who hath preserved it, hath put it at the end of *Anastasius's* Letter to *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*. 2. Because the same Author tells us, that it is this *Rufinus* which is spoken of in *Anastasius's* Letter by this Title, *Incipit fides ejusdem Rufini: Here begins the Sum of Rufinus's Faith*. 3. Because it is said of the Author of that *Confession of Faith*, that he held and defended heretofore the Doctrines which he now condemns. This agrees to *Rufinus*, who had defended the Opinions of *Origen*. 4. Because the Opinions of *Origen* condemned in that *Confession of Faith*, are the very same that *Rufinus* is accused to have held, and about which he defends himself in his Apology to Pope *Anastasius*, and in his *Invectives* against St. *Jerome*. It is true, he doth not condemn them in those Places, as it is noted in that *Profession of Faith*; nor will I ascertain you that it is infallibly *Rufinus's* of *Aquileia*, but I say it belongs to him to whom it is attributed; for I am apt to believe, that it is a Form of *Confession of Faith* which Pope *Anastasius* made for *Rufinus* of *Aquileia* to sign.

As to the First *Confession of Faith*, 'tis certainly the Work of some *Pelagian*, for he directly opposes Original Sin: He maintains, That Infants are born without Sin: That they are not baptized for the Remission of Sin, since they are innocent, and that those that die without Baptism are not condemned to Eternal Torments. He owns, that the First Man had not died if he had not sinned; but he affirms, that he was created Mortal, and that Death, Grievs and Pains, which are the effects of Sin, are profitable for Man; which come very near the Opinions of *Julian*; whom *F. Garner* makes the Author of the Translation of this Writing, for it is noted at the end, that it was translated out of Greek into Latin. This proves to us, that the Author of this *Confession* was a Greek, or at least, that it was made in the East. We can say nothing more of the Author of this *Confession*.

F. Garner affirms, that it is certainly one *Rufinus's*, altho' it be not the Priest's of *Aquileia*, but another *Rufinus*, whom he believes to be he that was *Pelagius's* Master, of whom *Cælestius* speaks in the Council of *Carthage*; That he had heard of *Rufinus* the Holy Priest, who maintain'd at Rome with *Pammachius*, That the Sin of the first Man did not descend to his Posterity. It hath ever been thought that this *Rufinus* was the Priest of *Aquileia*; and indeed St. *Jerome* says in several Places, That *Rufinus* was the Fore-runner of *Pelagius* and his Adherents. But *F. Garner* maintains,

that it is another *Rufinus* of whom *Cælestius* speaks; and he says likewise, that it is he that St. *Jerome* sent to Rome in the Time when he had the Contests with *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*, of whom his last complains in this Apology to Pope *Anastasius*.

There is no doubt but that this *Rufinus* condemned the Opinions of *Origen*, and that he contended with the Priest of *Aquileia*, because he defended them: But we do not see that he maintained the Doctrine of *Pelagius* touching Original Sin. Let us consider the Reasons which *F. Garner* brings, to shew that the Master of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* is a different Person from the famous *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*. 1. The Master of *Pelagius* was a Syrian, but the Priest of *Aquileia* was an Italian, according to the Testimony of *M. Mercator*. 2. This same Author speaks of the Master of *Pelagius*, as a Man little known, one *Rufinus*, saith he. 3. The Priest of *Aquileia* came to Rome under *Syriscus*; the Master of *Pelagius* came not till the Popedom of *Anastasius*, according to the Testimony of the same Author. 4. The Master of *Pelagius* sojourn'd with *Pammachius*; the Priest of *Aquileia* was none of this great Man's Friends; but on the contrary it was *Pammachius* that put St. *Jerome* upon writing against *Rufinus*. 5. The Master of *Pelagius* taught at Rome, that there was no such thing as Original Sin; the Priest of *Aquileia* was gone when this Doctrine was preached. 6. When St. *Jerome* accuses the Priest of *Aquileia* of being the Fore-runner of *Pelagius*, he speaks of no other Doctrines but those of *Apathy* and *Sinlesness*. 7. *Paulinus*, who disputed against *Cælestius*, in the Council of *Carthage*, doth not retort upon him, that that *Rufinus*, whom he cited, had been condemned, which he undoubtedly would have done, if he had heard him speak of the Priest of *Aquileia*. 8. *Cælestius* speaks of one *Rufinus*, as then alive; the Priest of *Aquileia* was then dead. 9. Lastly, *Rufinus*, cited by *Cælestius*, was in the Communion of the Church; the Priest of *Aquileia* was excommunicated from it. These Reasons are not incapable of Reply, and it may be said that many of them are too subtle.

That which amazeth me most is that which *Cælestius* says, that *Rufinus*, who denied Original Sin, abode with *Pammachius*; for what likelihood is there that he should lodge with one of his greatest Adversaries, and one of the best Friends of St. *Jerome*? the rest are weaker; for *Rufinus* having dwelt in *Palastine* for near thirty Years, and coming from that Country, when he taught his Doctrine to *Pelagius*, *Marius Mercator* might say, that he was a Syrian, and that he first brought that Doctrine to Rome; and so much the rather, because this Author had a Design to demonstrate that this Doctrine came from the East. It is true that *Rufinus* came to Rome at the end of the Popedom of *Syriscus* in 397. but he staid there some time in the Popedom of *Anastasius*. *Cælestius* doth not say, that he, of whom he speaks, was then alive. If *Paulinus* did not object his Condemnation, if he passed for a Man, who died in the Communion of the Church, it was because he was not looked upon in *Africa* as an Heretick, or an excommunicate Person. There is then nothing of Difficulty in any of the Objections, but concerning the abode with *Pammachius*, but perhaps *Cælestius* was mistaken, or *Rufinus* was after reconciled to *Pammachius*. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied but that the Opinion of *F. Garner* hath much probability in it. For this cause I have set down his Reasons, that it may be left to the Reader to judge.

The Author of the Confessions of Faith, &c.

POSSIDIUS.

Possidius.

T His Deacon of *Africa*, and Scholar of St. *Augustine*, hath written the Life of his Master in a plain Style, and hath joyned to it a Catalogue of his

Works. We have nothing more to note about this Work, besides what we have written of it in the Life and Works of St. *Augustine*.

Possidius.

URANIUS.

Uranus.

U ranus the Priest, a Scholar of St. *Paulinus*, hath also written the Life of his Master, in a Letter, directed to *Pacatus*. This Letter hath been published by *Surius*, by *F. Chiffletius*; and Lastly,

in the last Edition of St. *Paulinus*. The Style of it is plain, clear and elegant: This is all the Goodness it has in it.

Uranus.

ST. COELESTINE.

S. Coelestine
* Septem-
ber 16.

ST. Coelestine was chosen Bishop of Rome after the Death of Boniface, in the beginning of * November, in 423. This Election was made without contending and division; and he governed the Church of Rome peaceably, till April Anno 432. The Business of Nestorius, and the assembling the Council of Ephesus have made his Popedom famous, and given him occasion to write several Letters, of which we shall defer to speak, till we come to the History of the Council of Ephesus, where they have a more fit Place; so that we have nothing more to speak of here, save three Letters, which have no relation to the Business of Nestorius.

The first was written in 431. after the Death of St. Austin, and is addressed, To Venerius Bishop of Milan, Leontius Bishop of Frejus, and some other of their neighbouring French Bishops, who tolerated and also favoured those who opposed some of the Opinions of St. Augustine, concerning Predestination and Grace: St. Prosper and Hilarius, Scholars of St. Austin, and close Adherents to his Doctrine, finding themselves the weaker Side among the French, went to Rome, to complain to Pope Coelestine; 'That the Priests of their Country were suffered to raise Disputes and Divisions in the French Church, and to Maintain, that St. Austin and his Scholars had promoted Opinions contrary to the Truth.' Coelestine blames the Bishops, 'Who ought, saith he, to hinder these Disputes, and not allow these Persons to take upon them to teach: That the Silence which the Bishops kept, upon this occasion, might pass for a kind of Approbation: That it was enough to declare their own Opinions, not to suffer others to speak; so that upon such like occasions Silence is a strong Presumption, because the Truth could not but oppose it self to Error, if Error it self did not please. Lastly, that the Bishops themselves were guilty of the Error which they favoured by their Connivance and remaining in Silence.' He admonishes the Bishops, in the next Place, 'To reprove those who vented their new Doctrines, contrary to the Opinions of St. Austin. Let them not be permitted, saith he, to speak for the future according to their own Fancy: Let not Novelty be so bold as to oppose Antiquity: Let those unquiet Spirits not trouble the Peace of the Church: 'Tis your Business to keep your Churches quiet. Let those Priests know, that they ought to be subject to you: Let those that do not teach the Truth, know, that they ought to learn, and not pretend to teach. What Power have you in your Churches, if they are Masters to teach what they please? But it is no Wonder, adds St. Coelestine, if they are not afraid to attempt such things against the Living, since they dare assault the Memory of our Brethren after their Death. We have always had St. Austin, of blessed Memory, in our Communion, whose Life and Merit is very well known; his Fame hath not received the least Blemish, and his Knowledge is so well known, that my Predecessors have looked upon him as one of the most excellent Doctors of the Church. All Orthodox Christians have ever thought well of him; he hath been generally honoured and revered through the whole World. Resist therefore the Enemies of his Memory, whose Number increaseth every Day. Suffer not those Religious Persons who defend him to be afflicted and persecuted: He that is attacked by such a Novelty, suffers in the Cause of the Universal Church. Shew, that those that displease us displease you; which you will appear to us to do, if having imposed Silence upon such Offenders, you cause that there be no future Complaints upon this Account.

To this Letter of St. Coelestine is usually joyned a Collection of the Decisions of the Popes, Coelestine's Predecessors, and of the Councils of Africa, upon the principal Points touching Grace and Free-will, intituled, *The Authorities or Sentences of the ancient Bishops of the Holy Apostolick See, concerning Grace and Free-will*. It is also called, *Rules of the Holy Apostolick See*: But the most common Name which is given it, is, *Articles or Aphorisms about Grace*. This Writing is cited under the Name of St. Coelestine, in the beginning of the Sixth Age; for Dionysius Exiguus, hath put it into his Collection, among the Decrees of this Pope: And Petrus Diaconus, writing to St. Fulgentius about the Year 519. cites a Passage of it, as taken out of the Decrees of this Pope. Cresconius Bishop of Africa, who wrote towards the end of the same Age, attributes it also to St. Coelestine. And ever since it hath always been cited under the Name of this Pope, as by the Church of Lyons, by Hincmarus, by Lupus of Ferrara, by Remigius of Lyons, by Ivo Carnutensis, and many others. It is very probable, that it is this Collection of Testimonies, of which Pope Hormisdas speaks in his Letter to Possessor, written in 520, where he says, that tho' it is easily known, what is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome touching Grace and Man's Free-will, by the Writings of St. Austin, yet he hath more express and plain Articles in his Church-Registry,

which he will send him, to whom he writes, if he hath them not, and thinks it necessary.

These Authorities seem to prove very strongly, that this Collection is the Work of Pope Coelestine. Yet this Opinion is opposed by so many Conjectures, that almost all the Criticks in these latter times have abandoned it. 1. It is affirmed, that these Aphorisms are not of the same Style with the Epistle of St. Coelestine. 2. This Epistle, concluding with these words, *Deus vos incolumes custodiat, Fratres charissimi*, the Lord preserve you in Safety, dear Brethren. Altho' St. Coelestine doth not say, that he added nothing more, yet it is not credible that these Articles were any part of it, or were added by way of Postscript. 3. The Author of these Sentences doth not speak as a Pope, he doth not give his Judgment or Advice with Authority: He declares, that he had no other design but to collect the Judgments of the Bishops of the Holy See, or of the African Councils, which the Holy See had made hers by her Approbation. 4. Speaking of the Popes, he always calls them the Bishops of the Holy Apostolick See, without giving them the Name of his Predecessors, which no Bishop of Rome would have omitted. 5. St. Prosper bringing the Decisions of the Popes concerning Grace and Free-will against Cassian, cites fully St. Coelestine's Letter, but says nothing of these Sentences; Is it credible that he would have forgot them, if they were this Pope's? This was a most delectory Piece. Photius and Vincentius Lirinensis make mention of this Letter of St. Coelestine, but speak nothing of the Aphorisms of Grace. Besides, is it credible, that Vincentius Lirinensis would have cited St. Coelestine's Letter for the defence of the Semi-pelagian Party, if this Pope had condemned them so manifestly? 6. If we consider the manner how these Aphorisms are inserted in the Dionysian Code, we shall easily guess, that he did not attribute them to Pope Coelestine, as some think; for altho' he puts them at the end of his Letter, yet he distinguishes them by this Title: *Here begin the Authorities of the Bishops of the Holy See, concerning Grace*. And the same Remark is added to the end, *Here ends, &c.* These are the Conjectures which may balance the Authorities which seem to prove that this Collection is St. Coelestine's. And by these have the Criticks been obliged to search out some other Author of them, than this Pope, and having found none to whom this Work agrees better than St. Prosper, many have confidently attributed it to him, altho' they have neither MSS, nor ancient Author for them. It is true, that they quote a Passage of Hincmarus, taken out of a Book he made against this Expression, *Trina Deitas*, the three-fold Godhead, where he says, that St. Prosper by the Order of St. Coelestine did confute and overthrow the Heresie which began to spread among the French, as well by the Authority of Scripture as by the Doctrine of St. Austin. They suppose, that it is of this Writing that Hincmarus speaks, and conclude from thence, that it was St. Prosper that wrote it by the Order of St. Coelestine. But this Proof doth not seem to me to be solid: 1. Because Hincmarus could not be a very good Author of a Fact of this nature. 2. Because the same Hincmarus attributes the Aphorisms to St. Coelestine. 3. Because 'tis not certain, that the Work spoken of in that place is the Collection of Authorities, nor is it indeed certain that he speaks of any particular Work. 4. If he speaks of any particular 'tis likely to be some other, for what he says of it, that St. Prosper did overthrow the Heresie which began to spread among the French, by the Authority of Holy Scripture and the Doctrine of St. Austin, doth not agree to our Aphorisms, in which the Author contents himself to relate the Decisions of the Popes and Councils, without disputing with the Enemies of St. Austin, and where not so much as one Passage of St. Austin, is alledged. But say they, it can't be said, that any other Work of St. Prosper was written by the Order of Coelestine. It appears by his Works themselves that he wrote them as a private Author, and as a Person who defended the Doctrines he thought true, without condemning any Man. It cannot therefore be said, that it was by the Order of the Pope, and as Hincmarus says, *Ex delegatione Pontificis*, by the Pope's Commission, that he wrote them. There is none but the Aphorisms that it agrees to; he speaks therefore of these. This is the sum of the Objection. They confirm it by a Passage of St. Prosper taken out of his Answers to the Objections of Vincentius, where he says, that he recites the very words of the Faith and Opinions, which he defended against the Pelagians by the Authority of the Holy See. *Propositis sigillatim sexdecim capitulis sub unoquoque eorum Sensus nostri & Fidei, quam contra Pelagianos ex Apostolicæ Sedis Auctoritate defendimus, verba ponemus*; Having propounded sixteen Heads severally, we will set down under every one of them the words of our Sense and Faith, which we have defended by the Authority of the Holy See. Which refers, say they, to the Aphorisms of Grace written against the Pelagians. It may be answered to all this, that they take the words of Hincmarus too strictly, and perhaps St. Prosper's too.

The

The first never affirmed, that St. *Prosper* had an express Command from St. *Cælestine* to write some particular Work about Grace. His meaning only is, that this Pope had approved what he wrote for the defence of St. *Austin's* Doctrine; and this is evident from St. *Cælestine's* own Letter. St. *Prosper* boasts so of defending St. *Austin's* Doctrine by the Authority of the Holy See, because he was certain, that it was approved by the Holy See, and that the *Semipelagians* would destroy the Principles which he had established against the *Pelagians*. In sum, it is not necessary to understand the Passage of the Preface of the Answer to the Objections of *Vincentius*, of any preceding work. It refers much more naturally to the same Work of the Answer to *Vincentius*, as the Passage entire will manifest. *Propositis igitur sigillatim sexdecim capitulis sub unoquoque eorum Sensus nostri & Fidei, quam contra Pelagianos ex Apostolica sedis auctoritate defendimus, verba ponemus, ut qui paululum se ad legenda hæc dignati fuerint occupare, evidenter agnoscant impiarum profanarumque opinionum nullum cordibus nostris inhaesisse vestigium, & blasphemias quas perspexerint nostra professione damnari, in earundem reperiendis censeant debere puniri*; Having propounded sixteen Heads severally, we set down under every one of them the words of our Sense and Faith, which we have defended by the Authority of the Holy See, that they who will condescend to busy themselves a little in reading these things, may openly acknowledge, that there are no Footsteps of those impious and prophane Opinions in our Hearts, and may judge those Blasphemies which they see condemned in our Confession, worthy to be punished in the Inventors of them. The sequel of this Discourse makes it evident, that when St. *Prosper* says, that he reported the true Doctrines, which he defended against the *Pelagians* by the Authority of the Holy See, he speaks of the same things, which he says in his Answers to *Vincentius*, and not of those, which he hath spoken of in another Work. He doth not send his Reader to what he hath written else-where, but he exhorts him to read the Answers which he gives to the Objections of *Vincentius*, to know what is the true Doctrine approved by the Holy See which St. *Austin* and his Scholars defend against the *Pelagians*. It must be confessed then, that there is no probability that he speaks in that place of the Aphorisms attributed to St. *Cælestine*.

But they bring yet other Reasons to fasten them upon St. *Prosper*. They say, that 'tis his Style; that no Person, at that time, had a fitter opportunity to make this Collection than St. *Prosper*; that 'tis his Doctrine; and lastly, that there is so great an agreement between the Opinions and Expressions of the Author of these Aphorisms and St. *Prosper's*, that 'tis hard not to acknowledge him the Author of them. And this a Modern Critick pretends to prove, by comparing the Aphorisms with some Passages of St. *Prosper's* Works. F. *Quesnel* also finding in St. *Leo's* Works some Expressions like to those which are met with in these Aphorisms, scruples not to attribute them to this Father*; which shews how the Judgments of Learned Men do sometimes differ about the likeness of Style. These two Criticks, who had both of them read St. *Leo*, St. *Prosper* and the Aphorisms well, the one finds no two things more like than the Style of the Aphorisms and St. *Prosper's*; the other can find no resemblance between them, and thinks he perceives some Lines more like in St. *Leo's* Works. They both produce Words and Expressions of their Author like those of the *Capitula*. But to speak the Truth, it is very hard in so short and incoherent a Work, as these Aphorisms are, to find out the Author certainly by the meer consideration of the Style.

As for my self, I have much-a-do to leave the Testimony of the Ancients, who attribute the Aphorisms to Pope *Cælestine*. It is certain, that they relate to his Letter, that they were framed at the same time, and evidently given to St. *Prosper*; and from that time there hath been a Copy of them preserved in the Registry of *Rome*; that an hundred years after they were quoted under the Name of this Pope, and have ever since continued under his Name to this our Age.

But perhaps it may be said, that it was not St. *Cælestine* that composed them himself, but he caused them to be framed, either by St. *Prosper*, who was the Pope's Secretary, as some say, or St. *Leo*, whom the Office of Archdeacon of the Church of *Rome*, seems to have engaged in that Business. But these are bare Conjectures, which not being supported with the Testimony of any Author worthy of Credit, cannot be of any great weight. And, besides, if it were true, that St. *Cælestine* himself did not compose these Aphorisms, but caused them to be framed by some other, yet they may lawfully be attributed to him always, since it is confessed, that they were framed by his Order; that he approved them, and sent them with his Letter; and lastly, that he caused them to be put into the Registry of the Church of *Rome*, as an Authentick Monument of his Doctrine.

The Reasons which they alledge to shew the contrary, prove well enough, that these Aphorisms are no part of this Pope's Letter, nor are a solemn definition of the *Roman* Bishop; but they do not evince, that they are not Precepts

of Instruction composed by this Pope, or at least by his order, upon the account of which he wrote his Letter, and perhaps sent them with it. This is most probable in this Matter.

St. *Prosper* and St. *Hilary* seeing that the Doctrine of St. *Austin* was openly opposed in *France*, and that he was accused of going too far, went to *Rome* to implore the Pope St. *Cælestine* to take it into his Protection. The Pope did two things: The first was to write to the Bishops, that he might oblige them to stop the Discourse of those that defamed the Doctrine of St. *Austin*. The Second was, to make a Collection of the Principles approved by the Authority of the Holy See, that he might draw some Consequences from them against those who did not approve St. *Austin's* Doctrine, altho' they condemned *Cælestine* and *Pelagius*, and professed to hold the Decisions of the Holy See against their Error.

The first of these Articles imports, that all Men have lost their Innocency in the Person of *Adam*, and their natural ability of doing good, and that no Man can be delivered out of this profound Abyss of Perdition by the strength of his Free-will, if he be not raised by the Grace of the God of Mercy.

The second imports, that no Man is good of himself, if God, who is only good, doth not communicate his goodness to him.

The third is, that no Man can conquer the Temptations of the Devil and the motions of the Flesh, if he doth not receive continual assistance from God, and if he have not the Gift of Perseverance: Which ought to be understood also of those who have been renewed by the Grace of Baptism.

The fourth is, that no Man knows how to make use of his Free-will, but by the Grace of Jesus Christ. These three Articles are confirmed by the Testimony of St. *Innocent*.

The Fifth is, that all the Good Righteous Men do ought to be referred to the Glory of God, because no Man can please him but by the Gifts of his Grace. Pope *Zosimus* and the Council of *Africa* have also delivered this Maxim.

The Sixth is, that God acts after such a manner in the Free-will of Man, that the Holy Thoughts, Pious Intentions, and all the good Motions of his Will proceed from him. Pope *Zosimus* also suggests this Principle.

The seventh Aphorism contains the Decrees of the Council of *Carthage*, which hath determined the absolute necessity of Grace to do good.

The eighth makes use of the Prayers of the Church, to shew, that all the Good that we do from the first Motion of Conversion to our final Perseverance, is the effect of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

The ninth shews, that the Exorcisms and Sufflations which the Church useth before Baptism, to drive away evil Spirits, are a clear Proof of the necessity of Grace to deliver us from the Tyranny of the Devil.

He concludes these Principles, that God is the Author of all the good Motions, good Actions, and all the Virtues by which we tend to him from the beginning of the Faith, insomuch that he goes before all our Deserts, and makes us will and do that which is good.

He adds, that the Divine Assistance doth not deprive us of our Free-will, but it delivers it, and dispells its former darkness; of crooked and perverse it makes it right, of distempered it renders it sound, and instead of Ignorance and Error it implants Wisdom and Prudence. 'For the Goodness of God is so great, saith he, That he is willing to look upon his own Gifts as our Merits, and to give an eternal Reward for those good Works, of which he is the Author. He makes us to will, and to do what pleaseth him, and he leaves not those Graces useless, which he hath wrought in us. Lastly, he declares, that in respect of the deep and perplexing difficulties, which may arise from the Questions who have been formed and have been treated on by those which have opposed the Hereticks, he dare not really condemn them, but that he thought it not necessary to stay there, because it is sufficient to acknowledge the Grace of Jesus Christ, to the Efficacy and Merit of which all the good which we do ought to be attributed, it is sufficient to hold whatsoever is conformable to the definitions of the Holy See, which he believes so true, that he scruples not to assure us, that whatever is contrary to these Rules is not Catholick and true Doctrine.'

It may be demanded what the Author of these Aphorisms means by these deep and perplexing difficulties. Some affirm, that they are Questions which relate to the Efficacy of Grace and Gratuitous Predestination. But it seems evident to me that the Author of these Aphorisms lays down the first Doctrine in many of his Articles, and supposes the other, which makes me to think that he means some other Questions, which St. *Austin* hath disputed on in his Works against the *Pelagians*; as when he asks, Wherein consisteth Original Sin? After what manner is it propagated to the Posterity of *Adam*? What is the Original of the Soul? What is the Punishment of Children which die unbaptized? In what consisteth Concupiscence? And many

other Difficulties of that Nature, which have been treated on by St. *Austin*. I do not affirm for all that, that the efficacy of Grace and gratuitous Predestination are Articles of Faith, and I believe we may truly enough own, That the Author of those Aphorisms did look upon them as implicitly contained (if I may use that Term) in the Decisions of the Popes and Councils of *Africa*. Besides, it being certain, as it is, that the Adversaries of the Doctrine of St. *Austin* did principally oppose those two Points, this Author, whose purpose it was to confute them could not but maintain that Doctrine. To be convinced of this, we need only read the Objections of *Vincent*, and the Answers of St. *Prosper*, which will discover that all the Objections of the Adversaries of St. *Austin* devolve themselves upon these two Points, and that his Scholars maintain them, as having a necessary Relation to the Doctrine of the Holy See, against the *Pelagians*.

The second Letter of St. *Cælestine*, ought to be set before this, of which we have already spoken, since it was written in the Year 428. It is directed to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vienna* and *Narbonne*. He tells them in the beginning of this Letter, that he could wish that he had cause to rejoice with them for the good Order he did observe in their Churches, rather than be obliged, as he is, to tell them the Grief that he hath, because they did things contrary to the Discipline of the Church; but being appointed by God to watch over his Church, he is obliged by his Charge to restrain all evil Practices, and order what ought to be observed; for his Pastoral Care ought to have no Bounds, but is extended to all Places, where the Name of Jesus Christ is known.

The first Practice which he reproves, is that of some Bishops, who apparelled themselves after a particular manner in wearing a Cloak and a Girdle. The thing seems in it self to be indifferent, but *Cælestine* finds the finest Arguments in the World to condemn that Usage. 'We must, saith he, make our selves remarkable for our Wisdom, Prudence, and Purity, not by our Garb and Cloathing. We must teach the Faithful, and give them a good Example by our Lives, and not impose upon them by outward Shows. We ought not to seek how to please their Eyes, but to fill their Minds with Divine Precepts.' Nevertheless he doth not blame those who clothed themselves so in the Places where such a Custom was settled, but those who through a Superstitious Affectation would change and alter the manner of Cloathing which was then in use.

The second Disorder concerns the Administration of Penance. There were among the *French* some severe Rules of the ancient Church Discipline, which obliged them to deny Absolution to Sinners, who requested it at the Point of Death: St. *Cælestine* condemns that Rigour, and maintains that they ought not to deny Absolution to Sinners at any time, when they demand it.

The third respects the Qualifications of those who may be ordained Bishops: St. *Cælestine* complains, that Lay-men were made Bishops, not having passed through the inferior Orders. Which, tho' it was contrary to the Rule, and against all Reason; yet he adds, That they were not contented to ordain Lay-men, but it happened likewise, that they did chuse such Persons for Bishops as were guilty of open

Crimes. He gives an Example of one named *Daniel*, who having been Head of a Monastery of Virgins in the *East*, was come to retire himself in *France*. All the Monastery where he lived, accused him of scandalous Crimes, and sent the Informations of them to St. *Cælestine*, who dispatched a Letter by *Fortunatus* the Deacon to the Bishop of *Arles*, in which he summoned this Man to his Council, to answer to the Heads of Accusation brought against him. but at the same time when the Pope cited him he was ordained Bishop. St. *Cælestine* discovers how much that Business troubled him: He blames him that had ordained him, and scruples not to say, That he had lost his Episcopal Dignity himself, by bestowing it upon a Person so unworthy. Lastly, he exhorts the Bishops to whom he writes, to observe the Discipline of the Church exactly, which was not unknown to them, because many among them had lived sometime at *Rome*. But to put them in Mind, he prescribes them some Laws, which he thought most necessary.

The first, that every Province should suffer it self to be governed by its Metropolitan, and that no Bishop attempt any thing out of his own Province.

The second, that when a Bishop is to be chosen, the Clergy of the same Church, whose Deserts are known, and who have already merited well, be preferred before Clergy-men, who are Strangers and unknown.

The third, that a Bishop be not imposed upon any Persons against their Consent, but that the Votes and Agreement of the Clergy, People and Magistrates be followed.

The fourth, that no Clergy-man be chosen out of another Diocess, when there is any in the same Church which may fitly be ordained.

The fifth, that none be ordained Bishop who hath been married twice, or hath married a Widow; which he ordains as a Rule not only for the future, but he requires, that the Ordinations already made, in prejudice of this Law, be looked upon as unlawful Ordinations, which may not be allowed in Force.

As to that *Daniel*, whom we mentioned above he commands, that he shall be separated from the Communion of the Bishops, until he be freed from his Accusation before him. And as to the Bishop of *Marseilles*, who was accused of being an Accessary in the Death of his Brother, he leaves the Judgment of him to the Bishops, to whom he directed that Letter.

The third Letter of St. *Cælestine*, written to the Bishops of *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, begins with a general Advertisement to all Bishops; which imports that it is not allowable for any Bishop to be ignorant of, nor do any thing contrary to the Laws of the Church; for, saith he, in what a Case shall we be, if Liberty be allowed to private Men to change the form of the Holy Decrees, according to the Will and Fancy of the People?

Upon this Ground he forbids them to Ordain such Lay-men Bishops as the People demand. He advises the Bishops, not to follow the Peoples Judgment in this, but to oppose themselves Courageously against what they desire, when 'tis contrary to the Rules. This Letter is dated, *July 19th.* in the Year 429.

This Pope writes in an earnest and close away. His Style is full of Sentences and intricate.

St. C Y R I L Patriarch of Alexandria.

St. Cyril of Alexandria. **S** Cyril Nephew (a) of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, was ordained in his Place (b), three Days after his Death, *Octob. 16. anno 412.* The Bishop of *Alexandria* had already gotten a great Authority and Power in the City, and exercised it with a great deal of Majesty: St. Cyril was so far from remitting any thing of this Authority, that he sought all Opportunities to confirm and enlarge it. He was no sooner made Bishop, but he banished the *Novatians*, and deprived their Bishop *Theopemptus* of all he had. A little time after, the *Jews* having committed some outrages upon the Christians of *Alexandria*, St. Cyril having put himself at the Head of his People, went to assault the Synagogue of the *Jews*, took them away from them, and drove them out of the City, and suffered their Estates to be plundered by the Christians. This Action much displeased *Orestes*, Governor of the City, who was already much troubled to see that the Bishop of *Alexandria*, had an Authority, which extremely lessened the Governor's. This began to put all things in confusion, and rendered them professed Enemies. They had each of them their Party, and as the People of *Alexandria* are naturally very seditious, this Division caused frequent Skirmishes in the City. One Day, as *Orestes* went in his,

Coach, he was encompassed with Five hundred Monks who sallied out of the Monasteries, to revenge the Quarrel of their Bishop; they pursued him, wounded him with the Blow of a Stone, and had slain him, if his Guards had not come to his Assistance, and the People had not stop'd their Fury. *Orestes* caused one of these Monks to be apprehended, named *Ammonius*, and examined him upon the Rack, with so great severity, that he died in the Torments. St. Cyril honoured him as a Saint, and publicly commended his Zeal and Constancy. There was at that Time in *Alexandria* a famous Heathen Philosophess, named *Hypatia*, whose Fame was spread so far, that they came from all parts to see her, and consult her. Now because *Orestes* went often to see her, it was imagined, that it was she that cherished him in the Aversion which he had towards the Bishop. Some of the Seditious, headed by a certain Reader*, set upon her, as she returned Home, dragged her through the Streets, and cut her in a Thousand Pieces. This Story is not only related by *Socrates*, but is also attested by *Damascius*, who in the Life of *Isidore*, the Philosopher, describes the Tragical Death of this Illustrious Woman, and accuseth St. Cyril to be the Author of it. But we must not believe that Historian. St. Cyril was no ways concerned in

(a) Nephew.] *Socrates*, l. 7. c. 5. *Theodoret*, l. 5. c. 35. *Isidore of Damiatia*, l. 1. ep. 310. *Alypius*, in a Letter which he wrote to him, l. 3. *Cont. p.* 788. say, that *Theophilus* was his Uncle. *Nicephorus* thinks that it was by his Father's-side, but *Facundus*, c. 2. l. 4. and *Epiphanius scholasticus hist. trip.* c. 25. say, that St. Cyril was his consobrinus, i. e. the Son of *Theophilus*'s Sister.

(b) Ordained in his Place.] After the Death of *Theophilus*, which happened *Octob. 13. 412.* There was a great Contest about the Election, some stood for *Timotheus* the Arch-deacon, others named St. Cyril: this last carried, although the Captain of the Army in *Ægypt* was against him.

her Death. They were some seditious Persons, who took the Opportunity of the Division between him and *Orestes*, to commit this cruel and bloody Murther.

The Contest with *Nestorius* was that which made *St. Cyril* so very eminent: This Bishop of *Constantinople* having delivered in his Sermons, that we ought not to give the Virgin *Mary* the Name of *Mother of God*, gave great Scandal in the Church; some of his Homilies being brought into *Egypt*, and there causing great Disturbances among the Monks. *St. Cyril* wrote a Letter to them; in which he maintained, That the Virgin *Mary* ought to be called the Mother of God. *Nestorius* knowing that *St. Cyril* had written against him, declared openly, that he looked upon him as his Enemy, and would not have Communion with him. *St. Cyril* wrote a very courteous Letter to him, yet without approbation of his Doctrine. *Nestorius* also returned him a civil Answer, but without retracting his Opinions. They also wrote two other Letters to each other, wherein they disputed of the Question in Controversy, but without coming to an agreement; yet these Writings which passed *pro* and *con* between them exasperated their Spirits. The Business was brought before *St. Celestine*. *St. Cyril* fortified with his own Authority, proceeded against *Nestorius*, and composed Twelve *Anathemas* against his Doctrine which became a fresh Subject of Contest. The Eastern Bishops disapproved them. Lastly, the Quarrel grew so great that a General Council at *Ephesus* was forced to be called, to quench the Flame. *St. Cyril* presided in it, and was much crossed in his Designs: but this is not the place to write that History, which shall be found at the end of this Tome. We must here betake our selves to *St. Cyril's* Works. They have been collected together, and printed in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris*, in 1538. in Six great Volumes in Folio, by the Care of *Johannes Aubertus*, Prebendary of *Landunum*, President of the College of the same Name, and *Regius Professor*.

The first contains Seventeen Books, of the Adoration and the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, Translated by *Antonius Agellius*, a *Theatin* Priest of *Naples*; who caused them to be printed at *Lyons* and *Rome*, and his Book called *Glaphyra*, or a curious and elegant Commentary upon the Five Books of *Moses*, which are Translated by the Jesuit *Schottus* [and printed by themselves at *Antwerp* 1618.] The 17 Books of God's Worship in Spirit, are composed in form of a Dialogue, The design of this Work is to shew, that all the Law of *Moses*, as well as the Precepts, and all the Ceremonies which it prescribes, being understood aright, relate to the adoration of God in Spirit and in Truth, which the Gospel hath discovered: To prove this Proposition, he seeks out all the Allegories in the Histories of the Old Testament. In the first Book he shews, That that which happened to *Adam*, *Abraham* and *Lot*, teaches Men how they fall into Sin, and after what manner they may raise themselves again. The Pleasure which allures them, is figured by the Woman, by the delights of *Egypt*, and by earthly good Things: The Grace of our Saviour by the calling of *Abraham*, by the Protection which God vouchsafed to *Lot*, by the care which he takes of his People; Lastly, Repentance, flight from Sin, love of Virtue by the Actions of the ancient Patriarchs. In the second and third, he makes use of several places of the Law to shew, that the Fall of Man could not be repaired but by the coming of Jesus Christ; That he alone can deliver him from the lamentable Consequents of Sin, which are Death, the tyranny of the Devil, an inclination to Evil and Concupiscence. Lastly, That he alone can redeem and justify Man. He finds Baptism and Redemption by Jesus Christ figured in many places of the Law and Prophets. In the fourth he uses the Exhortations, Promises and Threatnings laid down in the Law to incline Christians whom Jesus Christ hath redeemed, to follow their Callings, renounce Vice and embrace Virtue. In the fifth he affirms, that the Constancy and Courage of the Ancients in suffering Evils and opposing their Enemies, is a figure of the Strength and Vigour with which Christians ought to resist their Vices and irregular Passions. In the sixth he demonstrates, that the Law commands the Worship and Love of one God only, and that it hath condemned all Superstitions and Prophaneness contrary to that Worship. In the two following Books, he also prescribes Charity towards our Brethren and Love towards our Neighbour. In the ninth and tenth he finds infinite resemblances between the Tabernacle and the Church. The Priesthood of the Old Law, the Consecration of the High Priests, the Sacerdotal Vestments, the Ministry of the *Levites*, &c. furnish him with abundance of Matter for Allegories, which he treats of in the three following Books. The Prophane and Unclean Persons under the Law, who were shut out of the Tabernacle and Temple, are the figure of Sinners, which ought to be expelled out of Churches, and do teach us, that none but those that are pure may present themselves before God. Clean and Unclean Beasts are the subjects of some Allegories: These are the subject of the fourteenth and fifteenth Books. Lastly, the Oblations and Sacrifices of the Law are Types of the Spiritual Obla-

tions which we ought to offer to God; and the solemn Festivals of the *Jews* denote to us the Celestial Rewards: *St. Cyril* This is the subject of the two last Books. It is easy to judge, by what we have said, how mystical a Work this is, and how full of allegorical and unusual Explications. He must needs have an inexhaustible Fund of them to furnish out seventeen Books so long as these are, which are all-a-long carried on with continual Allegories.

His ** Glaphyra* upon the *Pentateuch* are not less full of Mystical Notions: In them he refers to Jesus Christ and his Church all that is said in the *Pentateuch*. There is not any History, Circumstance or Precept which he applies not to Jesus Christ or the New Testament. These sorts of Commentaries are of little use, for they help nothing towards the literal Explication, they teach little Morality, they prove no Doctrine, all passes into Metaphysical Considerations and abstract Comparisons, which are not proper either to convince Unbelievers, or edify the Faithful.

The long Commentary upon *Isaiah*, which is contained in the second Tome, is much more rational: *St. Cyril* therein applies himself to the literal Sense of this Prophet, and doth not digress so much from the natural Sense, to find out Jesus Christ, because the Prophecy of *Isaiah* agrees more naturally to him. This Commentary is divided into Six Parts. The same Judgment may be given upon the Commentary upon the Twelve Prophets; in which also he sets himself to the literal Explication, so that there is a great deal of difference between the Commentaries of this Father upon the Prophets, and his Writings upon the *Pentateuch*. *M. Simon* doth not think so, but having spoken of the Commentaries of this Father upon the *Pentateuch*, as a Work purely allegorical, he adds, that he passes over in silence his Commentaries upon the Prophet *Isaiah*, because this Father is very uniform in his Method. But whoever will give himself the trouble to read any Place of his Commentaries upon *Genesis* and *Exodus*, and compare them with some other Place of his Commentary upon *Isaiah* or the Minor Prophets, he will find in them a very considerable difference.

The Commentaries upon the Gospel of *St. John*, which make up the fourth Tome, do explain also the Letter and Connexion of the Gospel; but he now and then intermixes with it some Theological Questions. And because those which concern the Trinity, come in naturally in the Gospel of *St. John*, he ordinarily treats of them in proving the Divinity, Consubstantiality and Equality of the Son of God. He also speaks of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and observes that it proceeds from the Son, and takes his Nature of the Son. Sometimes he proves that the Law was Figurative, and that Salvation and Grace are passed from the Jews to the Gentiles. There is also a Chapter in it about Liberty and Man. These are the principal Points he treats of. This Commentary is very long, and divided into twelve Books. We have only some Fragments of the seventh and eighth. The fifth and sixth are not extant in this, no more than then in the preceding Editions. But *Jodocus Clitovæus*, a Doctor of *Paris*, who hath translated this Commentary of *St. Cyril*, hath composed four Books, to supply those that are wanting; which hath given occasion to some Authors to quote them as *St. Cyril's*: It is true, that they are almost all taken out of the ancient Fathers, but 'twas ** Clitovæus* that collected them, not *St. Cyril*.

The fifth Tome of *St. Cyril's* Works, hath two Parts, which make two Volumes. The first contains his *The-saurus*, and Dialogues upon the Trinity and Incarnation, and the second is made up of his Homilies and Letters.

His *The-saurus* is a Work upon the Trinity, in which he lays down Thirty five Propositions about the Divinity and Consubstantiality of the Son and Holy Spirit; which he proves exactly after the manner of the Schools, by Texts of Scripture, upheld and supported by Arguments and Syllogisms in Form, which he uses to subdue the *Arians* and *Eunomians*, and to retort upon them those Testimonies of Holy Scripture, which they commonly alledged. He propounds their Objections in the same manner, and answers them with the like Subtilties.

Georgius Trapezuntius hath published a very imperfect Version, or rather a *Latin* Abridgment of this Book; in which he hath taken out, changed and added several things, and quite inverted the Order of *St. Cyril*. But since *Vulcanius Brugensis* hath made a faithful Translation, which was published at *Basil* in 1576. There can be no doubt that this Work is *St. Cyril's*, since *Photius* had read it, and described it to be such as we have in the 136th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*.

St. Thomas often quotes a Passage in favour of the Court of *Rome*, as being taken out of the second Book of *St. Cyril's The-saurus*, which is not to be found entire in that Work: But we need only to read it, and we shall be satisfied that there was never any such, nor never could be found there. This is the famous Passage, as he cites it: *We may remain as Members in our Head, in the Apostolick Throne of the Roman Bishops, from whom we ought to request whatsoever is necessary to be believed and held, having a particular Respect*

* [Printed alone in Latin at Paris, in 1605. and in Greek and Latin, by A. Schottus, at Antwerp in 1618.]

* [But he affixed them to *St. Cyril*, as that Father's, and not made by himself.]

for him, and enquiring of him about all Things, because it be-
St. Cyril longs to him to reprove, correct, order, dispose things, loose in
of Alex- his stead, who hath founded him, and given him a fulness of
andria. Power, him alone and not any other, to whom all the Faith-
ful are obliged by Divine Right to be subject, and whom the
Princes of the World should obey. Who of all the Greek or
Latin Fathers ever spake thus? Who of them ever flattered
the Bishop of Rome at this rate? But how is it possible
for it to enter into the *Thesaurus* of St. Cyril, which is no-
thing else but a contexture of Texts and Arguments upon
the Trinity? What coherence hath our pretended Passage
with that Subject? What doth this Phrase mean, *That we*
may remain as Members in our Head, which is the Apostolick
Throne of the Roman Bishops? Did ever any Author speak
any thing like it? To whom doth he speak these Words?
And of whom are they spoken, *That we may remain Mem-*
bers, &c. Are they the Bishops of *Aegypt* that speak them?
Could it find a Place in a Theological Treatise of one Fa-
ther only?

St. Thomas is the First that cited this Passage; and we
know with how much carelessness, and with how little
Judgment he quotes the Works of the Fathers. It likewise
appears, that he had never seen St. Cyril's *Thesaurus*, be-
cause he quotes the second Book of that Work, which was
never divided into Books. Urban IV. hath alledged it after
St. Thomas, but upon the Credit of that Author. In the
Council of Florence St. Cyril's *Thesaurus* is quoted in ge-
neral, but when it was reasonable to produce this Pas-
sage, there is nothing said of it. All this makes it evi-
dent, that neither this Passage nor another like it cited
by the same St. Thomas, in his *Catena* upon St. Mat-
thew, as being in St. Cyril's *Thesaurus*, which is not found
there no more than the former, are not, nor can be this
Father's, nor are taken out of his *Thesaurus*. I wonder
that F. Labbe should openly profess himself a Defender of
these two supposititious Passages.

The Style of St. Cyril's Dialogues is not so rough and
scholastick as that of the foregoing Book. There are seven
of them upon the Trinity, and two upon the Incarnation.
He proves in these last, that Jesus Christ is one only Per-
son, made up of the Humane and Divine Nature. At the
end of this Volume we find some clear Resolutions upon
the Mystery of the Incarnation, where he answers the Ob-
jections which were propounded to him. Photinus speaks of
this little Book, in the One hundred sixty and ninth Vo-
lume of his *Bibliotheca*.

To this Treatise may be joyned, a Discourse of the Or-
thodox Faith to Theodosius; the Treatise addressed to the
Empresses, the Sermon which is annexed to it, which are
in the second Part of this Tome: In them he proves, that
Jesus Christ is God, and that all the Properties of the Di-
vine Nature may be attributed to him. To prove this he
makes use of a great number of Texts of Holy Scripture,
and the Testimonies of some Fathers. These Treatises are
also in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus.

Paschal Homilies are not peculiar to St. Cyril. It was
the Custom of the Bishops of Alexandria, whom the Coun-
cil of Nice had particularly charged with the care of pub-
lishing Easter-day; I say, it was the Custom to declare it
in Alexandria by a solemn Discourse. Theophilus, St. Cyril's
Predecessor had made that Usage very famous, and St. Cyril
kept it up with a great deal of Splendor, so that so long as
he was Bishop, there passed not a Year but there was a
Sermon, at the end of which he gave notice of the begin-
ning of Lent, and of Easter-day. Of the Thirty which he
made we have Twenty nine. The ordinary Subject of these
Sermons was the Use and Advantage of Fasting, and the
way how Christians ought to fit themselves for the cele-
bration of Festivals. In them also he sometimes exhorts the
Faithful to joyn Alms-giving and Charity, with Fasting.
He speaks in some of them of Double-mindedness. In many
of them he treats of the Trinity and Incarnation, against
the Arians and Nestorians. He sometimes speaks also a-
gainst the Jews and Idolaters. These Sermons are flat and
tedious; they are nothing else, almost, but a contexture of
Texts of Scripture, which he mingles with mystical Expi-
cations.

There are also here some other Discourses of this Father,
which are for the most part against the Error of Nestorius.
The first and second are entirely upon that Subject. They
were preached at Ephesus. The third is a small Discourse,
which he made after the Sermon of Paul, Bishop of Emesa,
about the time that the Oriental and Egyptian Bishops
were reconciled to each other. The fourth and fifth are
two Sermons, preached at Ephesus against Nestorius. The
sixth is against John Bishop of Antioch. The seventh is a
Discourse, which he delivered also at Ephesus, when he
was imprisoned. The eighth is upon the Transfiguration.
The ninth is upon the Lord's Supper: In this he speaks very
strongly for the Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus
Christ in the Eucharist, as well as in his Commentary up-
on St. John's Gospel. The tenth is a Discourse in praise of
the Virgin Mary, preached at Ephesus. The eleventh upon
the Feast of the Purification. The twelfth upon the Feast
of Tabernacles. The last is upon the Day of Judgment.

These Sermons are written in a close Style, and more ten-
tious than the former. They are full of Points, Allusi-
ons and Jinglys of Words. There is also a short one up-
on the Incarnation, which is extant in Latin only.

Almost all his Letters concern the History of the Coun-
cil of Ephesus, and the Disputes which St. Cyril had with
John Bishop of Antioch, and the other Eastern Bishops; for
which Reason it is that we intend to speak of them, when
we come to treat of the Council of Ephesus, where they
are inserted. Nevertheless, there are five or six at the end,
which relate to other Matters. The first is the Letter of
Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople to St. Cyril; wherein he
exhorts him to put the Name of St. Chrysostome into the
Diptychs, among the Bishops that died in the Communion
of the Church, as he had done by the Example of Alexan-
der Bishop of Antioch. St. Cyril returns him this Answer, that
he disapproved his Action, being contrary to the Decrees
of the Council of Nice, and that John, Bishop of Constanz-
tinople, having been degraded in his life-time, by the Judg-
ment of the Church, he could not put him among the Bi-
shops in the Communion of the Church, after his Death:
That what he had done had given great Offence in all the
Provinces of Egypt. He takes notice, that they were counted
but Six, viz. Egypt, Augustamnium, Arcadia, Thebais,
Libya and Pentapolis. The third of the Letters, of which
we are speaking, is written to Domnus Bishop of Antioch.
Athanasius, Bishop of a City belonging to the Patriarchate
of Antioch, although far distant from that City, being of-
fended by some of his Clergy, who would expel the Stew-
ards out of his Church, against his Consent, made his
Complaint to a Synod held in Constantinople, where St.
Cyril was: But since Athanasius was not subject to the
Jurisdiction of the Bishops of that Synod, they would not
judge of his Cause. But St. Cyril wrote in his behalf to
Domnus, relating to him the Trouble which this Bishop un-
justly suffered, and desiring him to constitute Judges, who
might summon the Stewards accused, and their Accusers,
and condemn the Guilty. He tells him, that the Metropo-
litan was mistrusted by the Bishop, and that the City, of
which he was Bishop, was far from Antioch. These Cir-
cumstances are remarkable, for otherwise the Judgment of
it did in the first Place appertain to the Metropolitan, or if
he were excepted against, to the Patriarch. In this Example
we see, 1. The Authority of Patriarchs over their Patriar-
chate. 2. The Antiquity of making such Persons Judges as
were near to the Accused and Accusers. 3. How exactly
the Bishops of one Patriarchate kept themselves within the
Bounds of their own Jurisdiction, without meddling in o-
thers. 4. That this Caution did not hinder them from
helping Persons afflicted and persecuted, which fled to them,
but yet only by Intercessions for them, without attempting
any thing contrary to the Laws of the Church.

The next Letter, written to the same Domnus, furnishes
us with another Proof of this Episcopal Charity. Another
Bishop, belonging to the Patriarchate of Antioch, named Pe-
trus, was deprived of the Government of his Church, and
likewise plundered of all his Goods. This Bishop, who was
very aged, complained heavily of this Condemnation, and
maintained that he was unjustly thrust out of all: Domnus
writing to St. Cyril and Proclus, gave this Prelate the Name
of a Religious and Holy Bishop. St. Cyril takes occasion from
hence to write in his Favour, and shew Domnus, that if
this Bishop deserved to be deprived of his Church, he also
deserved to lose the Name of Bishop. He then admonishes
Domnus to pacify the Complaints of this Bishop, and to suf-
fer him to appear before him and his Suffragan-Bishops, to
be judged there according to the Custom. He desires him
also to give him the Liberty to reject those Bishops, which
may be suspected by him; for, saith he, although we do
not believe that any Bishop is an Enemy to his Brethren;
nevertheless, to remove all Pretences of Complaint against
the Sentence, which shall be given, it is convenient, that
those whom he suspects should withdraw themselves. As to
the Money that had been taken from him, St. Cyril thinks,
it ought to be restored to him, for two Reasons: 1. Because
he ought not to be deprived after such a manner. 2. Be-
cause it is an Abuse to demand an Account, as they do, of
the Revenues of the Church, of the Bishops: It is suffi-
cient that they cannot dispose either of the precious Vessels
or Lands. The management of the Revenues ought whol-
ly to be trusted to them. Lastly, whereas it might be said,
that this Bishop had given a Writing, in which he had re-
nounced his Claim to his Church, and so was not to be re-
ceived again; St. Cyril answers, that he did not give it vo-
luntarily, but it was extorted from him by Force and Threat-
nings; and since it was so, such Acts of Abjuration ought
not to be regarded, nor ought Bishops to be suffered to give
them; for if they are worthy of their Ministry, they ought
not to renounce it; if they are not worthy, they ought not
to be deprived by a Renunciation, but by a Canonical Sen-
tence.

The last Letter contains a Prescription, directed to the
Bishops of Libya and Pentapolis, to prevent a Disorder,
which the Monks of Thebais complained of. Some Per-
sons, newly married, had a desire to be ordained Clerks or
Priests

St. Cyril
of Alex-
andria.

St. Cyril
of Alex-
andria.

Priests, and the Bishops very easily admitted them, without obliging them to renounce their Marriage: Others who had been expelled out of the Monasteries for their Debaucheries, found means also to get themselves ordained, and then got into Monasteries again, where they would celebrate the Holy Sacraments, and perform the sacred Functions of the Ministry; which occasioned so great Scandal, that those that knew them would neither be present, nor communicate at their Ministration. St. Cyril, to put a Stop to this Scandal, ordered, that every Bishop, before he ordained a Clergyman, shall inform himself of his Life, if he be married or not, how long since, and how long he hath departed from his Wife; whether he hath not been driven out by his Bishop, or expelled some Monastery; and that he shall not ordain him, unless he find his Conversation unblameable; for, saith he, this is the only way of discharging our Duty, and preventing that the Holy and Venerable Mysteries be not profaned by the Impurities of the Ministers. He adds a Rule concerning those, who being separated from the Church, or Catechumens, fall into a mortal Disease; and orders, that according to the Custom they should be allowed the Communion and Baptism. This Tome concludes with a Letter of St. Cyril to the Bishops of Africa, when he sent them an Authentick Copy of the Canons of the Council of Nice.

The sixth Tome begins with the five Books against Nestorius; in which he confutes what Nestorius had written against the Name of the Mother of God, given to the Virgin, and against other such like Expressions. He recites Nestorius's Words, and in answering to them labours to convince him of Error and Imposture. Of Error, because he divides Jesus Christ into two, and denies the Union of the two Natures in one Person only: Of Imposture, in attributing to the Orthodox such Opinions as they never thought on, accusing them of Teaching, that the two Natures in Jesus Christ are mingled and confounded, and that the Divinity is made subject to Humane Infirmities. He maintains, that the two Natures remain in Jesus Christ without Mixture or Confusion, but are united in so strict an Union, that what only agrees to God may be predicated of Man, and what agrees only to Man, of God; altho' the Properties of the Humanity may not be attributed to the Godhead, nor the Attributes of the Godhead to the Manhood.

Next to this Treatise follow the Writings made by St. Cyril for the Defence of his twelve Anathemas. The first contains an Explication of the twelve Propositions; in which he rejects the bad Sense that might be put on them. The second is an Apology for the Anathema against the Objections of the Oriental Bishops. The third is an Answer to what Theodoret had written against these Anathemas. Lastly, the Apology of St. Cyril to Theodosius is put here; but we shall speak more largely elsewhere of these Treatises.

The Books against the Emperor Julian ought to have gone before these, we have spoken of, because 'tis one of St. Cyril's Principal Works: It is dedicated to Theodosius the Emperor, and divided into ten Books.

In the first he proves, by the Testimony of the Ancient Historians, and most learned Philosophers, that the Jews Religion is much more ancient and rational than the Greeks: That the History of Moses is true, and that the Greeks have taken all their best Expressions out of the Jews Books. In the next Place he undertakes to confute the Books of Julian closely, and answers all his Objections. He recites them at length, and then answers them. It seems he confuted only the first Book, in which that Apostate assaults the Christian Religion in general. He begins with a Comparison of the Jewish and Heathen Religion, and of the Books of Moses and Plato, and extols his Philosophy above the Laws of that Prophet. Next, he opposes the Christian Religion, and propounds some trivial Objections against the History of the Gospel. Lastly, he makes use of the Jewish Religion and Books to overthrow the Christian Religion. The Objections which he brings are weak and idle, but he makes them look well by the fine and pleasant Management of them. St. Cyril discovers the weakness of them, and disperses them entirely. He also often opposes the Heathen Religion, and establishes the Christian. This Work is written with a great deal of Elegancy, but it is nothing so finely written as Julian's altho' it be very learned and solid.

The Treatise against the Anthropomorphites, is written against those silly and dull-witted Monks; who asserted, That these Words of Genesis, Let us make Man in our image, and in our likeness, ought to be understood of Man's Body, because they did not conceive that there was any Spiritual Essence, but imagined that God himself was Corporeal. St. Cyril wrote to Coelofyrus, in the Letter which is set before the Body of this Work, to stop the Course of this impertinent Doctrine, and to forbid the Monks to argue about a Matter so far above the reach of their Understandings. He reproves other Monks also, who thought that the Eucharist had no vertue to sanctify, when it was kept from One Day to Another. He condemns also the Monks, who did not follow their Labours, pretending that they gave themselves wholly to Prayers, and so used Pretence of Piety to defend

their Sloth and Idleness: He asks them, whether they are more perfect than the Apostles? And whether they would enjoy a more Happy Condition than they? He tells them, that the Church doth not receive them, who live as they do; that it is good for Solitaries to pray continually, but that ought not to hinder their Labours, that they be not chargeable to others. Lastly, He admonishes Coelofyrus not to suffer the Meletians to receive the Sacrament among the Orthodox, if they have not abandoned their own Sect, to unite themselves with the Church, and have not given evident Signs of their Conversion.

St. Cyril commands Coelofyrus to publish these Rules in the Monasteries of Mount Calamon, where some Monks were infected with these Errors. At the same time he sent him a Treatise, in which he answers the Objections which these Monks propounded, and solves the Difficulties which they had cunningly framed: Nevertheless he observes, that it is hard to resolve these kinds of abstruse and subtle Questions, and that all that can be done is only to bring such Conjectures as may in some measure satisfy.

The First is concerning the Breath of Life, which God breathed into Adam, after he had formed him: Is it his Soul, or a Breath different from the Soul? Is it a Part of the Divine Essence, or some created Being? St. Cyril maintains, that 'tis not the Soul of Man, nor any Creature, but it is the Holy Spirit it self which is given Man for his Sanctification. This Opinion is not very probable.

It is demanded in the second Question, How Man was created in the Image of God? St. Cyril answers, by the Holy Spirit, for by Sin he hath lost that Similitude, and hath recovered it again by Jesus Christ.

The third is, whether the Angels were made in the Image of God? St. Cyril affirms it.

In the fourth, it is enquired, whether there be any difference between the Image and the likeness of God, and he saith that there is none.

The fifth is upon an abstracted Conceit, viz. Whether Man is the Image of God, or the Image of the Image of God the Father, that is to say, of the Word. He answers, that he is the Image of the three Persons in the Godhead.

In the sixth it is demanded, whether the Souls of the Blessed receive any perfection? St. Cyril answers, that it will not have a more perfect Nature, but it will act more perfectly, because it will be delivered from Concupiscence, Ignorance and Vice, and be filled with the Holy Spirit.

The seventh Question is, why all Men are subject to Death, and Sin, upon the account of Adam's Transgression and why all those who are purified and sanctified by Jesus Christ, do not communicate the Fruits of their Sanctification to their Posterity? St. Cyril answers that we are not punished as having sinned with the First Man, but because he being become Mortal by his Sin, hath transferred that Curse to all his Posterity: That Jesus Christ had redeemed and delivered us all from Death, but that no Man though he be Sanctified, can communicate that Sanctification to his Posterity, because it comes from Jesus Christ, who only sanctifies us. 'Tis by Jesus Christ that every Man receives Remission of his Sins, and 'tis by him that all Men in general are delivered from Death.

In the eighth Question it is enquired, Whether, when Ezekiel saw the Bones of the dead to be joyned together, and resume the Form of a Man; Whether it was, I say, a real Resurrection, or only a Figure of the general Resurrection? St. Cyril is for the latter.

The ninth is, whether Jesus Christ added any thing to the Flesh of Man when he was united to it? St. Cyril answers, that Jesus Christ, by his Incarnation, hath granted several Graces to the Humane Nature; that he hath restored to Man, the Image and Likeness of God, which was defaced by Sin; That he hath revived the Divine Characters of Justice and Holiness, and perfected them; that Adam had Ability and Freedom to do good, but he was defective in his Actions and the Effect, whereas those who live in Jesus Christ are Just and Holy in the Effect, and in their Actions.

In the tenth he teacheth, that by the assistance of God we may repulse and weaken the motions of Concupiscence, but cannot root them out in this Life.

In the eleventh he maintains, that the Holy Sacrament must not be celebrated but in the Churches of the Orthodox, and they that do otherwise break the Law.

The twelfth Question is very Metaphysical; It is demanded, whether God can make that which hath happened not to be? Whether he can make a common Harlot to have been always a Virgin? St. Cyril says, that we must not set Bounds to the Power of God, but neither may we attribute to him a Power of doing things Absurd and Contradictory, and that it is good not to move such sort of Questions: That, in Sum, God cannot make that which hath happened, not to have happened; or a common Prostitute to have always been a Virgin, because he cannot make a Lye Truth; yet it is not a sign of his Impotency, but an effect of his Perfection.

The thirteenth is against those who dare affirm, that Jesus Christ as God, was ignorant of the Day of Judgment.

[5] X x x x

Saint

St. Cyril
of Alex-
andria.

St. Cyril proves, that that cannot be, because under this Title he hath created all things; he is the Council and Will of the Father, and knows all his Purposes: From hence he concludes, that when it is said, that he knoweth not the Day of Judgment, it ought to be understood of Jesus Christ, considered as Man, because under that Title he is subject to all the imperfections of humane Nature, Sin only excepted.

The fourteenth, how this Sentence ought to be understood; *The Word was made Flesh*: By the Word *Flesh*, St. Cyril, says, the Scripture understands the whole Man; as when it said in the Prophets, *That God pours out his Spirit upon all Flesh; and all Flesh shall see the Salvation of God.*

The fifteenth is against those who assert, that every Man receives his Reward immediately after his Death, before the Resurrection; and to prove it they make use of the Parable of *Lazarus* and *Dives*. St. Cyril maintains, that the Judgment ought not to be passed till after the Resurrection; and that it is absurd to say, that the Good or Sinners have received their Reward already: And that what is said of *Lazarus* and *Dives*, is a Parable which signifies only, that Merciless Rich Men shall one Day be grievously punished. This doth not at all agree with the particular Judgment and Blessedness of Souls after Death.

The sixteenth, how the Angels, if they have no Bodies, can have any Carnal Knowledge of Women, as it is said in *Genesis*? St. Cyril answers, that they are not Angels, which are spoken of in *Genesis*, but the Posterity of *Evas*, who had Commerce with the Daughters of *Cain*: And for this Reason it is that four Interpreters, who have translated this Place after the LXX. have rendred it, *Sons of the Mighty, or Princes*, and not *Sons of God*; That, in Sum, it is a great Weakness to think, that the Angels can have Children.

The seventeenth and eighteenth are against those who affirm, that the Person of the Son being made Man, and descending to the Earth, was not united to his Father, nor did inhabit in Heaven.

In the nineteenth St. Cyril explains his Opinion about the Incarnation, and holds, that it may be said, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ did miracles, because the Word, and Man being united in the same Person, and in the Son only, both the Divine and Humane Operations may be attributed to him.

In the twentieth it is said, That Jesus Christ is ascended into Heaven, with the Flesh, which was united to him; but for all that, it cannot be said that the Body of Jesus Christ was mingled with the Trinity.

In the twenty first he treats also of this nice Question, In what Sense the Flesh of Jesus Christ may be said to do Miracles? and explains it by this Example; although it be the Soul that moves the Body in all its Operations, yet we call it the Action of the Body, as well as of the Soul. The same may be said of the Miracles which the Word doth by his Humanity.

In the twenty second he says, that the Humane Nature in Jesus Christ was subject to Sin certainly, because he came to deliver Man from Sin.

The Twenty third Question is this, why the Word was not made Man at the beginning of the World? Why said he till these last Times? St. Cyril answers, that he acted the Part of a good Physician, who does not undertake the Cure of a Disease in its beginning, but waits till the Disease plainly discovers it self. So did the Word wait till the Sins and Wickedness of Man had fully manifested themselves.

The twenty fourth imports, that the Head of the Infernal Dragon shall not be entirely broken till after the Resurrection. This puts me in mind of the Title of a very fantastical Book, *A Treatise of the broken Head of the Infernal Dragon*. I believe the Author had not read this Place of St. Cyril.

The twenty fifth, is a very obscure Comparison, between the Flame that appeared to *Moses* in the Flaming-Bush, and the Mystery of the Incarnation.

In the twenty seventh he saith, that *Zacharias* was slain between the Temple and the Altar, for suffering *Mary* to enter into that Place, where the Virgins only had a Right to enter.

The last explains, in a few Words, the Causes of the Joy, which the Angels shewed at the Birth of Jesus Christ.

The following Treatise about the Holy Trinity, is written by an Author more modern than St. Cyril, altho' it comes very near his Doctrine, and his Method, and Principles, but it is easy to discern that he lived after the

Rise of the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, for he thoroughly discusses this Question; whether there are two Wills and St. Cyril two Operations in Jesus Christ. He confutes those that hold the contrary, and explains the Sense of the Ancients, who taught, that there was in Jesus Christ but one Incarnate Nature, and one Operation as God-man.

The Collection of Expositions upon the Old Testament is not wholly taken out of the Works of St. Cyril only, but also of St. *Maximus*, and several other Interpreters: So that it must not be looked upon as St. Cyril's Work.

Balthazar Corderius published 19 Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, printed at *Antwerp* (in *Greek* and *Latin*) in 1648. [Octavo] which bear the name of St. Cyril*. As for the Moral Fables put out by the same Author in 1631. under the name of St. Cyril, they belong to a *Latin* Author. The 16 Books upon *Leviticus*, which were heretofore among St. Cyril's Works, are *Origen's*. It is nothing to the purpose, that some have doubted, whether the Treatise of the Adoration in Spirit be St. Cyril's, since it is his Style, and *Photius* attributes it to him. Nor is there greater reason to doubt of the Letter to *Celsus*, nor of the other Works of which we have spoken.

He made Commentaries upon all the Prophets; but they were never yet printed: His Commentary upon St. *Matthew*, cited several times in the 6th. and 7th. General Councils, and that upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, cited by *Theodoret*, are lost. If we may believe *Cassiodorus*, he made Commentaries upon all the Books of Holy Scripture. *Gennadius* mentions two Treatises of St. Cyril's, which we have not, viz. *A Treatise of the Defect of the Synagogue*; And a *Book of Faith against the Hereticks*. The same Author assures us, that he composed divers Treatises upon various Subjects, and a great number of Homilies, which the *Grecian* Bishops got by Heart to preach to the People. So that tho' the Works of St. Cyril, which we now have, make up at present 7 great Volumes, yet we should have several others, if we had all that he hath written. It is very wonderful, that a Bishop of so great a See as that of *Alexandria*, busied with so many Affairs, and engaged in so great a Contest as that with the *Eastern* Bishops was, should have time to compose so many Works. But St. Cyril was wonderfully ready at Composing, and applied himself to a way of Writing, which it is easy to furnish out, for either he copied out Texts of Scripture, or made large Discourses, or expounded Allegories: It is easy to make great Works of this Nature in a little time, especially, when we bestow no time to polish our Discourse nor keep it within certain bounds, and we resign up our Hand and Pen entirely to all the Notions that come into our Heads. After this manner did St. Cyril write, and he was so much accustomed to this way of Writing, that he had, as *Photius* observes a Style altogether particular, which seemed contrary to others, and in which he extremely neglected the exactness and cadency of his Expressions. He had a Subtle and Metaphysical Genius, and readily spoke the finest Logick. His Wit was very proper for subtle Questions, which he had to do with upon the Mystery of the Incarnation. He held the See of *Alexandria* 32 years, and died in 444.

There were divers Collections of St. Cyril's Works in *Latin*, before the Edition in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris*, Anno 1638. The first was at *Basil* in [1546. in 4 Tom. by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, and again, in 1566. The second, at *Paris* [by *Gentian Harvett* in 2 Tom.] in 1573. The third, by *Soaninus* at *Paris* in 1605, which is the largest. There are several of his Treatises printed by themselves in *Greek* and *Latin*, as the Treatise of the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, published by *Agellius*, and printed at *Rome* in 1588. That of the Orthodox Faith in *Greek* and *Latin*, by *Beza* in 1570. His Writing against the *Anthropomorphites*, put out by *Vulcanius*, and printed at *Amsterdam* in 1605. The Commentaries upon the 12 small Prophets [in *Greek* and *Latin*] at *Ingolstadt* in 1607. The Treatise against *Nestorius* in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Agellius* at *Rome* in 1607. The Books against *Julian* in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Borbonius* at *Paris*, in 1630. Some small Tracts in *Greek* by *Meursius*. His Paschal Homilies by *Andrew Salmatias* at *Antwerp*, in 1618. The Book of the Trinity in *Greek* and *Latin*, by *Wegelinus* at *Ausburg* in 1604, and 1608. And several Letters and Treatises among the Councils.

There is a Lexicon, and a Treatise of Animals, which bears the Name of St. Cyril, but it is certainly some other Cyril, not the Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

MARIUS MERCATOR.

Marius
Mercator.

This Author remained a long time in obscurity. The ancient and modern Composers of *Bibliothecas* have spoken nothing of him. His Works have been but lately recovered. He began to

write in St. *Austin's* Life-time, who assures us in his 193d. Letter, written in 418. that *M. Mercator*, to whom it is directed, had made a Treatise against the New Hereticks; that is to say, against the *Pelagians*. St. *Austin* speaks of him,

him, as a Man of Worth and Learning. It is probable he was an *Italian* (a), and he seems to have been but a meer Layman (b).

This Man was one of the most zealous Adversaries of the Hereticks of his time, and especially of the *Pelagians*, whom he pursued vigorously, publishing Memoirs against them, and Collections of Pieces to discover their Errors, and bring them to Condemnation.

The first Work which he composed, was a Discourse against the Opinions of the *Pelagians*, in which he hath collected several Texts of Holy Scripture, as St. *Austin* tells us in his 193d. Letter. We have not this Work unless it be the *Hypognosticon*, which bears the name of St. *Austin*, as we have guessed in the first part of this Tome of our *Bibliotheca*, p. 256.

The second is an Historical Commentary against *Cælestius*, which he first made in *Greek* to publish at *Constantinople*, which he presented to the Emperor *Theodosius*, Anno 429. (c), that he might inform the *Eastern* Christians of the Condemnation of *Cælestius* and his Followers. The Title of this Commentary discovers the time, occasion, and the effect of it. Thus it is expressed; *A Copy of the Commentary, which Mercator published in Greek against Cælestius, and which he not only gave to the Church at Constantinople, and disposed to several Persons of Piety, but also presented to the Emperor Theodosius in the Consulship of Florentius and Dionysius, and which he afterwards translated out of the Greek into Latin; which Commentary having discovered the Errors of Cælestius, was the Cause that Julian, and his Companions who defended them was banished from Constantinople as well as Cælestius, by the Emperor's Edict, and afterward condemned in the Council of Ephesus, by the Judgment of 275 Bishops.*

This Commentary is an Abridgment of the History of the Condemnation of the Heresie of *Pelagius*. *Mercator* tells us therein, that *Cælestius*, a Scholar of *Pelagius*, being come from *Rome*, where he had been almost 20 years, went to *Carthage*, where he was accused by *Paulinus* a Deacon of St. *Ambrose*, of several Errors, contained in 6 Articles which he transcribes; That the Bishops of *Africk* had condemned them in a Synod, and had enjoined *Cælestius* to Anathematize them; that he thought it convenient to appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*, but neglecting to prosecute the Appeal, he came to *Ephesus*, where he procured himself to be ordain'd Priest; That from thence he passed to *Constantinople* in the time of *Atticus*, but being known, he was driven from thence by that Bishop, who wrote circular Letters against him; That *Cælestine* seeing himself thus thrust out went to Pope *Zosimus*, and pretending to condemn the Articles which were charged upon him, he obtained Letters in his favour directed to the Bishops of *Africk*. But these Bishops having given *Zosimus* information in writing of all that had passed, *Cælestius*, who would not perform what he had promised, durst not appear before *Zosimus* again, and so withdrew himself from *Rome*. Whereupon *Zosimus* condemned him by a long Writing, which contained the Articles of *Cælestius*, and all the Story of his Condemnation. *Mercator* next speaks of the Errors of *Pelagius*, Master of *Cælestius*, which he relates in the very words of *Pelagius* taken out of his Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles. He adds, That these Errors having been condemned by *Zosimus's* Letter sent into all parts, and confirmed by the Consent and Subscriptions of the Bishops of other Countries. *Julian* and his Associates who would not sign them were banished out of *Italy* by the Imperial Law and deposed by the Decrees of the Synods, and that some of them having acknowledged their Error were received and confirmed by the Holy See.

Mercator adds, that *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* had been already condemned by *Innocent Zosimus's* Predecessor; and to prove it he goes back to the Original of the cause of the *Pelagians*. *Pelagius*, saith he, retired into *Palestine* after the taking of *Rome*. His Writings falling into the Hands of some Bishops, they found many things in them contrary to the Catholick Faith, and they sent them into *Africa*, where they were read and examined in three Councils, who wrote them to the Holy See. The Bishop of *Rome* condemned these Books, and excommunicated *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*. *Pelagius* was also accused to a Synod held at *Jerusalem*, but he escaped that Condemnation which he deserved by deceiving the Bishops with his Subtleties and

(a) *AN* [Italian.] *F. Garner* was of that Opinion, but the conjecture upon which it was grounded, was weak. *F. Gerberon* thought he was an *African*, and *M. Baluzius* was of this Mind. The whole Letter of St. *Austin*, published by the *Benedictines*, clears the Matter. For it appears by the beginning that *M. Mercator* lived at *Rome* with St. *Sixtus* and *Cælestine*, to whom St. *Austin* wrote at the same time the two foregoing Letters, which he sent with this last by the same Bearer.

(b) *A meer Lay-man.* He was neither Bishop nor Priest when St. *Austin* writ this Letter to him, for he gives him no Title of Honour, tho' he calls him his Son. Nor was he any thing more when he presented his Memoir to the Council of

Shifts. He was condemned in a second Synod, wherein *Theodorus* Bishop of *Antioch* was President, as the Letter written in the Name of this Bishop; and *Præsius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, convinces us. He then recites the particular Errors of *Pelagius* condemned in this Synod, and ends his Commentary with an earnest request to *Julian* and his Adherents to condemn *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, who have been convicted of so many Errors.

The third Work of *M. Mercator* is another Commentary against the same Hereticks written after the Death of St. *Austin*. In it he describes the Original of the Error of *Pelagius*, of which he makes some *Syrians*, and principally *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, the Authors. He adds, that *Rufinus* who was a *Syrian* also, who brought it first to *Rome*, not daring to publish it there, taught it to *Pelagius* * an *English* Monk, who inserted it in his Commentaries upon St. *Paul*. That *Cælestius*, a Person of Quality and Wit, but who was born an Eunuch, had joyned himself to *Pelagius*, and had comprized his Doctrine in 6 Articles, which he dispersed among the People. That altho' his Errors had been condemned, *Julian* had undertaken to defend them in large Books, to which St. *Austin* had opposed long and effectual Answers. That after he had read these Works, he had also made some short Observations upon the Writings of *Julian*, which he had collected and made publick to satisfy the desire of *Pientius* the Priest. He chiefly opposes 4 Errors of *Julian* in it. 1. That Concupiscence is not the consequent or effect of the Sin of the first Man, but it is natural to Man. 2. That Death entred into the World by the Sin of *Adam*, but that it passed upon other Men only, because they imitate the Sin of *Adam*. 3. That the Sin of the first Man hath not descended to his Posterity. 4. That Baptism pardons the Sins of those who have them; and as for Infants that have none, it perfects their Natures by the Gifts of Grace. *M. Mercator* recites the Passages of *Julian*, where he expressly lays down these Propositions; and then confutes them by close Notes, in which he mixes sharp and biting Expressions against *Julian*. He passes not over any suspicious Sentence; and whereas he uses the word *Innovation* for *Renovation*, he blames him for it, tho' St. *Austin* hath made use of both. He observes, that the Orthodox do not assert, that Sin is natural to Man, but that Original Sin cleaves to the corrupted Nature of Man. He shews him, that he contradicts himself in saying, that Death passed upon all for *Adam's* Sin, and yet it hath Dominion over them only who imitate his Transgression. Lastly, he proves by all that is said in Holy Scripture concerning the Redemption of Jesus Christ and of Baptism, that it necessarily supposes, that all Men, yea, Infants themselves, are in Sin, before they are renewed and regenerated by that Sacrament.

M. Mercator is not contented to oppose the Authority of the Church against *Julian* and the *Pelagians*, but he also brings the Testimony of *Nestorius* against them, who received them so well, and wrote in their favour to Pope *Cælestine*, and sent a consolatory Letter to *Cælestius*. Next he produces with the 3 Letters of *Nestorius* written for them, the Extracts of 4 Sermons preached by that Bishop in the presence of the *Pelagians*, wherein he affirmed, 1. That the fall of *Adam* hath been the cause of all the Miseries to which the nature of Man is subject, and of the bondage by which it hath been brought under the Tyranny of Satan. 2. That Jesus Christ is come to redeem Man from his Sins, to blot out the Hand-writing that was against him, and set him at liberty. 3. That it is by the Sacrament of Baptism that he works these things, and that Catechumens are always subject to the Curse of Sin, till they have received this Sacrament. The third of these Sermons is in *Greek*, among the Works of St. *Chrysostome*, of *Savil's* Edition, Tom. 7. And *F. Garner* hath caused it to be printed with the Extracts of *Marius Mercator*.

But because *Julian* might brag, that *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* Bishop of *Cilicia* was for him, *M. Mercator* undertakes to shew, that this Bishop had Heretical Opinions about the Incarnation. And to prove it, he translates a Creed attributed to *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*; and at the end annexes an Observation, shewing, that the Doctrine contained in that Creed is Heretical; and that it supposed, that Jesus Christ is made of two Natures, and not of two Natures united in one and the same Person. He confutes that Error, and proves the Doctrine of the Church by Texts of Holy Scripture.

Lastly, in his Book to the Priest *Plantius*, he speaks as a Man inferior to him to whom he wrote. *Tu quoque, venerande Presbyter Pienti, iussisti, parvi imperaris.* Thou also, O Reverend Priest *Pientius*, hast commanded, and I have obeyed.

(c) *Anno 429.* All this is taken from the Title of this Memoir. Nevertheless there is a doubt concerning the year, for it is not manifest whether it were in 429. that this Memoir was presented or translated. But he speaks in the Body of the Work of *Theodoret* Bishop of *Antioch*, who died in 428. as a Bishop deceased; and in the Title it self he speaks of the condemnation of *Cælestius* in the Council of *Ephesus*, as a thing done; which proves plainly, that he translated it in the year 431.

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He

Marius Mercator.

Commonitorium suum pro nomine Cælestii Dr. Cave.

Marius Mercator.

* A Welsh Man.]

Marius Mercator. He demonstrates also in another Writing the agreement there is between the Error of *Nestorius* and of *Paulus Samosatenus*.

And for the more full Conviction of *Nestorius* and his Followers, he rehearses long Extracts of *Nestorius's* five Sermons, a Letter to St. *Cyril*, and the Extracts of his Books, and he opposes to them the two Letters of St. *Cyril* to *Nestorius*, and a third Letter of the same Person to the Clergy of *Constantinople*.

He also examines the Aphorisms of *Nestorius* opposed to St. *Cyril's*, and when he hath confuted them in order, he delivers briefly the Faith of the Church concerning the Incarnation, and discovers the different Errors of those that have opposed it. For the confirmation of what he was about to propound, he produces out of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, whatsoever is most direct and convincing against the Heresie of *Nestorius*. He joyns to this a Translation of St. *Cyril's* two Apologies made for the defence of his Anathema against the Orientals. He endeavours to render the Doctrine and Person of *Theodoret* odious, by reciting the Extracts of his Treatises and Letters. He treats him as an Heretick and a wicked Man, altho' he owns, that he did at last approve of St. *Cyril's* Doctrine, tho' he would not condemn *Nestorius*. He relates a Fragment of the Council against *Domnus* of *Antioch*, where *Theodoret* is accused to have spoken against the Memory of St. *Cyril*, saying, that the *Aegyptians* Heresie was buried with him. And from hence he concludes, that *Theodoret* ought to be condemned as well as *Theodorus* and *Nestorius*. And to convince *Theodorus* of Error and Heresie, he recites some Fragments of his Books against St. *Austin*, to which he joyns some Extracts out of his Master *Diodorus*. He accuseth *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* to have published this Blasphemy; I do not envy Jesus Christ his Divinity, because I can become so as well as he, for he is of the same nature with myself. He quotes a Passage taken out of a Sermon of this Author, which contains nothing like it. He adds to all this, an Extract of a Sermon of *Euthemius* Bishop of *Tyana*, which he affirms to have been of the same Judgment with *Nestorius*, and concludes this Collection with a Reflection against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, which are two contrary Heresies equally rejected by the Orthodox. He hath brought against both of them some Testimonies taken out of the Sermons of *John* Bishop of *Tomi*, a Province of *Serbia*, but they are not to be found at present in the Collection of *Mercator's* Works. This Conclusion discovers, that this Collection of Pieces was made after the Heresie of the *Eutychians* was known by that Name, i. e. after the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held in 451. Nevertheless the reproachful manner, after which he speaks of *Theodoret*, who was received in that Council would make us believe, that this Collection was compiled some time before, but that we know that there were always some Persons, who would never forgive *Theodoret* for quarrelling with St. *Cyril*.

There is also at the end of *Marius's* a Translation of these following Pieces. The Letter of *Nestorius* to St. *Caelestine*,

a Synodical Letter of St. *Cyril* against *Nestorius*, and the *Scholia* of the same Father upon the Incarnation against *Nestorius*. These Pieces ought to be joyned to the preceding.

M. Mercator is no very eloquent Author, nor indeed do such Works as he composed require much Eloquence: It is enough in such sort of Memoirs and Collections, that they be exact and faithful. He translated the *Greek* elegantly and faithfully. His Style is not intricate, but hath nothing noble or lofty, and degenerates into Childishness, when he undertakes to confute others of his own Head. His Collection hath been of great Use in the *Latin* Church; and we see that *Facundus* and *Pelagius* the second have used his Translation.

There are two Manuscripts of the Works of this Author, the one in the *Vatican*, the other in the Library of the Church of * *Beauvais*. F. *Labbe* printed the Historical Commentary of *M. Mercator* first, in his Edition of the Councils [Tom. 2.] and designed to have published the rest of the Works of that Author; But dying before he had performed his Promise, F. *Garner*, his Fellow-Jesuit, published them [with his own large and learned Commentaries, at *Paris*] in 1673. But he has changed the Order in which his Works were put, in the two Manuscripts, hath added many other Pieces to them, and increased the Bulk of the Volume much, by long Notes, and a great number of Dissertations upon the History of the *Pelagians* and *Nestorians*.

At the same time F. *Gerberon*, a *Benedictine*, put out under the borrowed Name of *Rigobertus*, the Commentary against *Julian*, the Translation of † the Sermon of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, with his Preface, the two Letters against *Nestorius*; and the Treatise of a *Nestorian*, he did not put in the first Historical Memoir, because it was printed already in the second Tome of the Councils, by F. *Labbe*. This Edition of *M. Mercator* is very small, in Twelves, printed at *Brussels* in 1673. His Notes are not so long as F. *Garner's*, but they are full as useful and learned.

It is easy to see that these Editions were defective, for F. *Garner's* was not so much an Edition of *M. Mercator*, as a great Commentary upon the History of the *Pelagians*, and *Nestorians*; F. *Gerberon's* contained but a small part of his Works: Besides, neither of them had consulted the Manuscripts exactly, F. *Garner* contenting himself to follow that of *Beauvais*, and F. *Gerberon* that of the *Vatican*. These Reasons induced *M. Baluzius*, who hath taken so much Pains all his Life-time, to clear and restore the Ecclesiastical Antiquities, to publish a new Edition of *Mercator's* Works, in which he printed the Text, as it is in these two Manuscripts before mentioned, and explains, by short Notes, those Places which have any Difficulty in them, without digressing into common Places upon the History or Doctrine of the Hereticks, which are spoken of in *M. Mercator's* Works. This Edition was put out at *Paris* in 1684. by *Francis Muguet*, in Octavo.

Marius Mercator.

* *Casaro. magnus, Bel. lovacum, a City of Pi. cardy in France.*

† *Creed, Dr. Cave.*

ANIANUS.

Anianus. *Anianus*, a *Latin* Author, a Deacon of a City called *Celeda* (a), was one of the Defenders of *Pelagius* (b). St. *Jerome* tells us, that he wrote Books against his Letter to *Ctesiphon*; in which he maintains, by large Discourses, the Doctrines which *Pelagius* taught. He translated fifteen Homilies of St. *Chrysostome*, viz. the eight first upon St. *Matthew*, and seven Sermons of the Praises of St. *Paul*; and hath put, at the beginning of these Translations, two Letters, the one to *Orontius*, the other to *Evangeliu*: In which he declares himself openly against the Scholars of St. *Austin*, to whom he gives the Name of *Traducians*. The ancient Translation of St.

Chrysostome's Homilies to the * *Neophytes*, which was made, as St. *Austin* observes, in his first Book against *Julian*, ch. 6. by a Scholar of *Pelagius*, may be attributed to him. This Author was well skilled in *Greek*, and wrote *Latin* well enough: St. *Jerome* accuses him for using Jingling Words, *verbis tinnulis, & emendicatis*: This appears chiefly in two Letters which serve as a Preface to the Translation of St. *Chrysostome's* Homilies. He flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Age; but we must not confound him, as *Sigibert* hath done, with him that wrote the *Theodosian Code*, in the Time of *Alaricus*, at the beginning of the Sixth Age.

Anianus.
* *Novius.*

(a) *Of a City called Celeda.* St. *Jerome* in ep. 79. to St. *Austin*, calls him *Celedensis*. It is not known wherethis City is; some think that it is *Celene*, a City of *Campania*. We have still a Letter of St. *Jerome's* to Mark Bishop of *Celeda*.

(b) *Of the Defenders of Pelagius.* Jansenius affirms, that he was *Pelagius* himself, who took the Name of *Anianus*; but this Conjecture is false. The Prefaces to the Translation of St. *Chrysostome's* Homilies, make it evident, that *Anianus* is a real Author. St. *Jerome* speaks the like of him, and says, that he defends the Blasphemies of another Person, that is to say, of *Pelagius*. It is true that he defends in his Work such Doctrines, as he would

not acknowledge in the Synod of *Diospolis*; but there must needs be some Defect in the Text of St. *Jerome*, *Quicquid enim in illa miserabili Synodo Diospolitana dixisse se denegat, in hoc Opere profitetur*: Whatsoever he denied in the wretched Synod of *Diospolis*, that he had said, he asserts in this Work. We ought to add, or understand, the Name of *Pelagius*, and read, *Pelagius dixisse se denegat*: *Pelagius* denies that he had said *Pelagius* was a Priest. The Author of the Books against St. *Jerome*, and of the Translation of St. *Chrysostome's* Sermons, was a Deacon only; is not there more reason to confound him, as *Baronius* has done, with *Valerian* or *Julian*.

JULIAN

JULIAN.

Julian, born in *Apulia* (a), about the Year 386. the Son of *Memor* or *Memorius*, (b), who is thought to have been Bishop of *Capua*, and *Juliana*, married the Daughter of *Amilius*, [Bishop of *Beneventum*,] named *Ja*. Afterwards he became a Clergy Man. He was a Deacon when St. *Austin* wrote his thirtieth Letter to his Father: Where he gives a Commendation of Father and Son. He was ordained (c), in 416. by Pope *Innocent*, Bishop of *Eclane*, (d), a City situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. So long as this Pope lived, *Julian* did not discover his Opinions, but soon after his Death, he declared himself for the Doctrine of *Cælestius* and *Pelagius*. *Gennadius* assures us, that before this he passed for one of the most learned Doctors of the Church, but he doth not take notice of any of his Works in particular, and 'tis not certain that he had then composed any. However that be, we have none of his Works but what might have been composed before he declared himself against St. *Austin*; But we have considerable Fragments of the Writings which he made against the Church.

In the Popedom of *Zosimus* he began to maintain the Opinions of *Cælestius*, in his Discourses which he held at *Rome*. He then set himself to cry down, by Writing, the Doctrine of St. *Austin*, and the Church, concerning Original Sin.

The first thing he did was, to write in his own Name to Pope *Zosimus*. We have some Fragments of this Letter in *M. Mercator*. Not long after he addressed a second Letter to him in the Form of a profession of Faith, written in the Name of ten Bishops of that Age: *F. Garner* hath put out this. *Julian* owns, that he was the Author of it, as well as of that which was directed in the Name of the same Bishops, to *Rufinus*, Bishop of *Theffalonica*, 'Tis this which St. *Austin* recites, in his three last Books to *Bonifacius*. These Letters were written in 418.

The first Book of St. *Austin*, concerning Concupiscence and Marriage, falling into the Hands of *Julian*, he wrote, in 419. Four Books, dedicated to *Turbantius*, against the first Book of St. *Austin*: A little after he was banished out of *Italy*, by the force of the Emperor's Edict, and was compelled to retire into the *East*. He went into *Cilicia*, to find *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*; and there made, if we may believe *M. Mercator*, eight Books, dedicated to *Florus*, Bishop of *Beneventum*, against the second Book of St. *Austin*, concerning Concupiscence and Marriage. Sometime after he withdrew from *Cilicia*, and, if we give credit to what *Mercator* says, he was condemned, after his Departure, in a Synod of the Province of *Cilicia*. It may be, he returned into *Italy*, but being again banished from thence, he retreated to *Constantinople*; where he was rejected by *Atticus*, and afterwards by *Sisinnius*. But *Nestorius*, a Scholar of *Theodorus*, being chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, favoured them, and sent two Letters in their behalf to *Cælestine*. At this Time it was that *M. Mercator* presented his Memoir against *Cælestius*, *Julian*, and his Companions; and obtained thus much by his Sollicitations, that they were banished from *Constantinople*. They went to the Council of *Ephesus*, where they were received by *John* Bishop of *Antioch*: But the Council condemned them, and confirmed all that had been done against them in the *West*; so that *Julian* always remained excluded from the Church, and banished from *Italy*. He used his utmost Endeavours to gain entrance into them under Pope *Sixtus*, but all in vain. *Gennadius* says, that he died under *Valentinian*, i. e. before the Year 455. after he had given all his Estate to the Poor, to relieve them by that means in a Famine, and so drew over several Persons to his Party. Some hold, that he was in *Sicily*, where he spent the last part of his Life in teaching a School, and that this inscription was put on his Tomb.

Here lieth in Peace JULIAN an Orthodox Bishop. Which Epitaph was to be seen in the Ninth Age. These

(a) Born in *Apulia*.] St. *Austin*, lib. 6. op. imperf. c. 18. non enim quia te *Apulia* genuit: Because *Apulia* brought thee forth. *Fulgentius* says, that he was a Person of Quality.

(b) *Memorius*.] St. *Austin*, in let. 30. *Paulinus* in the Epitaph of *Julian*, *M. Mercator*. This last upbraids *Julian*, as unworthy to be the Son of *Memor* and *Juliana*, and treats him as a Bastard. He also observes, that he had two Sisters, the Ancients do not tell us of what City *Memorius* was Bishop.

(c) Ordained.] *M. Mercator* says, that it was St. *Innocent* that

are the Words of *Julian*, of which we are now coming to speak.

Some Fragments of the Letter to *Zosimus*, in *M. Mercator*, lib. subn. c. 6. n. 10. &c. 9. n. 3. He owns, in these Fragments, that Death entered into the World by the Sin of *Adam*. A long Profession of Faith, published by *F. Garner*, in *Dissert. 5. Par. 1.* of the Works of *M. Mercator*. This Profession of Faith hath Four Parts. The first contains the Articles of the Creed explained; among which he placeth the Necessity of Baptism for all Ages. The second is an Abridgment of his Doctrine about Grace and Free-Will: Which may be reduced to five Propositions. 1. That Man is absolutely free to do Good or Evil. 2. That to do Good, he hath need of Grace, but that Grace is never wanting to him. 3. That the Nature of Man is good and perfect. 4. That there is no such thing as natural Sin, or by whatever Name else it may be called. 5. That the just Men of the Old Testament were justified by their Works, and by Faith in Jesus Christ. The third Part rejects the Errors of the *Arians*, *Sabellians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Apollinarists*, and *Novatians*, to whom are joyned the *Jovinianists*, such as assert, that Man justified by Baptism can never sin. Next, he comes to the *Manichees*, with whose Errors he confounds the Doctrine of the Orthodox, which he exposes after an odious Fashion. 'They, saith he, who defend natural Sin, affirm, that the Devil is the Author of Marriages; That Children that are born of them are Children of the Devil; That all Men are born in his possession; That the Son of God did not begin to pour down his Graces upon Men but from the time of his Incarnation; That Sins are not entirely forgiven by Baptism; That the Saints of the Old Testament are dead in a State of Sin; That Man is necessitated to Sin; That Sin cannot be avoided, even with Grace. Lastly, he condemns the gross Errors of the *Pelagians*, viz. Those, who said, that Men can avoid Sin without the help of God; that Infants ought not to be baptized, or that other Terms ought to be used in baptizing them; That they, who are born of baptized Parents have no need of the Grace of Baptism; That Mankind died not by *Adam*, and is not raised by Jesus Christ.' In the last part, the Bishops in whose Name this Profession was written, declared to *Zosimus*, that if he still persists to molest them, they will appeal to a fuller Synod; That they could not sign a condemnation passed against the absent, but were ready to suffer the worst rather than forsake Justice and Truth. He ends with a Passage of St. *Chrysostome*'s Sermon to the Novices.

The Letter of *Julia* and other Bishops to *Rufinus* of *Theffalonica*, is recited almost entire in the 3 last Books of St. *Austin* to *Bonifacius*. It contained the Heads of the Accusations which we have delivered in speaking of that Treatise of St. *Austin*.

The first Book to *Turbantius* is recited entire in the second Book of St. *Austin* of Marriage and Concupiscence. There are Fragments of three other Books in the six Books of St. *Austin* against *Julian*. Lastly, all the five Books of *Julian*, to *Florus*, are copyed out whole in the six Books of St. *Austin*'s imperfect Work.

Beda makes mention also of the three Books of *Julian*, * This is a * A Treatise of Love, A Commentary upon the *Cantic* kind of *cles*, and, A Book of † Constancy. It appears by the Frag- Prefatory ments which *Beda* hath taken out of those Works, that he Discourse delivers the same Principles in them, as in his other Books; to the That we are absolutely free to do good or evil; that the Commem- love of Man inclines him naturally to do good; and, that tary upon Man is not born in Sin. He cites in his Last Book a lit- *Canticles*, the Treatise of St. *Chrysostome*, which bears this Title, No and so not a distinct Book. *Man is hurt but by himself*.

Lastly, some attribute to *Julian* the Translation of the Profession of Faith, which bears the Name of *Rufinus*, but they bring no Proof of it. † De bono Constantia.

ordained him. In 408. he was no more than a Deacon. He was young, but it is probable that he was Ordained before 416. for *Innocent* died in 417.

(d) Of *Eclane*.] Some have read *Celane*, but it is *Eclane*. The Testimony of *Mercator* fully determines this Point of History. This City was near the Lake *Ampsanctus*, between *Campania* and *Apulia*, distant from *Beneventum* about Twenty Miles: It is called at this Time *Fringent*.

NESTORIUS.

Nestorius Born at *Germanica* a City of *Syria*, brought up and baptized at *Antioch*, withdrew himself into a Monastery of *Euprepis*, which was in the Suburbs of that City. He was ordained Priest by *Theodorus*, and in a little time acquired a very great Repu-

tation by his way of living, and by his Sermons. *Sisinnius* Archbishop of *Constantinople* being dead in 427. the Ambition which the Clergy of that City had to obtain the Government of that Church, made the Emperor to resolve not to suffer any of them to be chosen Bishops, and

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to

Nestorius. to cause a Clergy-man of some other Church to be chosen, notwithstanding the Pains that were taken to procure it by some, for *Philip* [of *Sida*], and by others, for *Proclus*, he cast his Eyes upon *Nestorius*, chose him *by common consent, caused him to come from *Antioch*, and three Months after his Election he was ordained, and put in possession of the See of *Constantinople* in the Month of *April* in the year † 428.

* It seems absurd, when 'tis said, the People desired others. And *Socrates* says, that *Sisinnius* was chosen by consent of all but not *Nestorius*, for he was chosen rather against than by the consent, of all.

† A great mistake in Chronology for *Atticus* died *Octob.* 427. *Sisinnius* was Arch-bishop almost 2 Years as *Socrates* tells us, l. 7. c. 28. *Nestorius* was ordained 3 Months after *Sisinnius*'s Death, so that he could not be in possession of the Patriarchate till near 430. and yet *Dr. Cave* agrees with *Du Pin*.

In his first Sermon, which he made in the presence of the Emperor, he declared the design he had to make War with the Hereticks, speaking boldly to the Emperor; *Sir, Free the Earth from Hereticks, and I will give you Heaven; joy in the War against them with me, and I will assist you against the Persians.* Altho' the hatred which many of the People had for the Hereticks, made them approve of this Discourse; yet the wiser sort, saith *Socrates*, condemned the Pride and Fierceness of it, and were amazed to see a Man before he had tasted, as he says, the Water of the City, declare, that he would persecute those who were not of his Opinion. These Threatnings were followed with a suitable effect; for five days after his Consecration, he attempted to demolish the Church where the *Arians*, tho' secretly, celebrated their Assemblies, and reduced them to so great despair, that they set it on Fire themselves, which being consumed, the Flame took the Neighbouring Houses. This Fire stirred up an unusual Disorder, and from that time he was called, *An Incendiary*. He did all he could to vex the *Novitians*, but the Emperor stopt his Fury. He exercised also so great Severities against those People of *Asia*, *Lydia* and *Caria*, who kept the Feast of *Easter* upon the xiv day of the Moon, that many Murders happened by them at *Miletum* and *Sardis*. He persecuted also the *Macedonians*, and took their Churches from them. He did not spare so much as the *Pelagians*; but at length prevailed with the Emperor to make a Law against all Hereticks. He brought the Memory of *St. Chrysostome* into Veneration. He lived in a very regular and strict manner, and applied himself diligently to the Duties of his Ministry. In a word, he might have passed for a great Saint, if he had not engaged himself to maintain an Opinion, which made him condemned as an Heretick. Which came this way to pass.

He had brought from *Antioch* a Priest called *Anastasi*, for whom he had a very particular esteem, and whom he made use of in all Affairs of Importance. This *Anastasi* preaching one day in the Church, ventured to say, *Let no Man call Mary the Mother of God; Mary was a Woman, and God cannot be born of a Woman.* This Proposition gave great offence among the People, who accused this Priest of Impiety. A Bishop called *Dorotheus* confirmed the Opinion of *Anastasi*, by saying *Anathema* to all that call the Virgin the Mother of God; and *Nestorius* himself, discoursing upon this Question in his Sermons, took his Priest's part, and always rejected the Name of the Mother of God.

The People being accustomed to hear this Expression, were much inflamed against their Bishop, being persuaded, that he revived the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Photinus*, and believed, that Jesus Christ was a meer Man. The Monks declared themselves openly against him, and separated themselves from his Communion. The People, and some more considering Men followed their Example, insomuch that in a short time the Church of *Constantinople* was in a strange confusion; a Monk preached against his Bishop; *Eusebius*, afterward Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, made a solemn protestation against his Doctrine. *Proclus* Bishop of *Cyzicum* did preach 3 Sermons against him; and all the ancient Clergy of *Constantinople* opposed *Nestorius*; yet he still maintain'd what he delivered, and made several Sermons more upon that Subject. His Party made a Collection of them, and sent them into *Aegypt*, which falling into the Hands of the Monks of those Parts, raised Disputes among them. This obliged *St. Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, to write a large Letter to them, in which, having acknowledged, that he had much rather not meddle with such subtle Questions, which are above the reach of humane understanding, he declares against *Nestorius*'s Opinion; and shews, by several Reasons, that the Virgin *Mary* may be called the Mother of God. *Nestorius* having seen this Writing of *St. Cyril*'s which was dispersed up and down *Constantinople*, and much confirmed his adverse Party, complained greatly of this carriage of *St. Cyril*. But he excused himself in a Letter written to *Nestorius*, exhorting him to confess, that the Virgin *Mary* may be called the Mother of God. *Nestorius* answered him with much Civility, but did not approve of that Term. *St. Cyril* wrote a second Letter to him, to which *Nestorius* returned an Answer, but did not fully

approve of *St. Cyril*'s Expressions about the Incarnation. He likewise wrote against the Letter which *St. Cyril* had sent to the Monks of *Aegypt*, altho' *Anastasi* declared at *Constantinople*, that he held nothing which was not in that Writing of *St. Cyril*; since he himself owned, that no Council had used the Term of the Mother of God. I will not in this place relate what passed in the Consequence of this Business; how it was carried to the Council of *Ephesus*; after what manner *Nestorius* behaved himself there; how he was condemned, and what was the Conclusion; because I shall be obliged to do this in speaking of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*. I shall content my self to observe, that after the sentence of this Council, *Nestorius* never durst return to *Constantinople*, but hid himself in his ancient Monastery at *Antioch*, from whence he was taken four years after, in 435. by the Emperor's Order, and banished to *Oasis*. But the *Barbarians* having taken and destroyed that City, he was obliged to go into *Thebais* to the City of *Panopolis*, where he was not suffered to remain long; yea, he was so often removed from place to place, that he died in his Journey, being mortally bruised by a fall. *Evagrius*, who relates these Accidents, tells us, that he met with an Author who assured him, that before *Nestorius* died, his Tongue was eaten with Worms, as a punishment of the Blasphemies which it had uttered. But he brings no confirmation of this Circumstance, which may well be thought an invention of this Anonymous Author, because it was commonly supposed, that all Hereticks had a Tragical End.

Nestorius had a great freedom of Speech, and *Gennadius* assures us, that he had composed a great number of Treatises and Discourses before he came to *Constantinople*. We have none of these first; but there remain a great number of Fragments of his Sermons preached at *Constantinople*, and some whole Sermons also, with some Letters and other Works; of which this is the Catalogue.

A Fragment of his first Sermon that he preached at *Constantinople*, recited by *Socrates*, lib. 7. chap. 29. of his History.

Some Latin Fragments of 4 Sermons preached at *Constantinople* before *Julian* and the other *Pelagian* Bishops, in which he delivers Principles contrary to their Errors. These Fragments are recited in Latin by *M. Mercator* in *F. Garner's* Edition, Part 1. pag. 73. and in *M. Baluzius's* pag. 119. The third is perfect in Greek among the Works of *St. Chrysostome*, Tom. 7. of *Savil's* Edition, p. 301. and with a Latin Translation in *M. Mercator* by *F. Garner*, pag. 85. Part 1.

The first Sermon which he made to maintain what *Anastasi* the Priest had asserted, is translated whole almost by *M. Mercator*, and confuted by *Cassian*.

He preached several other Sermons upon the Mystery of the Incarnation, of which a Collection was made at the same time. Out of this Collection the Orthodox took several Extracts to discover his Doctrine. And for this Reason it is, that when they cite them, they ordinarily set down the Sheet. We have four Collections of these Extracts. The 1st. is that which was presented to the Council of *Ephesus* by *Petrus Diaconus*, Act. 1. Conc. Tom. 3. p. 520. The 2^d. is *M. Mercator's*, where the Extracts are only in Latin in *Baluzius's* Edition, p. 109. The 3^d. is taken out of *St. Cyril's* Books of Contradictions against *Nestorius*; and the last is composed of the Extracts of *Nestorius*, recited in the other Works of *St. Cyril*. *F. Garner* hath taken the pains to have these Collections printed in the 2^d. part of his Edition of *M. Mercator* from p. 95. to p. 112. He hath also attempted to restore these Sermons by putting these Extracts together, and by adding other Fragments to them, to bring them into their natural Order.

After the Sermon of Providence he hath put that *De Theognosia* or of the knowledge of God which he frames out of several passages quoted by *St. Cyril*, and in the Council of *Ephesus*, Part 2. pag. 8. These follow.

Some Fragments of a Sermon against the *Macedonians* and *Arians*, taken out of the Books of *St. Cyril* and the Extracts of the Council of *Ephesus*. This Sermon is cited by *Arnobius* Junior, in his Dispute against *Serapion*, which may convince *F. Garner* that he hath put two Sermons into one, so hard it is to put these Fragments exactly together.

A Sermon of the Incarnation against *Proclus*. It is recited in Latin by *M. Mercator* in the Edit. of *F. Garn.* par. 2. pag. 26. of *Baluz.* p. 70.

Another Sermon against the same Person taken out of the Extracts of *St. Cyril*, and of the Council of *Ephesus*, by *F. Garn.* p. 29.

Another Sermon upon these words, *Consider Jesus Christ the Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession*, *ibid.* p. 30.

A Sermon against those, who upon the account of the Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ do render the God-head Mortal, or the Manhood Divine. This is a large Treatise rehearsed entire in Latin by *M. Mercator*, of which also we have some Extracts in *St. Cyril* and the Council of *Ephesus*, in *F. Garn.* Edit. p. 34. *Baluz.* p. 56.

Nestorius. A Fragment of a Sermon upon Judas against the Hereticks taken out of St. Cyril's Books against Nestorius; and M. Mercator's Collection of Fragments, by F. Garn. p. 65.

A Fragment of a Sermon upon these Words of Jesus Christ in St. Matth. c. 5. v. 23. *If thou hast ought against thy Brother*; taken out of the Council of Ephesus and M. Mercator's Collection, p. 66. *ibid.*

A Fragment of a Sermon against the Macedonians, recited in the Council of Ephesus, and translated by M. Mercator, *ibid.* p. 67.

Another Fragment of Sermons recited in the Council of Ephesus and by M. Mercator, of F. Garn. Ed. p. 68. of Baluz. 109. &c.

A Sermon of Nestorius when he had received St. Celestine's Letter, and the Bill of complaint which was made by St. Cyril, translated and recited entire by M. Mercator in the Edition of F. Garn. p. 85. and Baluz. p. 74.

Another Sermon preached the next Sunday, recited also in Latin, by M. Mercator, F. Garn. Ed. p. 93. of Baluz. p. 87.

The Fragments of two Sermons taken out of the Collection, intituled, *Of the Illustrious Institution*, recited in the 6th. Council, Tom. 6. of the Councils, pag. 318.

These are all his Sermons. His other Works are,

His first Letter to St. Cyril in Greek and Latin in the Council of Ephesus, part 1. ch. 7. p. 316.

The second Letter to St. Cyril, *ibid.* ch. 9. p. 321.

Two Latin Letters to St. Celestine, *ibid.* ch. 16. and 17. pag. 349. and 351. and in M. Mercator of F. Garner's Edit. part 1. pag. 65.

A Letter to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, of which there is a Fragment in the 6th. Council, pag. 319.

A Consolatory Letter in Latin to Celestine related by M. Mercator in F. Garner's Edition, part 1. pag. 71. Baluz. p. 65.

The Anathematisms of Nestorius opposed to those of St. Cyril in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, part 1. ch. 29. p. 424.

The Letter of Nestorius to John Bishop of Antioch before the Council of Ephesus, in Lupus's Collection, p. 15. with a Sermon at the same time. *ibid.* p. 17.

The Declaration of Nestorius, wherein he puts a good Sense upon what he had delivered in his Sermons, *ibid.* p. 23.

His Letter to the Emperor concerning what passed at Ephesus in the beginning of the Council, *ibid.* pag. 30.

A Letter of Nestorius to Scholasticus the Emperor's Eunuch, written from Ephesus, *ibid.* 43. These 4 last Letters are also in M. Baluzius's new Collection of Councils, and in the last Tome of Theodoret, of F. Garner's Edition.

A Letter to the Praefectus-Pratorio of Antioch, about the Order he had received, commanding him to retire into a Monastery, *ibid.* pag. 68.

Three Letters of Nestorius written in his Banishment, of which Evagrius recites some Fragments in lib. 1. of his History, ch. 7.

If we enquire diligently into these Writings, to know what was Nestorius's Doctrine about the Incarnation, we shall find, 1. That he rejected the Error of Eblon, Paulus Samosatenus and Photinus, and elegantly condemns the Error of those who dare affirm, that Jesus Christ was but a meer Man. 2. He maintains in express Terms, that the Word was united to the Humane Nature in Jesus Christ, and that this Union was most intimate and strict. 3. That these two Natures being united together make but one Christ, one Son only, and likewise one Person only made up of two Natures. 4. That the Properties of the Humane and Divine Nature may be attributed to this Person; and that it may be said, that Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin, that he suffered and died; but he always denied that it might be said, that God was born, suffered or died; and herein consisted his Error, for by reason of the Hypostatic Union of the Divine and Humane Nature, the Properties of the two Natures, of which it is compounded, may not only be affirmed of the Person, but it may also be said, that God is born, hath suffered and is dead; and that the Man ought to be adored, is become immortal, impassible, &c. altho'

it cannot be said, that the Divinity is born, is dead, or hath suffered; or that the Manhood may be worshipped, is immortal or impassible. *Nestorius.*

Nestorius did not only reject the last Expressions, used by the Eutichians and Appollinarists, but he rejected the first, which usage had introduced into the Church, and would not own that it might be said upon the Account of the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature in Jesus Christ that God is born, hath suffered or is dead. From this Principle it follows, that he must reject the Term of the Mother of God; for if it may not be said, that God is born, it can't be said, that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God. He owned, that she might be called the Mother of Christ, *i. e.* of the Person made up of the two Natures, but he could not understand, how she could be called the Mother of God.

This Term, as we have seen, was the original of the Quarrel. It was in use in the Church, and all the World was offended to hear it condemned by Nestorius and his Followers. The People immediately believed, that he did not acknowledge the Godhead in Jesus Christ, since he would not endure that his Mother should be called the Mother of God. But the more Learned knew well enough, that his Error consisted not in that Point, but in this; that by condemning this Expression, he destroyed the Union of the two Natures in one Person only, and seemed to allow of a moral Union only between them. The Comparisons which he made use of, did incline them to believe that he was of that Opinion; for he said, that the Humanity was in Jesus Christ, the Temple, the Habit, the Veil of the Divinity; and compared the Union of the two Natures to the Union of Husband and Wife. Whence they concluded, that he allowed of no other Union between the two Natures, but an Union of Operation and Will, and not a real, substantial Union, notwithstanding the Protestations he made, that there was but one Christ, and but one Person. It is true, that Nestorius's obstinacy in rejecting the Term of the Mother of God, and other Expressions of like Nature, which are consequent upon the substantial Union of the two Natures, made Men think that he did not acknowledge the Hypostatic Union of the two Natures, although he never durst affirm but that there were two Persons really distinct in Jesus Christ, nor openly discover that he allowed only a Moral Union between the two Natures. He likewise declared, that the Terms of the Mother of God disturbed him, upon no other account, but because he believed that they established the Error of Arius and Apollinaris, who confounded the two Natures. But in that he was mistaken, and his Obstinacy in refusing to approve an innocent Term, and to receive the Expressions which confirmed the Union of the two Natures in one Person, were a lawful and a sufficient ground to condemn him, and a Proof of his evil Intention. This his Friend, John Bishop of Antioch, confesses in the Letter, in which he exhorts him to receive the Term of the Mother of God: Where he tells him, that though he was persuaded that his Doctrine was Orthodox, his obstinate refusal to acknowledge that the Virgin is the Mother of God, might give cause to suspect that he was in an Error. Nor can we doubt but this Bishop did at length acknowledge that Nestorius was in an Error, and that his Obstinacy deserved Punishment, since he forsook him, and would not suffer him in his Diocese. Theodoret defended him a long time, but he was at last forced to condemn him, as we shall see in the sequel: And indeed what possibility was there to defend him, when his most intimate Friends acknowledged him to be blameworthy.

The Fragments of Nestorius's Works confirm the Judgment which the Ancients have given of his Style and Disposition. It appears, by what we have said, that he spake with Freedom and Elegancy; but that his Genius was mean, which had little Loftiness or Nobleness of Wit. All the Grace of his Sermons consisted in Descriptions, Metaphors and Apostrophes, which are dry and insipid. In sum, they are very good Sense, and the Notions seem very rational, his Error excepted. He had but little Learning or Knowledge, but what he knew he set it out to the greatest Advantage.

JOHN Bishop of Antioch, A C A C I U S of Beræa, and P A U L of Emesa.

John Bishop of Antioch, &c. Theodotus, Bishop of Antioch, being dead, in 427, had for his Successor one named John, who was not known till after his Ordination, upon the occasion of the Contest which he had with the Orientals, against St. Cyril of Alexandria. He was summon'd to the Council, but came not at the Day appointed; and finding that St. Cyril had held a Council without him, he called another Council of the Bishops of his Party, condemned St. Cyril, and excommunicated the Bishops who with him had condemned Nestorius, undertook his Defence, and persisted till

the end of the Council in this Resolution, so that the East and Egypt were some time divided: But at last Peace was made, and the Eastern Bishops abandoned Nestorius, and professed the Orthodox Faith, yet would not approve the Anathema of St. Cyril. All this gave John Bishop of Antioch occasion to write several Letters. We have some of them in Greek and Latin, in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, and several others in Latin, in the Collection of F. Lupus. There is also one of his Sermons in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, p. 375.

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Acacius,

John Bishop of Antioch, &c. *Acacius*, Bishop of *Berea*, was also one of the principal Defenders of the *Eastern* Party. He was elder (a) than *John Bishop of Antioch*, and had a great share in all that passed in that Business; but he always loved Peace. During the Council of *Ephesus*, he abode at *Constantinople*, where he did the *Eastern* Bishops no harm; for 'twas he that advised the Emperor to confirm the Deposition of *Cyril* and *Nestorius*. After the Council, during the great Dissentions, *St. Cyril* never durst break with him. It was to him that he sued to make up a Peace. He composed the Propositions, and at length brought it to a Conclusion. We have One of his Letters to *St. Cyril*, in the Acts of the Council

(a) *HE was elder.*] He was the Scholar of the famous Anchorite *Asterius*, and had for a very long Time professed a Monastick Life, in a Monastery, in a Village near *Antioch*.

of *Ephesus*, *Tom. 3.* of the Councils, p. 382. and two Letters to the Bishop of *Alexandria* in *F. Lupus's* Collection, *John Bishop of Antioch, &c.* p. 109, and 188.

Paul Bishop of Emesa, who supplied the Place of *Acacius* in the Council of *Ephesus*, was also very inclinable to Peace: 'Twas he that concluded it with *St. Cyril*, who prepared the Form of Faith which was to be approved on both Sides, and who made two Sermons upon the Peace. We have these Monuments in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, *Tom. 3.* of the Councils, p. 1089, and 1096, and a Letter of his to *Anatolius*, in the Collection of *F. Lupus*.

He was ordained Bishop in the Year 378, and died in the Year 436.

The Bishops of NESTORIUS's Party.

Bishops of Nestorius's Party. **T**Here were other Bishops, who were more addicted to the Party and Doctrine of *Nestorius* than those of whom we have already spoken, who would by no means hear of a Peace, and whom the *Agyptians* would not have included in it. Because we have some of their Letters, we will take notice of them in this Place. *Meletius* of *Mopsuesta*, Successor of *Theodorus*, who was deposed in the Council of *Ephesus*, and banished. We have eleven of his Letters in the Collection of *F. Lupus*. *Doro-*

theus, Bishop of *Martianople*, deposed in the same Council, and expelled out of the Council of *Constantinople*; There are four Letters of his in the same Collection. *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Author of four and twenty Letters, which are found in the same Collection. *Zenobius* Bishop of *Zephyria* in *Cilicia*, and some other Bishops, of whom we will speak afterward, who would never be comprehended in the Peace, and therefore were deposed and banished.

EUTHERIUS Bishop of Tyana.

Euthérius Bishop of Tyana. **E***uthérius* Bishop of *Tyana*, of all the Bishops of the Party of *Nestorius*, hath left us the most considerable Monument. It is a Work which hath gone a long Time under the Name of *Athanasius*, which *Photius* attributes to *Theodoret*; but *M. Mercator*, who is more to be credited than *Photius*, cites it under the Name of *Euthérius* of *Tyana*. In the first Place, he describes, in the most odious manner, the Persecutions which he pretends were prepared for those of his Party to suffer. These are his Words: 'It is said that our Enemies will not content themselves to go on in their old Courses, to work the Ruin of the Simple and Unwary, but that they have a Design boldly to attempt whatever they please, being supported by the Authority of the Sovereign Power, that they will force others to be of their Opinions: that they will require Obedience to their Commands immediately, and deliver them to Justice that do not perform them; that they will bring them to Punishment, brand some with disgrace and banish others; that they will frame false Accusations against them, and deprive them thereupon of their Dignities and Offices. I do not mention the Bonds, Prisons, Disgraces and Torments which they shall suffer, and the tragical Sights of those which they will put to Death. And that which is most to be lamented is this, that the Bishops are the Authors of this Tragedy. O prophane Compulsion! O intolerable Justice! When they begin to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, or to teach the People, they have in their Mouth this heavenly Speech, Peace be with you all. Nothing is so urgently commanded in Holy Scripture as Gentleness and Kindness; Why then do they condemn us without taking Cognizance of our Cause? Why do they reject that which they do not know to be false? Why do they give the Name of Force to their Outrages? Why do they conceal their Cruelty under the Shadow of false Zeal? Why do they cover their detestable Politicks with the Name of Wisdom? What Tragedian is there that can describe these Things in a Style doleful enough? The Lamentations of *Jeremiah* would not suffice to describe so great Evils.'

From hence we may see, that it is not a late Invention, for Persons who are not willing to forsake their Errors, to make those Charitable Severities which are made use of to recover them, to pass for insupportable Violences and unheard of Cruelties; by aggravating them and representing them in such an odious manner, as is proper to stir up Indignation.

The Principles which he lays down in the following Part, are very agreeable with those of the Protestants. In the first Article he opposes those, who will have it determined, where the Truth is, by the Judgment of the greater Number. 'Jesus Christ saith he, is the Truth (as *Tertullian* hath a long Time since affirmed) and 'tis he that we ought to consult. This being so, are they not to be pitied who judge of the Force and Authority of a Doctrine only by the Number of those who approve it; without considering that our Lord Jesus Christ chose ignorant and poor Men, whom he made use of to convert all the World. He required, that Millions of Men should yield themselves up to the Doctrines of these twelve. Thus hath the Truth always triumphed, although it were among the smallest Number,

and whosoever he be, that despairing to prove what he affirms to be true, flies to the Authority of the Multitude, he confesses himself vanquished. The great Number may affright, but cannot persuade: There are but few that shall be saved. *St. Stephen*, *Phineas*, *Lot* and *Noah* had the Multitude against them; yet who had not rather be on their Side than on that, which did oppose them? 'Tis not, saith the same Author, that I bear not a due respect to the Multitude; but it is to that which proves what it teacheth, and not to that which will not suffer us to examine and search out the Truth: 'Tis to that which doth not condemn with Severity, but correct with Gentleness; not to that which loves Novelties, but to that which preserves the Truth, which they have received from their Ancestors. But what is this Multitude which you object against me? It is the Throng of Men corrupted by Flatteries and Prisons: 'Tis the Number of ignorant Men, who have no Understanding to guide them: It is a crowd of weak and fearful Men, who suffer themselves to be conquered: They are the Souls which prefer the Pleasures that Sin affords us in this Life, which are momentary, before Eternal Life and Glory: So that when you object to me this Multitude, to gain Credit to a Lye, you do but discover the extent of Wickedness, and the great Number of the Miserable.'

The second Chapter is of like Nature with this first. In it he opposes those who maintain, that it is needless to search the Holy Scripture that we may know what we ought to believe, either because it is sufficient for every one to believe what his own Reason teacheth him; or, because in searching for the Truth in Scripture, we meet with more Obscurity and Uncertainty. Our Author cannot approve of this Advice: For he saith, 'That being persuaded of the Truth of the Mysteries, and trusting in the Help of Jesus Christ, who hath promised to those who seek after the Truth that they shall certainly find it, he seeks after the Truth in the manner that he ought, he shall find it without mistaking, that he puts himself into a Condition of proving what he teacheth, of instructing the Faithful, confuting Hereticks, and convincing himself of the Truth, and confirming the Doctrines, so as none can doubt of them. Would you have me, saith he, neglect the Study of Holy Scripture? whence then will you have Knowledge necessary to support your Faith? It is dangerous for this Life to be ignorant of the Roman Laws, and 'tis no less dangerous for another Life to be ignorant of the Oracles of our Heavenly King. The Scripture is the Nourishment of the Soul: Suffer not then the inward Man to die with Hunger, by depriving him of the Word of God. There are too too many who inflict mortal Wounds upon the Soul; suffer them to seek Medicines for their Maladies and Griefs.'

But there are, say you, things which pass our Understanding: I own it, but the Scripture teaches us, that we must search, and that there are things that we cannot comprehend: And as it would be a kind of Impiety to desire thoroughly to comprehend them, so it is to have a kind of Contempt for the Divine Truths, to lay aside wholly the search into them: Every one ought to know what it is he adores, as it is written, *We know what we worship*: But it

Euthyrius Tyanaus. it is a Madness to enquire how much? After what manner? By what means, and where we must adore him? In sum, they who discourage others from reading and studying the Holy Scripture, under a Pretence, that they ought not to dive into Things too profound, do it because they are afraid that they should be convinced of their Errors by it. So when they find themselves pressed by convincing Testimonies of Holy Scripture, they give a Sense clear contrary to the Words; and if they find but one Word which can be brought to their Opinion, although it be nothing to the Sense of the Place, they must use it as an invincible Demonstration. We must own that these Principles are not ill, although Men may offend in the Application they make of them.

In the other Chapters he answers the Objections which the *Ægyptians* made against the *Eastern* Bishops, and opposes some of their Expressions; such as these: The Word hath suffered in an impassible manner: The Word hath suffered in the Flesh. He hath delivered several Expressions agreeable to those of *Nestorius*.

In sum. He hath written with much Elegancy and Reason. This Work is a Doctrinal Treatise, and not a Collection of Sermons. It is in *Tom. 2.* of *Athanasius's* Works under the name of that Father, and since it hath been printed at the End of *Tom. 5.* of *Theodore's* Works put out by *F. Garner* [at *Paris* in 1684.] There are also some of this Bishop's Letters in *F. Lupus's* Collection.

THEODOTUS Bishop of Ancyra.

Theodotus of Ancyra. **T**heodotus Bishop of *Ancyra* a City of *Galatia*, whom *Gennadius* calleth *Theodorus*, was one of the greatest Adversaries of *Nestorius*. He was present at the Council of *Ephesus*, where he courageously delivered his Opinion against him. *Gennadius* says, that he made a Treatise on purpose to confute him, and that Work was very Logical, but that it was not sufficiently grounded upon the Authority of Holy Scripture, but lays down several Arguments before he comes to Scripture-proofs. This description agrees well to the two Sermons of *Theodotus* upon the Feast of the Nativity, preached in the Council of *Ephesus*, and which are recited in the Acts of that Council, where he proves, by several Arguments, that Jesus Christ is God and Man, and that it is truly said, that God is born of a Virgin.

There is also a 3d. Sermon preached at *Ephesus* upon *St. John's* day, where he likewise speaks against the Error of *Nestorius*. The beginning of it is remarkable, wherein he compares a Bishop to a Physician, Error to a Disease; And says, that as a Physician cuts off putrified and gangrened Members to prevent the spreading of the Disease into the other parts; so Bishops are obliged to cut off the Members of the Church, but yet they ought not to do it but with regret, and in cases of necessity, when there is no other remedy left sufficient, and proper to effect the Cure.

He hath also a 4th. Treatise upon the same Subject, which was published [at *Paris*] in 1675. [in Twelves] by *F. Combefis* out of a MS. copied by *Holstenius* *. It bears this Title, *An Exposition of the Nicene Creed*, but it is a confutation of *Nestorius* grounded upon the *Nicene* Creed. In it he makes mention of 3 Books, which he had written concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The *Iconoclasts* having quoted a Testimony of *Theodotus* Bishop of *Ancyra* against Images, *Epiphanius* maintained in the 7th Council, Act 6. that that place was supposititious. And to prove it invincibly, he says, that he had collected all the Works of that Author, but never met with the Passage which they alledged. And then gives us the following Catalogue of them, viz. Six Books against *Nestorius* dedicated to *Lausus*: The Exposition of the *Nicene* Creed: A Sermon upon the Feast of the Nativity: Another upon the Purification: Another upon *Elias* and the Widow: Another upon *St. Peter* and *St. John*: Another upon the Lame Man, who lay at the Gate of the Temple: Another upon him that had received the Talents: And, lastly, upon the two blind Men. Altho' *Epiphanius* makes mention here of several of *Theodotus's* Works which we have not, yet we cannot say, that he forgot none. *Nicéphorus* attributes to him a Sermon upon the Virgin and *St. Simeon*. Some think, that it is the 4th Sermon among *Amphilochius's*, which bears his Name in a MS. in Cardinal *Mazarini's* Library. *F. Combefis* who published *Theodotus's* Exposition upon the *Nicene* Creed, assures us, that he had 4 Sermons more of this Author, and, among others, that upon the Purification of the Virgin *Mary* cited by *Epiphanius*.

The Style of this Author is short and concise, full of subtle Interrogations and cogent Arguments. He speaks like a Logician or Controversialist, rather than like an Orator or Preacher. There is nothing very remarkable in his Writings, but we may observe in them a great deal of Artifice and Subtlety.

The Orthodox Bishops of St. Cyril's Party.

Orthodox Bishops of St. Cyril's Party. **T**hese Bishops of *St. Cyril's* Party have written in the defence of the Church.

Acacius Bishop of *Melitene* made a Sermon in the Council of *Ephesus*, which is in the Acts of the Council, *Tom. 3.* of the Council. p. 839. and wrote a Letter to *St. Cyril*, which is in *F. Lupus's* Collection.

Memnon Bishop of *Ephesus* hath written a Letter to the Council of *Constantinople*, which is found in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 762.

Rheginus Bishop of *Constantia* in *Cyprus* made a Discourse in the Council upon the deposition of *Nestorius*, *ibid.* p. 577.

Maximian chosen in his place, wrote a Letter to *St. Cyril*, which is also in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 1061.

Lastly, To these Bishops may be joyned two Priests, the one called *Alipius* a Priest of *Constantinople*, who wrote a Letter to *St. Cyril*, which is recited in the Acts of the Council, p. 785. and *Charisius* a Priest of the Church of *Philadelphia*, who presented a Petition to the Council of *Ephesus*, with a Form of Faith recited in the Acts of the Council, p. 673.

St. SIXTUS III.

St. Sixtus III. **S**ixtus, a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, was a long time one of the greatest Ornaments of the *Roman* Clergy. We understand by the two Letters which *St. Austin* wrote to him in 418. that he was a Protector of *Pelagius* and his Adherents who therefore had given out a Report that he was of their Opinion; but when they were condemned by *Zosimus*, he was one of the first that pronounced an *Anathema* against them: That he wrote a short Letter to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, in which he assures him, that he was not of *Pelagius's* Sentiments; and that he afterward made a larger Book, in which he explained his Opinions more amply, which were consonant to those of the Bishops of *Africa*, and contrary to the Errors of the *Pelagians*. We have neither this Letter nor this Writing, but this Story, and the manner in which *St. Austin* writes to *Sixtus*, shews us sufficiently how he was already looked upon in the Church of *Rome*. So that it is no wonder, that after the Death of *St. Celestine* which happened in 432. he succeeded him in the See of *Rome*. The Eastern Churches were then divided about the Condemna-

tion of *Nestorius*. *St. Cyril* and the *Ægyptian* Bishops maintained what was done against him. *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and the other Oriental Bishops would not receive him, they excommunicated and condemned one another, and the Church was in danger of falling into a lamentable Schism, if the Prudence of *St. Sixtus* had not contributed to the Peace, which was concluded in the time of his Popedom. *St. Cyril* sent two Bishops to *Rome* in the Name of the Council, to incline the Pope to approve what he had done, and to declare himself openly against the Orientals. These two Bishops, called *Hermogenes* and *Lampadius*, at their arrival found *St. Celestine* dead, and *Sixtus* in his place. This Pope graciously received these Messengers, approved what was said in the Council of *Antioch* concerning the Faith, and the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. But as to *John* Bishop of *Antioch* and the Orientals, he ordered, that if they would acknowledge and approve the Faith of the Council, they ought to be received. This he wrote to *St. Cyril* and the other Bishops in two Letters, which *M. Cotellierius* hath published in *Greek* and *Latin*, in his 1st. Tome of the

Monuments of the *Greek Church*. p. 42, and 44. And Mr. *St. Sixtus Baluzius* hath put them in his new Collection of Councils, III. p. 658.

These Letters had very good success, and prepared their Minds for Peace. As soon as it was concluded, *St. Cyril* sent *St. Sixtus* the News of it, who shewed a great deal of Joy at it, and immediately wrote to *St. Cyril* and *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, to assure them, that he did joyn with them in their Re-union. We have these two Letters at the end of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 1175, and 1178. He wrote to *St. Cyril*, that at that time when he was much troubled for the condition of the Eastern Churches, he was greatly pleased to hear by his Letters, that all the Members of the Church were again united in one Body, excepting him only who was the Cause of all the Mischief; that he had imparted this good News to the Bishops of his Synod which was assembled upon his Birth-day. He adds, that *John* Bishop of *Antioch* had never followed the Errors and Blasphemies of *Nestorius*; that he had only suspended his Judgment, and that he ought to rejoice that he had at last declared himself for the right side; That it was an excellent Work to bring over so great Bishops, and that he thought it well done by himself, that he had not acted rashly in that affair, but had waited till the Vine of Jesus Christ brought forth useful and pleasant Fruit: That *St. Cyril* ought entirely to forget the Injuries which the Oriental Bishops had done him, in pronouncing the Sentence of Condemnation against him; that he had suffered undeservedly to render the Truth victorious. Lastly, he tells him, that he expected that the Clergy of *John* Bishop of *Antioch*'s Party should write to him.

He shews the same Joy to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and discovers the same Displeasure against *Nestorius*. He praises him, that he made an elegant Profession of the Faith of the Church, and rejected Novelty to apply himself to the Ancient Doctrine.

Altho' these two Letters are both dated the same Day, which is *Sep. 15. 433.* yet the Letter to *John* ought to bear date some Days after the Letter to *St. Cyril*. III.

The 3d. Letter to the Oriental Bishops ascribed to *St. Sixtus* is an evident Forgery made up of Passages taken out of the 8th. Council of *Toledo*. *St. Gregory* the Great, *Felix III.* *Adrian*, the *Theodosian* and *Justinian* Codes, and it is in great part in the 3d. Epistle attributed to *Fabian*, which is the Work of *Isidorus Mercator*, as well as this. This Letter is written about an Accusation, which it pretends was brought against *St. Sixtus* by *Bassus*, who had been Consul, from which he was cleared in a Synod, and *Bassus* was condemned. This Story is related in the Pontifical, and we have the pretended Acts of that Council, but the very reading of them will fully satistie us of their Falshood. They have the same Date with the Letter, that is to say, they are dated in the Year 440. some Days after *St. Sixtus*'s Death. Although the Author of the Pontifical places this Accusation in the 11th. year of *St. Sixtus*'s Pope-dom, the Name of one of the Consuls is changed. The Acts themselves are nothing but an heap of Impertinencies and Fables. The Acts of the Condemnation of one *Polychronius* pretended to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*, given at *Rome*, is of the same stamp. There was no Bishop of that Name at that time. The Date of these Acts agrees with the Pontificate of *Leo*, and yet they say he was condemned under *Sixtus*. They speak also of a Siege of *Jerusalem*, which is imaginary, but if all these things did not, the reading of these Acts would discover the Forgery.

We must not then give any Credit to the Acts of the Condemnation of *Bassus*. We are not sure that ever he accused *St. Sixtus* III. this Fact not being related by any credible Author; so that it is not Probable, that the whole Story is fabulous. *Sixtus* III. died in the Month of *March*, in the year 440.

PROCLUS.

Proclus.

Proclus was yet very young, when he was made a Reader of the Church of *Constantinople*. The Ecclesiastical Offices did not hinder him from following his Studies, and especially applying himself to Rhetorick. He was afterwards Secretary to *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, by whom he was ordained both Deacon and Priest. After whose Death some pitched upon him to succeed him, but the Votes of the People were for *Sisinnius*, who ordained *Proclus* Bishop of *Cyzicum*. The Inhabitants of that City not being willing to accept of him, because they would not so apparently acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, he was forced to continue at *Constantinople*, where he got a great reputation by his Preaching. After the death of *Sisinnius*, he had a great many Votes for him. But to appease the heats which were among the Clergy of *Constantinople*, it was resolved to choose *Nestorius* a Priest of *Antioch*. After his Deposition, *Proclus* was propounded a third time to be Bishop of *Constantinople*, and he had been elected, if some Persons of great Credit had not represented it as contrary to the Canons, which forbid the Translations of Bishops. Wherefore he was rejected that time also, and *Maximian* was chosen; but at last he arrived at that Dignity, to which he had been designed so many times, and was ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*, after the Death of *Maximian*, Anno, 434. in the Month of *April*. He enjoyed that See peaceably to his death, which happened in 446.

The Sermons of this Author have been published at *Rome*, by *Vincens Riccard* in *Greek* and *Latin*, in 1630. and were inserted by *F. Cambesius* in the first Tome of his *Auctuarium* to the *Biblioth. Patrum*, [at *Paris* in 1648.]

There are 20 of them, the 1st, 5th, 6th. are upon the Virgin *Mary*. In it he extolls almost only her Title of the Mother of God. The 2d. and 3d. are upon the Incarnation. The 4th. is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ: This is

near akin to the 2d. Sermon of *Theodotus* Bishop of *Ancyra*. The 7th. is upon the *Theophany*, or the Baptism of Jesus Christ, which is in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*. The 8th. upon the Transfiguration of our Saviour. The 9th. upon the Feast of Tabernacles. The 10th. upon Holy Thursday and against Covetousness. The 11th. upon the Passion. The 12th. upon the Resurrection. The 13th, 14th, and 15th. upon the Passover. The 16th. upon *Pentecost*. The 17th. upon *St. Steven* the Protomartyr. The 18th. is a Panegyrick upon *St. Paul*. The 19th. is on *St. Andrew*. The last, is a *Latin* Fragment of a Sermon in the Praise of *St. Chrysostome*.

These Sermons are written in a concise and sententious Style, full of Antitheses, Interrogations, Exclamations and Points. The Notions are studied and subtle, but are of little Use and Instruction. He speaks the same thing an hundred several ways, and gives it abundance of different Turns. This sort of Composure requires a great deal of Labour and Application, and manifests the Wit and Liveliness of the Speaker. But it is of little use to the Auditors; it diverts them, and sometimes delights them, so long as they hear this studied Discourse, but ordinarily they go away from it, neither more knowing nor better affected; and they are scarce gone, but they forget all that has been said to them; for these pleasant ways of speaking, which delight us only for the Curiousness and Delicacy, make not any impression upon the Mind nor Heart, and leave nothing behind them but a general Reminiscence, that they were much pleased with what they heard, but know not why. This is a true Character of *Proclus*'s Sermons, who was mighty successful in this kind. By this he shews what he could have done, if he had made choice of a better Style, or had had the good luck to have lived in a time when Men had better Judgments.

Proclus.

CAPREOLUS.

Capreolus.

Capreolus Successor of *Aurelius* in the See of *Carthage*, sent in 431, his Deputies to the Council of *Ephesus* with a Letter, which is set down in the Acts of that Council. We have also a little Treatise which he wrote in answer of *Vitalis* and *Constantius*, Christians of *Spain*, who had consulted him, whether it might be said, that God is born of a Virgin. In it he proves this Truth, by shewing, that there is but one Person in Jesus Christ, and confuting those that are of a contrary Judgment. He speaks in this Treatise of the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, and of his Heresy in the Council of *Ephesus*; to which he says, that he sent his Deputies. It is very remarka-

ble, that the 2 *Spaniards* apply themselves to *Capreolus*, to desire of him, what they ought to believe in so important a Point as this is, and that they do it in the most submissive Terms. What would not the Divines of the Court of *Rome* say, if this Consultation had been addressed to the Bishop of *Rome*? What Consequences would they not draw from such a Consultation in favour of the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*? This Treatise was published by *F. Sirmondus*, and printed by *Cramoisy* [among *Opuscula Veterum* at *Paris*] in 1630. in [Octavo]. [It is also in *Bibl. Patr.* Tom 7.]

Capreolus.

ANTONIUS HONORATUS Bishop of Constantina in Africa.

WE have a Letter of this Bishop directed to one named *Arcadius*, who was banished for the Faith by *Genfericus* King of the *Vandals*. He exhorts him to suffer patiently for Jesus Christ, and propounds to him several Examples of Holy Scripture to encourage him to persevere in his Sufferings with Constancy, that he may obtain the Crown of Martyrdom, which he

gives him an assurance of, if he continues firm in the Faith. This Letter is short, and full of lively and cogent Notions and Expressions. In the end he brings some comparisons to explain the Myltery of the Trinity. It is found in the *Biblioth. Patrum* [Tom. 8.] [and in *Baronius's* Annals in the year 437.] it was written about the year 435.

VICTOR of Antioch.

THis *Victor*, a Priest of *Antioch*, hath made a Commentary upon the Gospel of *St. Mark*, which hath been translated into *Latin*, and published by *Pelzanus*. It is thought this Author lived in the beginning of the Fifth Age*, or towards the end of the Fourth, for he says, upon the thirteenth Chapter of *St. Mark*, that in his time some Remains of the Temple of *Jerusalem* were to be seen. He says also in the same place, that there were yet some Christians, who put off Baptism to the End of their Life. In the next Chapter he speaks of the Heresy of the *Novatians*, as of a Sect then in being.

He observes in his Preface, that several Authors had written upon the Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. John*; That very few had bestowed their Labours upon *St. Luke*, but he could never meet with any that had written upon *St. Mark*, although he had exactly run over the Catalogues of the Works of the Ancients. He adds, that for this Reason

he took up the Resolution to collect what the Doctors of the Church had upon divers Places of this Gospel, and composed a short Explication upon it. He says afterwards, that *St. Mark* was also called *John* and that his Mother was that *Mary*, with whom the Disciples abode at *Jerusalem*, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*. That it was he who accompanied *St. Barnabas*, and afterwards joyned himself with *St. Peter*: That he wrote his Gospel at *Rome*, at the Desire of the Faithful of that City. *St. Matthew* had written his Gospel some time before.

This is what this Author says of *St. Mark* in the Preface of his Commentary. In his Commentary he applies himself to the Explication of the Letter and History, which he clears by very solid and judicious Notes and Observations. This Commentary was printed with that of *Titus Bostrensis* upon *St. Luke*, at *Ingolstadt* in 1580. and put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 4.]

VICTOR of Marseilles.

Claudius Marius Victor, or *Victorinus*, a Rhetorician at *Marseilles*, hath made a Commentary upon *Genesis* beginning at the Creation, and ending at the Death of *Abraham*. It was divided into three Books, dedicated to his Son *Ætherius*. It is evident that it was composed by a Christian, and an Orthodox Person: But since prophane Learning was the Principal Employment of this Author, and he was not instructed by any able Teacher in the Knowledge of Holy Scripture, this Work was very

weak. He died under the Empire of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. This is taken out of *Gennadius*, Chap. 60. The Work of this Author which is extant* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 8.] is a Poem in *Latin* Heroicks, and contains a Narration of the History of *Genesis* to the Death of *Abraham*. The Style of it is harsh, and the Verses are rough, but the Sense is Noble, and the History well explained. There are at the end of it some Verses of the same Author, against the corruption of the Manners of his Time.

SEDULIUS.

Caelius Sedulius*, a Christian Poet, composed, under the Empire of *Theodosius* II. and *Valentinian* III. about the Year 430. an Heroick Poem, of the Life of Jesus Christ: It is intituled, *Opus Paschale*. A Paschal Work, because that Jesus Christ is our Passover. It is divided into five Books; the first begins at the Creation of the World, and runs through the most remarkable Histories of the Old Testament. The three others contain the Life of Jesus Christ. This Work is dedicated to an Abbot called *Macedonius*. It hath been reviewed and published by *† Turcius Aferius*. *Arator*, *Cassiodorus*, *Fortunatus* and *Gregorius Turonensis*, mention it as an excellent Poem. He put it himself afterward into Prose, [and adding it to the former four in Verse, made the Work to contain five Books;] we have them both with an Acrostick Hymn,

which contains the Life of Jesus Christ in short. This Author had a Genius, the Style of his Poem is Noble and Great, his Notions are Poetical, and his Verses very Passable. It is not necessary to advertise [the Reader,] that this *Sedulius* is different from him who made the Commentary upon all *St. Paul's* Epistles, which is nothing properly but an Extract of the Commentaries of others. Since he quotes Authors much later than the Poet *Sedulius*, and among others *St. Gregory* the Pope, and Venerable *Bede*. It is evident that he lived a long time after. This is he who was an *Englishman* and Co-temporary with *Bede*.

The Poem of *Sedulius* hath been printed by *Aldus Manutius* in 1502 at *Basil* [in 1528, 1534. and with the Notes of *Antonius Nebrissenis*] in 1541. and hath been put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 6.]

PHILIPPUS SIDETA.

This is the Relation which *Socrates* gives us of this Author, and the Judgment he passes on him: *Philip of Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*, boasted, that he was the Father of *Troilus* the Sophist, a Native of the same City. Being but a Deacon, he converted much with *St. Chrysostome*, and was afterwards ordained Priest. He was very laborious and diligent in the Studies of good Learning, and had made a great Collection of Books of all Sorts. He composed several Works in an Asiatick Style, for he confuted the Books of *Julian*, and composed the History of Christianity, divided into thirty Books: Each Book was parted into divers Sections, insomuch that there were in all near a thousand. The Argument of every Section is as large as the Section it self. He gave this Book the Name of a Christian History, and not of an Ecclesiastical History, and collected in this Work many Curious and Learned Observations that he might seem a great Philosopher. He speaks often of Theorems of Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetick and Musick. He spends much Time

and Pains in describing Islands, Mountains, Trees and several other things of little Importance: By these Means he hath made his Book very great, and, in my Judgment, useless, both to the Ignorant and Learned; for the Ignorant take no notice of the Ornaments of this Discourse, and the Learned condemn the vain Repetitions: Nevertheless, let every one give what Judgment he pleases of this Work. All that I shall say of it is this, that he inverts the Order of Time; for after he has related what passed in the Time of *Theodosius*, he ascends to the Time of *Athanasius*, and there often changes the natural Order of things.

Because he hoped to have been ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Atticus*, he takes the Liberty, in his History, to rail against the Ordination of *Sisinnius*, who was preferred before him, and reports very scandalous things of those who chose and ordained him.

Photius, who had read some part of this Work of *Philip of Side*, says much the same things of it, and passes the same Judgment upon it, in *Code* 35. of his *Bibliotheca*. 'I have

Philippus Sidera. have read, saith he, the Work of *Philip of Side*, intituled, *The Christian History*, which begins at the Creation of the World, and goes on as far as the Story of *Moses*. Sometimes he treats of Things very short, and sometimes more copiously. The first Book contains twenty four Sections, and the twenty three others a like Number. These are all we have seen. He is full of Words, but they are neither pleasant nor elegant; but on the contrary are flat, and soon tire the Reader. We find in it a greater Show of Learning than Profit. He puts in many things into his History, which are impertinent. Inasmuch that he that

sees this Work, would never call it an History, but a Miscellaneous Treatise, he makes so many needless Digressions. He was Contemporary with *Sisinnius* and *Proclus* Bishops of *Constantinople*: He often speaks against the Former, in his History, being displeased, because being in the same Dignity, and in the same Church, *Sisinnius* was preferred to the Patriarchate before him, although he thought himself more Eloquent than he. The Judgment which these Authors give of this Work, may make us not be troubled much at the loss of it. [*Niceph. Callistus* quotes a Fragment of it.]

Philippus Sidera.

PHILOSTORGIUS.

Philostorgius. **P**hilostorgius, born in *Cappadocia*, about the Year 388, the Son of *Carterius* and *Eulampia*, undertook to write an Ecclesiastical History, but being brought up in *Arianism*, and engaged in the *Eunomian* Party, his Work is rather a Panegyrick of these Hereticks, than an History: Therein he openly declares against the Orthodox, he slanders them, blames them, and abuses them all-a-long it; on the contrary, he praises, at a venture, all the *Arian* Party. *Aetius*, according to him, was the greatest Man that ever was: He and *Eunomius* were the Retainers of the Faith. *Ensebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theophilus* Bishop of the *Indies*, and several *Arian* Bishops, are the Saints that have done Miracles. In it the *Semi-Arians* meet with little better Treatment than the Catholics. He blames the Deportment of *Eudoxus*, and describes *Acacius*, as a cunning Impostor. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* is the only Person of the Orthodox whom he doth not abuse. He cannot likewise forbear commending *St. Basil's* Eloquence. In sum, he is full of Falsities, Lyes and Calumnies against the Orthodox Bishops; and he hath written with so much partiality that we cannot safely believe any thing he says: Yet there are many things that may be useful to the Church. He gives several Examples of God's Providence. He commends Fasting and Continency. He approves of the Worship of Martyrs, and the Reliques of Saints. He says, that the first Book of *Maccabees* is of greater Authority than the second. He wholly rejects the third. His Style is plea-

sant and elaborate. He makes use of Poetical Expressions and choice Words very fitly. He is very happy in applying of Tropes and Emphatical Words; which would render his Discourse very fine and pleasing, if he used them moderately, and did not run the hazard of extraordinary and forced Expressions, which make it dull and flat. His Discourse is set out with so great variety of Figures, that it becomes thereby obscure and tedious. He hath, very often very proper and Significant Words.

His History is divided into twelve Books; it begins with the Controversy between *Arius* and *Alexander*, that is to say, in 320. and ends at the Time when *Theodosius* the younger admitted *Valentinian III.* into a Share of the Imperial Government with him, who was the Son of *Placidia* and *Constantinus*, about the Year 425. Every Book begins with one of the Letters of his own Name.

This History of *Philostorgius* was had in so great Detestation among the Orthodox, that 'tis no wonder it has not been preserved entire to our Times: But we have an Abridgment of it in *Phorinus*, and some Extracts taken out of *Suidas* and other Authors. *Jacobus Gothofredus*, a learned Lawyer, first published them, with his Translation and large Notes. This Book was printed at *Geneva* in 1634*. Since, * In Quar. Mr. *Valesius* having reviewed this Abridgment by the Manuscripts, and corrected the Text in several Places, hath caused it to be printed with the Ecclesiastical History of *Theodoret* and *Evagrius* [at *Paris* in 1673].

Philostorgius.

NONNUS.

Nonnus. **N**onnus, a Christian Poet, of the City of *Panopolis* in *Aegypt*, is reckoned among the Authors of the fifth Age, though it be not exactly known at what time he flourish'd*. All that can be said is, that he lived after *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, but is more ancient than *Justinian*, since *Agathias*, who lived in the Time of this Emperor, quotes him in his fourth Book of the *Gothick Wars*. His Style and Manners are suitable to the Authors of the fourth Age. He hath made a Paraphrase upon *St. John's Gospel* in Verse, in a swelling and lofty Style. *Alanus Mannusius* first published the *Greek Text*, in the beginning of the former Age, [in 1508. at *Rome*.] Several Versions have been since made of it, which were printed with the Text, at *Lyons* in 1590. at *Frankfort* in 1541. and at *Heidelberg* in 1596. *Heinsius* having spent much Pains up-

on this Work put out a new Edition of it [with his own Exercitations upon it] at *Amsterdam* in 1627. There was also another Edition at *Paris* by *Cramoisy* in 1623. 'Tis also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed [at *Paris*] in 1624. [It was also printed at *Leyden* in 1598. in Octavo, with *Nonnus's* Notes.]

This Author also hath composed another Poem in the same Style, but upon a very different Subject. It is divided into forty eight Books, called *Dionysiacks*, containing the fabulous Expeditions of *Bacchus* [written while he was an Heathen, printed in *Greek* at *Amwerp* in 1569. in Quarto, in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Hanover* in 1605. in Octavo, among the *Greek Poets* at *Geneva* in 1606. and with *Cunaeus* and *Scaliger's* Notes at *Hanover* in 1610.]

Nonnus.
* At *Leyden* Dr. *Cave*.

SOCRATES.

Socrates. **S**ocrates was born at *Constantinople* in the beginning of the Empire of *Theodosius*. He studied Grammar under the two famous Grammarians *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*. After he had finished his Studies, and for some time had professed the Law, he undertook to write the Ecclesiastical History, from the Year 309. where *Ensebius* ends, and continues it to the Year 440. He there relates, in 7 Books, the great Events which happened in the Church from the Conversion of *Constantine*. This History is written, as Mr. *Valesius* observes, with a great deal of Judgment and Exactness. His Exactness appears, in his being industrious to consult the Original Records, the Bishops Letters, the Writings of the Authors of his own time, of which he often gives us an Extract in his History. He is also careful to set down exactly the Succession of Bishops, and the years in which every thing was transacted, and he describes them by the Consuls and Olympiads. His Judgment appears in the Reflections and Observations, which he makes now and then, which are very judicious and impartial. We may see in the 22d. Chap. of the 5th. Book, an Example of the diligent Enquiry he had made about the Discipline of the Church. He there treats of the Dispute on what day the Feast of *Easter* should be celebrated, and remarks very judiciously, that there was no just reason to dispute a thing of so little Consequence with so much heat; that it was not necessary to follow the custom of the Jews;

that the Apostles had no general Rule for the keeping of Festivals, but they were brought into the Church by use only; that they had left no Law concerning the time when *Easter* should be celebrated, and that it was only for the sake of the History that it is related, that Jesus Christ was crucified in the Feast of Unleavened Bread; that the Apostles did not trouble themselves to make any Orders about Holy-days, but their only design was to teach Faith and Virtue; that the Apostles having decreed nothing concerning the celebration of *Easter*, it is no wonder if the Churches did not unanimously agree about it; after he hath brought down the Quarrel from *Victor* to the Council of *Nice*, he adds some Heads about the different Ceremonies of the Church. He finds great Differences about the *Lent-Fast*. The *Romans*, saith he, content themselves to fast three Weeks, *Saturday* and *Sunday* excepted. The Christians of *Illyria* and *Achaia*, as also those of *Aegypt*, fast seven Weeks before *Easter*, and have given the Name of *Lent* to all that space of time. Others begin seven Weeks before, but fast no more than three Weeks, each consisting of five Days, leaving out two Fortnights in which they do not fast at all; and yet they also call their Fast by the Name of *Lent*. Nor is there only a disagreement about the number of Fasting-days, but also about the Abstinence it self. For some eat no living Creature, others eat nothing but Fish, others admit of Fowls, which were created out of the Waters, as it is said in *Genesis*. Some abstain from the Fruits

Socrates.

Socrates. of Trees and Eggs. There are some that eat nothing but Bread, others abstain from that also. Lastly, there are some who allow themselves not to eat till after three a Clock in the Afternoon, but they make no difficulty to eat all sorts of Meat. There are an infinite number of like Practices, differing in different Churches, of which each labours to give a Reason. There is no less difference about the days for the solemn Assemblies of the Faithful. All Churches, excepting those of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, celebrate the Holy Mysteries on *Saturday*. The People of *Egypt* and *Thebais* have their Meetings on the same day, but they do not receive the Eucharist as the others; for after they have feasted themselves, they communicate in the Evening. At *Alexandria* they meet on *Wednesday* and *Saturday* to hear the Holy Scripture read, and to perform the Divine Worship, but they do not receive the Sacrament. In this Church of *Alexandria* likewise they choose their Singers and Readers promiscuously out of the *Catechumens* or Faithful. In *Thessaly*, if a Clergyman, who is Married, lies with his Wife after Ordination, they deprive him of his Office. In the East, the Clerks and Bishops themselves abstain from their Wives, but it is of their own Accord, and without being obliged to it by any Law; and there are many who have had Children by their Wives, while they were Bishops. It is said, that *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Trica*, who when he was young made some Amorous Books, was the Author of this Custom, which hath obtained not only in *Thessaly*, but also in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*. In *Thessaly* they baptize upon *Easter-day* only. At *Antioch* the Site of the Church is contrary to others, the Altar not being turned toward the East, but toward the West. In *Thessaly* and at *Jerusalem*, as soon as the Lamps are lighted, they betake themselves to their Prayers. At *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, and in the Isle of *Cyprus*, the Bishops and Priests at the same time interpret Holy Scriptures. Lastly, it is hard to find any two Churches exactly agreeing in their Ceremonies. The Priests do not preach at *Alexandria*. This Custom began in the time of *Arius*, who troubled the Church by his Sermons. They fast every *Saturday* at *Rome*. The Cause of these differences, and many others proceeds from the Customs established at several times by the Bishops, which being received and authorized by their Successors, have obtained the force of a Law.

It may be that *Socrates* is mistaken in some of these Articles, and that he hath taken the Error of some particular for the practice of the Universal Church; but this is a sign that he was curious, and that he had made very exact Observations and Disquisitions touching the Discipline of the Church. He had at first composed the two first Books

of his History upon the Credit of *Rufinus*, but afterwards having discovered by reading the Works of *St. Athanasius*, that that Historian had omitted the principal Circumstances of the Persecution, which that valiant Defender of Christ's Divinity had suffered, he amended the two first Books. As for the five last, he composed them as well upon the Credit of *Rufinus* and some other Authors, as from the Records of the Church, and the relation of those that had been Witnesses of the things, or from what he had seen himself. But all this hath not secured him from falling sometimes into very considerable Faults, as when he confounds *Maximian* with *Maximin*; when he assures us, that there were five Bishops condemned in the Council of *Nice* for having refused to approve the Confession of Faith, altho' it appears by a Letter of the Council clearly, that there were but two, viz. *Theonas* and *Secundus*; when he attributes the three Confessions of *Sirmium* to the same Council, altho' they were made by three several Councils, and he hath committed some other Faults of less Consequence.

It cannot be denied but he speaks very well of the *Novatians*, and that he had a great kindness for that Sect, for he is curious in making a Catalogue of their Bishops; he commends them, relates what they have said and done, and owns that he hath a particular Esteem for them. In his Opinion, *Novatian* is a Martyr, and the *Novatians* are a very Religious People, who have not altered the Faith, their Practices and Customs are not to be slighted, and the greatest part of Men reject them for no other reason, but because they are Lovers of a looser Church-discipline. This is all that persuades the World that *Socrates* was a *Novatian*. Notwithstanding this he always gives us the Name of the Church and the Orthodox; he reckons the *Novatians* among the *Schismaticks*, l. 6. c. 20. and 23. which makes it apparent, that he was not a thorough *Novatian*, altho' he had a good Opinion of their Sect, and did believe perhaps that they might be saved; being persuaded, as he was, that they had preserved the ancient Discipline, and that the difference which was between them and the Orthodox, was not in Matters of Faith.

The Style of *Socrates* is plain and casie. He hath nothing of an Orator, and keeps himself within the bounds of a single Narration, which is not adorned with the Elegancies usual among Historians, but which hath nothing in it obscure or intricate. He produces long Quotations to prove the Matters of Fact, which he relates. The same Authors who translated the History of *Eusebius*, have also translated *Socrates* and *Sozomen's*; for which reason it is to no purpose to repeat their Versions and Editions in this place.

SOZOMEN.

Sozomen. **H**ermias *Sozomenus* lived at the same time with *Socrates*, was of the same Profession, and undertook a Work of the same Nature. He was of a good Family, a Native of a City in *Palestine*, called *Bethelia* near *Gaza*. His Grandfather having been converted by a Miracle of *Hilarion's*, applied himself to the study of Holy Scripture, and conversed very much with the Monks of his own Country. *Sozomen* was brought up among them, and had imbibed a very great esteem for that Order. This he plainly discovers in his History, where he gives an high commendation of a Monastick Life, and enlarges himself very much upon the Actions, and Manner of living used among those Solitaries. This is almost all that is considerable, which he addeth to the History of *Socrates*, for he begins and ends at the same time. I say, that that's all he hath added, because I am persuaded that he wrote after *Socrates*. For besides, that he was then a Lawyer, when he composed his History, and by consequence was younger than *Socrates*, who had left off that Profession, it is visible enough that he follows the Relation of *Socrates*, to which he adds or changes some things now and then; also he is ordinarily

put after *Socrates*. These Additions have made his History larger, and obliged him to divide it into nine Books.

His Style is more florid and elegant than *Socrates's*, but he is not so judicious an Author. He hath inserted some things into his History, which are not agreeable to it. He is guilty of all the same Faults that *Socrates* is, and is himself fallen into more gross ones. As when he says, that Pope *Julius* not being able to go to the Council of *Nice* by reason of his great Age, he sent *Vito* and *Vincentius*; although 'tis certain that that Council was held under Pope *Sylvester*. He confounds the Ordination of *Gregory* by the Church of *Alexandria*, with the Intrusion of *George*. He hath been very negligent in setting down the Catalogues of the Bishops of the great Sees. He hath placed *Romanus* in the number of the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, although he was no more than a Deacon. He makes the Popedom of *Julius* to last 25 Years, whereas it continued but fifteen Years, and puts his Death after *Gallus's*, although it happen'd two Years before. I omit to speak of many more Faults in this Author. His History is dedicated to *Theodosius* the Younger.

THEODORITUS.

Theodoret. **T**heodoretus was born at *Antioch*, in the Year 368. His Birth was accompanied with Miracles before and after, which he himself relates in his Religious History: * For if we may believe him, his Mother was cured of an incurable Disease, which she had in her Eye, by a Monk called *Peter*. It was by the Prayers of another Religious Man, called *Macedonius*, that God granted her to conceive a Son, and bring him into the World:

(a) **D**evote him to God, Sec.] Hence he was called *Theodoret*, either because he was given by God, or devoted to God. *Eusebius* and *Suidas* observe, that we ought to read and pronounce his Name Θεοδορίος, Theodorit, and not Θεοδορίος, Thodoret. The Ancients call him Θεοδότης, and the Manuscripts write him so; notwithstanding Usage hath corrupted the Latin Name,

And it was by the Prayers of the first of these two Holy Monks that she was preserved from Death after her Delivery. Her Husband and Son felt also the Effects of the Deserts of this Holy Man, being often healed of their Distempers by the touching of his Girdle.

After so great Favours, which God had shewn to this Infant, who can in the least doubt but that his Parents ought to devote him to God, who had given him to them (a)?

and made him called *Theodoret*. The more Learned indeed call him always *Theodoret*, but if we should call him *Theodoret* in the French, it would not be known what we mean. The Greek do not give him the Name of Saint, because he hath written against *St. Cyril*, and the Fifth Council hath imprinted a Mark of Disgrace upon his Memory.

Theodore. His Mother had engaged her self to it, when the Holy Anchorite promised her a Son; which she performed by putting him into the Monastery of St. *Euprepius*, when he was but seven Years Old; where, he learned the Sciences, Religion and Piety. He had for his Master *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, and St. *John Chrysostome*, and for his Fellow-Scholars *John*, afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Nestorius*, who was not long after preferred to the See of *Constantinople*. The Bishops of *Antioch* having knowledge of his Learning and Virtue, admitted him into Holy Orders; yet did he not, upon that account, change either his Habitation or manner of Life, but found out a way to reconcile the Exercises of a Religious Life with the Function of a Clergy-man. After the Death of his Father and Mother, he distributed his whole Inheritance to the Poor, reserving nothing at all of it to himself.

The Bishoprick of *Cyrus* being become vacant about the Year of Christ 420 (b). The Bishop of *Antioch* ordained *Theodore* against his Will, and sent him to govern that Church. *Cyrus* is a City of *Syria*, in the Province of *Euphratesia*, which was a Country unpleasant and barren, but very populous: There were eight hundred Villages which were subject to that Bishoprick. The Inhabitants commonly spake the *Syriack* Tongue, few of them understood *Greek*, they were almost all poor, rude and barbarous; many of them were engaged in prophane Superstitions or in such gross Errors; as rendered them more like Heathens than Christians. The Learning and Worth of *Theodore* seemed to qualify him for a greater See; yet he remained in this, and discharged all the Offices of a good Bishop. He cleared his Diocese from Barbarism and from Errors, which were predominant among them. He converted eight Villages, infected with the Heresy of the *Marcionites*, and planted the true Faith in two other Towns, where there was none but *Arians* and *Eunomians*. In a word, he utterly extirpated Heresy out of his Diocese, yet not without much Labour, and running the Hazard of his Life, for it cost him sometimes some of his Blood, being often pursued with Showers of Stones, and almost killed by the Infidels; so that in him we have the Picture of a good Shepherd, who layeth down his Life for the Sheep. But the Goodness of *Theodore* extended it self much farther. He prevented the Churches of *Phœnicia* from falling into Error; and being called to *Antioch* by the Patriarch of that great See, he preached there with Applause and Benefit. Let no Man think that he courted this Employment, or sought an opportunity to leave his Diocese, to reside in a more civilized City, he went not to *Antioch* but with regret, in obedience to the Commands of his Patriarch, and the Laws of the Church; which condemn a Bishop who comes not to the Synod of his Patriarch, when he is cited thither: Yea, he was so exact in that Point, that he assures us, that he had the good Luck, not to leave his Diocese to go to *Antioch*, above five or six times under three Patriarchs, viz. under *Theodotus*, *John* and *Domnus*, and that by their express Order only. He governed his People with so much gentleness that he gained the Love of all the World. All the time that he was Bishop, he never had any Suit at Law with any Person: No Man brought an Action against him, nor did he the like against any Man. He was so very careless of his own Gain, that he kept nothing for himself but some plain Garments, with which he was clothed. Neither he himself nor his Domesticks would receive any thing of any Man: Neither himself nor his Clergy did ever appear at the Judgment Seats. He employed but a very small part of the Church-Revenues to maintain himself very frugally, and gave the rest to the Poor, or employed it for the erecting some publick Buildings, necessary for the City of *Cyrus*. He set up Cloysters, raised two Bridges, repaired the Baths, and conveyed Water, by a Conduit, into the City. He requested of the Emperess *Pulcheria*, that she would release the Inhabitants of the Country of *Cyrus* from a Tribute which was very grievous to them. He provided a Physician for the City. In fine, he laid out all he had for the common Good. He was not only a Benefactor to his own People, but his Charity extended it self to Strangers: A Lady of *Carthage*, named *Mary*, who had been taken and sold by the *Vandals*, being brought to *Cyrus*, tasted of the effects of his kindness, for he fed her at the expence of the Church, and having purchased her Liberty, sent her home to her Father. He relieved also another Woman, who had been forced to make her escape out of *Africa*, and leave all her Estate there, and recommended her to other Bishops his Neighbours. As he had been brought up among the Monks, so he had a very particular Love for the Solitaries; he went often to visit them, recommended himself to their Prayers, and shewed that he had a very great Regard and Respect for them. He celebrated the Holy Mysteries by the Hands of his Deacon, in favour of

Maris the Monk, who had been Twenty seven Years in Solitude, without being present at the Celebration of the Sacrifice; but this was a particular Act of *Theodore*. Nevertheless, we must consider the manner how he managed himself in the Affairs of the Church and Religion, in which he had a greater Share than any other Bishop of his Time.

Although *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, appeared at the Head of the *Eastern* Bishops, yet it may be said, that the whole Party were principally swayd by the Counsels of *Theodore*, who was, as it were, the Soul and Spirit of it. It was by his Counsel that *John* wrote at first to *Nestorius*, to receive the Term of *The Mother of God*. It was he that undertook to confute the *Anathematisms* of St. *Cyril*, and accused them of Heresy. In the Council of *Ephesus* he was one of the most earnest Defenders of the Party of the *Orientalists*, and he held a considerable place among the Deputies, which they sent to the Court, where he maintained their Cause with Courage. Being returned from *Antioch*, he exasperated things more, by causing them to confirm what they had done against St. *Cyril* and *Memnon*, and by composing Five Books against St. *Cyril*. When a Pacification was propounded, he acknowledged indeed, that the Letter, which St. *Cyril* had written, contained Orthodox Doctrine, but he would have them condemn his *Anathematisms*, and not be obliged by any means to subscribe the Condemnation of *Nestorius*.

When a Peace was concluded between *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and St. *Cyril*, he was displeased that *Nestorius* was forsaken. He opposed the Peace for some Time, but at last entered into it, and wrote a very obliging Letter to St. *Cyril*, wherein he praised his Treatise, *De Capro Emisario*, *Of the Scape Goat*: He received Thanks from that Bishop, and ever after they had a Correspondence by Letters, and after his Death he quotes him, with much Honour, among the Fathers of the Church. I am very sensible, that some Men moved by the Testimony of *Liberatus*, pretend, that *Theodore* made a Third Party different from both the *Orientalists*, and St. *Cyril*, which he calls by the Name of *Acephali*, but it is a false Assertion, which confutes it self, since there never were any other *Acephali* known but those who were in the Error of *Eutyches*. Besides, it appears, by the very Confession of *Theodore*, writing to *Dioscorus*, and by the Course of his History, that he was joyned in Communion not only with the *Eastern*, but also the *Western* and *Egyptian* Bishops. Nevertheless, there was always a certain Antipathy between the *Eastern* and the *Egyptian* Bishops, and principally between *Theodore* and St. *Cyril*. They had some Difference upon the account of the Remembrance of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, and they always continued in a kind of Defiance one of another. The Death of St. *Cyril* did not put an End to the Quarrel, for *Dioscorus*, his Successor, declared himself openly against *Theodore*, and caused him to be excommunicated in his Church, through the Accusation of certain Monks come from the *East*: But *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch* stood up in his Defence: *Flavian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, acknowledged him to be an Orthodox Bishop: But *Dioscorus* having the Authority to call a General Assembly at *Ephesus*, in which he did what he pleased; he therein deposed *Theodore*, in his Absence, and without Hearing, after he had been forbidden by the Emperor to go to the Synod. *Theodore* seeing no Body that could defend him in the *East*, *Domnus* having subscribed his Condemnation, and *Flavian* being dead, after he had been unjustly deposed by the Synod of *Dioscorus*: He seeing, I say, himself unlikely to find any Support strong enough in the *Eastern* Church, had recourse to Pope *Leo*, besought his Help, and consulted him, Whether he thought him obliged to yield to the Sentence, that had been pronounced against him, and desired him at the same Time to demand a new Synod, and he wrote himself to *Patricius Anatolius* to endeavour to obtain it of the Emperor. St. *Leo* having no regard to the Judgment of *Dioscorus*, received his Deputies favourably, and continued Communion with him. He demanded, that all things should remain in the same state that they were before the Judgment of *Dioscorus*; and that he would hold a General Council to re-examine the Case of *Flavianus* and *Eutyches*. He could not obtain this of *Theodosius*, but *Marcian*, his Successor, had regard to their Remonstrances, and assembled a General Council at *Chalcedon*, where *Theodore* was present. In the First Session the Imperial Commissioners said, that *Theodore* might enter; the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Illyria* and *Palæstine* were against it; the *Eastern* Bishops on the contrary, and those that were subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, maintained, that he ought to be received; and cryed out, that the *Egyptians* ought to be turned out. After great Clamours on both Sides, it was allowed that *Theodore* should take his Seat in the Synod, in

(b) About the Year 420.] In his Letter 81. to *Nomus* the Consul, he says, that he had then been Bishop, twenty five Years. He sets down the same time in his eightieth Letter to *Eutrechius*. *Nomus* was Consul in 445. out of which, if we take 25 Years, the remainder will be 420. But in the 113th Letter, written to

St. *Leo*, after the Conventicle of *Ephesus*, in 449. he saith, there were 26 Years since he was Bishop. This will prove but only, that he was so in 423. The difference is of small consequence.

consideration that St. Leo had admitted him into his Communion, and judged him worthy of his Bishoprick. This was ordained only for the present, and without Prejudice to either Party, and with an entire Reservation of their Actions, upon the Heads of Accusation, which they had propounded one against the other. This Business was brought to a Determination in the Eighth Session of the Council, in which a Definitive Sentence was passed in favour of *Theodore*. Here is a particular account how the whole Business was transacted. Some Bishops (it is probable they were the *Aegyptian* Bishops, who were the Accusers of *Theodore*) required that he should pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*. *Theodore* answered, that he had presented Petitions to the Emperor and St. Leo. The Bishops replied, that there was no need to read any thing more, let him but pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*. *Theodore* returned Answer, that (praised be God) he had always been nourished, and brought up in the true Faith by very Orthodox Persons; that he had always taught the Orthodox Faith; that he did condemn *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and all other Persons, who held any Opinions that were not sound. Those Bishops that were not his Friends, would not be satisfied with this Declaration, but still required, that he should pronounce distinctly *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, against his Doctrine and Followers. *Theodore* answered, that above all things he desired, that they would be persuaded that he had no Design of staying in a great City, that he was not ambitious of Honours, and that he was not come thither for that End; That he was come merely to clear himself from that Calumny, which they had nourished of him, and to justify himself to be Orthodox; That he did pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and all other Persons, who believed that there were Two Sons of God. The Bishops here interrupted him, and pressed him to say *Anathema* to *Nestorius*, and to those of his Judgment. *Theodore*, who was afraid that by condemning *Nestorius* clearly and absolutely, he should seem to disapprove the Opinions of the *Aegyptians*, whom he thought *Eutychians*, answered, that he would not say *Anathema* to *Nestorius* till he had made a Profession of what he believed. As he began to say, *I believe then*, he was interrupted by his Adversaries, who cried out tumultuously, *He is an Heretick, He is a Nestorian, away with this Heretick*. *Theodore* seeing himself born down by tumultuous Cries, was obliged to pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, and all those who did not confess that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God, or who divided the only Son of God into two. He adds, that he did subscribe the Form of Faith, and St. Leo's Letter, and that he was of the same Judgment. Then the Imperial Commissioners, accepting his Speech, declared there remained nothing more of Difficulty in reference to the Person of *Theodore*, since he had pronounced *Anathema* to *Nestorius*, had been received by St. Leo, had subscribed the Form of Faith agreed upon by the Council, and the Letter of St. Leo, and that the Council had no more to do but to confirm Pope Leo's Act by their Judgment. After this Declaration all the Bishops cried out, *Theodore* is worthy to hold his See: And after many other Acclamations of that nature, the chief of them gave their Voices separately, and all the others followed their Judgments, inasmuch that the Commissioners pronounced, that, according to the Judgment of the Holy Council, *Theodore* should remain in the possession of the Church of *Cyrrus*. He returned thither soon after the Council, and passed the rest of his Life in quiet, composing his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures. He died in peace, in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Leo, in 457, or 458. in the Seventieth or Eightieth Year of his Age. But his Enemies, after his Death, revived the Accusations, that they had formed against him in his Life-time, and contrary to the Judgment of the Council of *Chalcedon*, used all their Endeavours to obscure his Memory. The Ring-leaders of this Faction designed it against the Council it self, and did not attack the Memory of *Theodore* with any other Design, but that they might give a Blow to the Council it self. But they had insensibly drawn over many Orthodox Persons to their Opinion, and being upheld by the Authority of *Justinian* the Emperor, they brought about their Undertaking, by causing his Writings to be condemned in the Council, which they account the Fifth General Council. But notwithstanding the Judgment of this Council, many of the Orthodox have always defended, and do still defend his Person and Writings. But this is not a convenient Place to treat of this Matter, of which I shall speak afterward. This sufficeth to have advertised you, that *Theodore* met with as bad Usage, almost, after his Death, as he had while he lived.

Of all the Fathers, who have composed Works of different kinds, *Theodore* is one of those who hath been very lucky in every one of them. There are some who have been excellent Writers in Matters of Controversie, but bad Interpreters. Others have been good Historians, but naughty Divines. Some have good success in Morality, who have no skill in Doctrinal Points. Those, who have applied themselves to confute the *Pagan* Religion by their own

Principles and Authors, have ordinarily little knowledge in the Mysteries of our Religion. Lastly, It is very rare for those, who have addicted themselves to Works of Piety, to be good Criticks. *Theodore* had all those Qualities; and it may be said, that he hath equally deserved the Name of a good Interpreter, Divine, Historian, Writer of Controversies, Apologist for Religion, and Author of Works of Piety. But he hath principally excelled in his Compositions upon the Holy Scripture. He hath out-done almost all other Commentators in that kind according to the Judgment of the learned *Photius*. His Language, *saith the same Author*, is very proper for a Commentary; for he explains in proper and significant Terms whatsoever is obscure and difficult in the Text, and renders the Mind more fit to read and understand it, by the pleasantness and elegance of his Discourse. He doth not weary his Reader by long Digressions, but on the contrary he labours to instruct him ingeniously, clearly and methodically, in every thing that seems hard. He never departs from the Purity and Elegancy of the *Attick* Tongue, if there be nothing that obliges him to speak of abstruse Matters, to which the Ears are not accustomed. For it is certain, that he passes over nothing that needs Explication, and it is almost impossible to find any Interpreter who unfolds all manner of Difficulties better, and leaves fewer things obscure. We may find many others who speak elegantly, and explain clearly, but we shall scarcely find any who have written well, and have forgotten nothing which hath need of Illustration, without being too diffuse, nor without running out into Digressions, at least, such as are not absolutely necessary for clearing the Matter in Hand. Nevertheless this is what *Theodore* has observed in all his Commentaries upon Holy Scripture, in which he hath wondrously well opened the Text by his Labour and diligent Search.

There are two sorts of Works of *Theodore* upon Holy Scripture. The one is by way of Question and Answer, the other is a Commentary, wherein he followeth the words of the Text. The eight first Books of the Bible, that is to say, the Pentateuch of *Moses*, the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*; the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* are explained after the first manner, the other are expounded by Commentaries.

The first of these Works is intitul'd, *Εἰς τὰ ἀποκρῆς τῆς δευτέρας γενεᾆς καὶ ἰερογῶν*, which is translated thus; *Of some select doubtful Questions of Holy Scripture*; but may be better translated, *Select Questions upon the difficult places of Holy Scripture*. It is written by way of Question and Answer. The Question propounds the difficulty, and the Answer resolves it. This is the last of the Works of *Theodore*. He composed it at the desire of *Hypatius*, as he tells him in the Preface, where he observes, that there were two sorts of Persons who raise difficulties out of the Holy Scriptures; the one do it with a wicked Intent, to find in the Holy Scriptures Falsities or Contradictions; but others do it with a design to inform themselves, and learn that which they demand. *Theodore* undertakes to stop the Mouth of the former, by making it appear, that there is neither Falsity nor Contradiction in Holy Scripture, and to content the latter by satisfying all their Doubts, so that the Intent of this Work is not so much to explain the Literal Sense of Holy Scripture, as to answer the Scruples that might rise in the Mind by reading the Text.

There are some of the Questions which are very useless, and which do not naturally come into the Mind. As for Example, he demands in the first Question, why the Author of the Pentateuch did not make a Discourse upon the Being and Nature of God, before he spake of the Creation? Few Men would make that Doubt. *Theodore* says, that he condescended to the Weakness of those he had to instruct in speaking first of the Creatures which they knew, that he might make known the Creator to them, for he hath sufficiently discovered the Eternity, Wisdom and Bounty of that Being, in composing a History of the Creation; and lastly, because he spake to Persons who had already some Idea of him, since *Moses* had spoken already in *Aegypt* in his Name, and had taught them that he is what he is, a Name that signifies his Eternity. The following Questions are concerning the Angels. He pretends, that *Moses* hath not spoken of their Creation for fear they should be taken for Gods. He teaches, that they are created and finite Beings; that they keep their place in the Universe; that they are appointed to defend the People and Nations; and likewise, that every Person hath his Guardian Angel; that they were created at the same time with the World, tho' it may be said, that their Creation was before that of Heaven and Earth. After these Preliminary Questions, which serve only for the explication of the Text, he resolves others that serve to clear the Text. One of the Principal is upon these words. The Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters. Some, *saith he*, believe, that it is the Holy Spirit who animated the Waters, and made them fruitful; but I am of Opinion, that it is the Air, which is called in this place the Spirit of God. For having said, that God created the Heaven and Earth, and made mention also of the

Theodore. the Waters under the Name of the Abyss, he ought necessarily to speak of the Air, which is extended upon the Surface of the Waters even to the Heaven. And it is for that reason that he makes use of the Term, *it moved*, which shews the Nature of the Air. *Theodore* propounds also a multitude of other Questions that are curious, such as these that follow: Whether there be one only Heaven, or many? He seems to admit of no more than two. He is not contented to give Solutions of his own, but sometimes he relates other Mens, as upon that famous Text of *Genesis*, where it is said, that Man was made in the Image and Likeness of God. He cites some Passages out of *Diodorus*, *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* and *Origen*, to prove that it ought to be understood of the Soul of Man, and he quotes them also, tho' but seldom, upon some other Questions, if yet these Citations have not been added to the Text of *Theodore*, which is so much the more probable, because they are not to be found in the Manuscript of the King's Library. That he may give the true Sense of Scripture, he hath recourse often to the Versions of the ancient Greek Translators, and likewise to the Hebrew Text, which he read in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and in the Interpretation of Hebrew Words by that Father. He doth not at all search into the Allegories, but applies himself to the explication of the Letter and the History, and ordinarily he pitches upon the most plain and natural Sense. As for Example, when he explains what is meant by the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, he thinks it enough to say that these Names were given them upon the account of the Effects which they produced, that the one preserved Life, and the other made Man to know what Sin was. To make it evident why our first Parents were not ashamed of their Nakedness, he saith, that they were like Infants being not yet defiled with Sin. In sum, that Custom did take away or diminish Shame, as we see in Seamen, who being accustomed to be Naked, are not in the least ashamed when they strip themselves; and as it is the fashion in Baths, without which it would make some Impression. He believes not, that Man was created Immortal; but he says, that God did not pass the Sentence of Death upon him till after he had sinned, that he might beget in him a greater hatred of Sin. He saith, that *Adam* being driven out of Paradise, was sent into a place not much distant from it, that the sight of the place might put him in mind of his Sin. He quotes *Theodorus*, who thought, that by the Cherubims which were placed at the Gate of Paradise, they ought not to understand Angels, nor any Spiritual Essences, but Apparitions and Phantoms, which had the shape of Ghastly Creatures. He doubts not, but that *Enoch* was translated alive into some place to preach the Resurrection, but that no Man ought to trouble himself to know where it is. The Sons of God of whom it is said, that they had familiarity with the Daughters of Men, are not, according to the Judgment of *Theodore*, Angels, but the Posterity of *Set*, who married themselves to the Daughters of the Generation of *Cain*, of whom were born those great Men to whom they gave the Names of Giants. The reason why the first Patriarchs lived so long a time, was, that Mankind might be multiplied, and for that reason it was, that they married so many Women. In the Questions upon *Exodus*, he maintains, that it was God and not an Angel which appeared to *Moses* in the Flaming Bush. He enlarges himself much upon these words, *The Lord hardened the Heart of Pharaoh*, that he might prove, that it was *Pharaoh* himself that hardened his own Heart, against all the Admonitions and Chastisements of God, who treated him with Goodness and Mercy in sparing him. And in explaining in what Sense God may be said to harden his Heart, he brings this familiar Example: The Sun is said to melt Wax and harden Clay, altho' there is but one Vertue only in it, which is to make hot; by the same Goodness and Patience of God, two contrary Effects are wrought, the one is profitable to some, and the other renders others guilty; which is as much as to say, that it converts some and hardens others. As Jesus Christ hath declared in his Gospel, when he says that he came, *That those that see not, might see; and that they which see, might be made blind*. The design of Jesus Christ was not to make those blind, who could see, for he wills, that all Men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth, but he notes by this what happened. For Man being a free Agent, they who have believed secure their Salvation; but on the contrary, they who believe not, are themselves the Authors of their own Damnation. It is in this Sense that *Judas*, who could see as he was an Apostle, became blind; 'tis in this Sense also that *St. Paul*, who was blind, received his sight; 'tis in this Sense likewise, that the *Jews* are blinded and the *Gentiles* see; yet the World may not be deprived of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, because some Men make an ill use of it. Altho' *Theodore* seldom expounds any Allegories, he cannot avoid doing it sometimes. In speaking of the Jewish Passover, he there discovers the Relation it has to the new

Theodore. Law, which he unfolds in a very natural way. The Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the old Law afford him Subjects of Allegory in his Questions upon *Leviticus*. He also refers many to Morality, and draws Instructions for Mens manners out of the greatest part of the Ordinances of *Leviticus* and the Book of *Numbers*. He hath made many such like Reflections in his Questions upon *Deuteronomy*. He confines himself more to the Historical and Literal Sense in his Questions upon *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*, which make up the Octateuch, and in those which he hath composed upon the four Books of *Kings* and two Books of *Chronicles*. These last are a second part of his Work, and have a special Preface, in which he observes after what manner the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were composed. These are his Words. 'There were, saith he, many Prophets who have left us no Books, and whose Names we learn out of the History of the *Chronicles*. Every one of these Prophets wrote ordinarily what happened in their time. For this reason it is, that the first Book of the *Kings* is called by the *Hebrews* and *Syrians*, the Prophecy of *Samuel*. We need only to read it, and we shall be convinced of the Truth of this. They, then, that composed the Books of *Kings*, wrote them a long time after from these ancient Memoirs. For how could they that lived in the time of *Saul* or *David*, write that which happened afterward under *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*? How could they relate the War of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Siege of *Jerusalem*, the Captivity of the People and the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*? It is then visible, that every Prophet wrote what passed in his time, and that others making a Collection of their Memoirs have composed the Books of *Kings*. And after these, came other Historiographers, who made a Collection of what the first had forgotten, of which they composed the two Books of *Chronicles*.' This is the manner in which *Theodore* thinks, that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were composed. We will not stay longer to speak in particular of those Questions which may be easily run over. The Translation of the Questions upon the Octateuch was made by *Johannes Picus* President of the Inquests of the Parliament of *Paris*, who first published them in 1555, [at *Paris*.] *Gentian Harvet* Canon of *Rheims*, translated the Questions upon the *Chronicles* and *Kings*.

The Commentary of *Theodore* upon all the *Psalms* is an excellent Work. He saith in the Preface, 'That he had always a design to bestow his Labour upon the Book of *Psalms*, it being a Book which of all the Books of the Bible is most in use among the most pious Persons, and principally among the Religious. That the *Psalms* being continually in the Mouths of the Faithful that sing them, it would be a thing of great advantage to make them easy to be understood, that they might receive a double benefit by their Prayers. That this reason had caused him to take up a Resolution to begin his Commentaries upon Holy Scripture with that Book; but his Friends having demanded of him some Commentaries upon other Books of Holy Scripture, he was obliged to satisfy them, before he composed this Commentary. In sum, that it ought not to be imagined that his Labour would be unprofitable, because others had written before him upon the same Subject (d), that having read many Commentaries, he did find some of them full of tedious Allegories; and others did so much apply the Prophecies to the Histories of their own time, that they seemed rather to be made for *Jews* than *Christians*: That he had endeavoured to avoid the two opposite Extremes by referring to the ancient Histories, what at present agreed to them, and not applying to other Persons (as the *Jews* do to cover their own Infidelity) the Prophecies that are to be understood of Jesus Christ, and what is spoken in the *Psalms* concerning the Church and the Preaching of the Gospel: That he had avoided the prolixity of Others, and had gathered into a few Words what was profitable. That he first gave the Subject of every *Psalms*, and then proceeded to the Interpretation of the Text: That we ought to know above all things, that a Prophecy is not designed only to foretell what shall happen, but also to be an History of what is present and past, since *Moses* hath written an History of the Creation not from the Records of Men, but by the Inspiration of the Spirit, that he therein declares the things that happened in his time, as the Plagues of *Pharaoh*, and the Manna: And, lastly, that he hath foretold things to come, as the coming of Jesus Christ, the dispersion of the *Jews*, and salvation of the *Gentiles*: That *David* also, who is the first that wrote after *Moses*, speaks of the Benefits that God had bestowed upon Men a long time before, and foretells what should come to pass in after Ages: That his *Psalms* do not only contain Predictions, but Instructions and Precepts: That he sometimes lays down Morals and sometimes Doctrine: That he sometimes bewails the calamities of the *Jews*, and in other places promises Salvation to the *Gentiles*: But that

(d) Others had written before him, &c.] Those, whom he hints by the by without naming them, are, *Apollinarius*, whose Commentaries were full of Allegories: *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*,

who was too much pleased with the Explications of the *Jews*; and *St. Chrysostome*, whose Commentaries are too large.

Theodore.

he foretells the Sufferings and Resurrection of Jesus Christ in so many places and so many ways, that whosoever reads them with attention will find them easily : That some did believe, that *David* was not the Author of all the *Psalms*, but there were some that belonged to other Persons : And in this Sense they explained the Inscriptions, and attributed some to *Jeduthun*, others to *Ethan*, and others to the Sons of *Care* and Children of *Asaph*, whom the History of the *Chronicles* tells us, were Prophets. As for me, saith he, I will affirm nothing concerning it : For what is it to me, whether all, or only some part of them be *David's*, since it is evident, that they were all written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost ? We know that *David* was a Prophet, and that the History of the *Chronicles* gives the Name of Prophets to the other. Now the Office of a Prophet is to speak as the Spirit gives him utterance ; as it is written in the *Psalms*, *My Tongue is as the Pen of a ready Writer*. Nevertheless he thinks it safest to follow the Judgment of the greatest number, who attribute them to *David*. He speaks then of the Inscriptions of the *Psalms*, and says, it is great rashness either to reject them wholly or to change them, since they have been received in the time of *Ptolemy*, translated by the *LXX*, together with the Holy Text which had been received and confirmed by *Ezra*. He undertakes afterwards to give the meaning of them. The word *Diapsalma*, according to some, notes an Intermission of the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit ; according to others, a change of the Prophecy ; and in others Judgment, a different *Psalms*. *Aquila* hath translated the Hebrew word *Ever*, a Particle, which in that place signifies a connexion of that which follows with what went before. But *Theodore*, after he hath related the different Opinions of others, will not recede from the Translation of the *LXX*, and will have it that the word *Diapsalma* denotes the change of the Song, altho' he will not have this Explication received as absolutely certain, confessing, that none can know the true Sense of that Term, but he who composed the *Psalms*, and he to whom it shall please God to reveal it. He, in the last place, observes, that the *Psalms* are not ranked according to the order of time in which they were made, since there are some of the latter *Psalms*, which relate to the Histories, which went before those of which he speaks in the Former. As for example, the 3d. is upon *Abolom*, and the 141st. upon *Saul*. He believes, that the disorder is not *David's*, but theirs who have disposed the *Psalms*, into the form they now are.

F. Garner hath published in his Supplement, which he made to the Works of *Theodore*, another Preface upon the *Psalms* attributed to *Theodore*, but 'tis evident that 'tis none of his, since the Author therein promotes things which do not agree with what *Theodore* says in his last. There are likewise some Fragments of his Commentary upon the *Psalms*, recited by him in it, which belong to some more Modern Author, who quotes the Words of *Theodore's* Commentary, and adds to it other Authors, or his own proper Opinions.

Theodore follows in his Commentary the Method which he hath prescribed in his Preface. He expounds, in few Words, the Sense of every Verse of the *Psalms*. After he hath shewn the differences of the Versions of *Theodorian*, *Symmachus* and *Aquila*, and sometimes also of the Hebrew Text, he explains the Sense of the Words, and applies them to the History or Prophecy to which they relate. This Commentary hath been translated by *Antonius Caraffa*, and dedicated to the Cardinal of the same Name.

The Explication of the Song of Songs is the last Book of the first Tome of *Theodore's* Works. It is certain that he had written upon this Book of the Holy Scripture, since he says expressly so in his Preface upon the *Psalms* ; by which it appears, That the Commentary upon the *Canticles* was his first Work upon the Bible. But there is some reason to doubt whether this Commentary which has been translated by *Zinus*, is really *Theodore's*. These Conjectures seem to prove, that it is not his. 1. The Author of the Commentary saith, in the Preface, that he had an abundance of Business in the City, in the Field, in the Army ; and that he had the charge of both Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs. This doth not in the least agree to *Theodore*, who had passed all his Life in a Monastery, and who never concerned himself in any Affairs of War. 2. He speaks of *St. Chrysostome* as a Person then alive. *John*, saith he, who hath to this present time enlightened all the World by the torrent of his Eloquence. 3. He confutes very strenuously the Opinion of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, for whom *Theodore* always had much respect. It may be also objected, that these Commentaries are longer than *Theodore's* ; that this Commentary is not cited in the *Catenas*, as the other Comments of *Theodore* are ; that the only Passage which is cited, as being a Commentary of *Theodore* in one of his Works, is not found in this Commentary ; and that *Theodore* doth not quote this Book to justify the Purity of his Faith, although it was extremely suitable to prove it. On the other side, there were some Reasons which seem to prove it evident enough, that this Work is *Theodore's*. 1. It bears the Name of *Theodore* in two MSS. which *Zinus* and *F. Sirmundus* used. 2. *Pelagius* II.

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or rather *St. Gregory* in his Letter to the Bishops of *Illyria*, saith, that *Theodore* hath reprov'd the Opinion of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* in his Paraphrase upon the Book of *Canticles*, by concealing his Name, which is all that the Author of the Preface to this Commentary hath done. But there is still something more : *Pelagius* II. cites the words of this Preface, as being *Theodore's*, in so much, that it is not to be doubted, but that in the time of this Pope, this very Commentary was looked upon to be certainly *Theodore's*. 3. The Author of this Commentary in his Preface explains a Text of *Ezekiel*, where *Jerusalem* is compared to a Lewd Woman, after the same manner that *Theodore* expounds it in his Commentary upon that Prophet. 4. This Commentary is very like the other Commentaries of *Theodore* ; it is the same way of Exposition, and the same Style. Lastly, the Conjectures which are brought to prove, that this Commentary is not his, do not appear very convincing. The first, which seems to be strongest, is of little Consequence. For *Theodore* having composed this Work when he was first made a Bishop, he was then buil'd in many Affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil ; and it may be Military, because the Disorders which his Diocese was in, forced him to implore the Help of the Magistrates and Governors to protect him from the Assaults of the Rabble, which he underwent several times, as the History of his Life informs us. It may also be understood of the Wars, which the Country was then threatned with. The second Objection would be unanswerable, if it were certain, that the Author speaks of *St. Chrysostome* as a Person then living and of the Sermons which he preached *vi va voce*. But what he says, may very well be understood of the Writings of that Father. It is of his written Sermons, and not of his Preachings *vi va voce*, that it may be said that they enlightened the Whole Earth. For his Writings had been dispersed throughout all the World, his Preachings had gone no farther than those, who were there where he preached. As to *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, the Author of that Commentary shews, that he had a respect for him in not mentioning his Name. It is true, that he smartly reproves his Opinion about the signification of the Song of Songs. But why should not *Theodore* do so, not being of his Judgment, since he could not follow him without abandoning all the other Fathers, and rendering his Commentary, which he was about to compose, wholly useless ? He doth not spare him more in his Preface upon the *Psalms*. For 'tis he which he attacks without naming him, when he says, that some Commentators had explained the *Psalms* after a Judaical manner. The other Conjectures are of no force at all, *Theodore* is a little more large in this Commentary than in some others, but not more than in that which he made upon the Prophet *Daniel*, and those two Works being the first Fruits of his Labour, 'tis no wonder if they were not so compact. In sum, his character and manner of expounding Holy Scripture are very discernable in it. The Authority of the *Catenas* is of no great weight, for we know that the Names of the Fathers are sometimes confounded in them, and often the best sort of Expositions are omitted. It is easy to put the name of *Theodore* for *Theodorus*. In fine, *Theodore* hath not alledged all the Places, which might be brought to justify him, but only the Principal. So that there is nothing to prove that this Commentary upon the *Canticles* is not his, and the Proofs which are produced to confirm it, are much stronger than those which are made use of to overthrow it. The Preface is *Theodore's* Style, and like his other Prefaces. After he hath spoken of his Various Businesses, and implored the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, he speaks in general of the subject of this Book. He confutes those who understand it of the Love of *Solomon* with *Pharaoh's* Daughter or the *Shunamite*, and opposes to the Persons of this Opinion, not only the Authority of the Holy Fathers who have ranked this Book among the divinely inspired Writings, and have judged it worthy to be receiv'd in the Church as such ; but also the Testimony of the Holy Spirit it self, which inspired *Ezra* to revive the Books of the Holy Scripture which had been burnt in *Manasse's* time, and entirely lost in the Captivity. Now the Song of Songs is one of those Books, which *Ezra* hath written without the help of any Copy by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost only. And how could he do this, if it contained nothing in it but a description of the passionate Love of a Creature ? It is not then without reason, saith he, that the Holy Fathers have reckoned it among the Sacred Volumes, and many of them have explained it in their Commentaries, or cited it with great Praise in their Writings ? For not only *Eusebius* of *Palestine*, *Origen* of *Aegypt*, the glorious Martyr *St. Cyprian*, and some other Fathers besides, who were more ancient and nearer to the Apostles, but also those who have since gained credit to the Church, have acknowledged this Book for a Divine Work. *St. Basil* explaining the beginning of the *Proverbs*, both the *St. Gregories*, one of whom was the Brother the other the Friend of *St. Basil* ; *Diodorus*, that excellent Defender of the true Religion ; *John*, whose Discourses do instruct the whole World at this Present, and all that have followed them, are of his Judgment. Is it lawful to condemn these

Theodore. these great Men to follow private Opinions? Is it reasonable to forsake the Testimony of the Holy Spirit to hearken to the Surmises of Men? But least it should be thought, adds Theodore, that we are not solicitous to undeceive our Adversaries, being contented, that we are our selves persuaded of the Truth, Let us see what is it that might cause them to fall into Error, and endeavour to cure it by Remedies taken out of Holy Scripture. In reading of this Book, and finding therein these words, Perfumes, Lilies, Fruits, Kisses, Lettices, Eyes, Thighs, and many other Expressions of that Nature, they have stopped at the Letter without diving into the hidden and Spiritual Sense. But they ought to consider, that in the Old Testament there are many figurative Expressions, which have a clear different Sense from that which the Terms do properly and naturally signify. As for example in *Ezek. c. 17.* the King of *Babylon* is described by an Eagle, his Power by the Wings of that Bird, and his Armies by the Talons. *Jerusalem* is there called *Lebanon*, the Cedars are the Inhabitants. Nor do the Christians only thus expound this Text, but the *Jews* themselves. In the Prophet *Zachariah, c. 11. 1.* *Jerusalem* is also understood under the name of *Lebanon*, the King of *Babylon* under that of Fire, the Cedars are the Nobles and great Men, the Pines are those of a middle condition; there are an infinite number of such like expressions. But to use an Example which hath a nearer resemblance to the Subject we are upon; God addressing himself to the Nation of the *Jews*, speaks to it as to a Woman, and uses the same Terms that *Solomon* doth. Read but *Ezek. 16.* and you'll find there Breasts, Thighs, Hands, Nostrils, Ears. He speaks also there of Beauty, Love, Embraces, which Things nevertheless ought not to be understood according to the Letter. There are like places in *Jeremiah, Isaiah*, and in all the other Prophets. We do nothing extraordinary then when we understand the Song of Songs spiritually; and so much the rather, because the Apostles have expounded who is the Bridegroom and the Spouse spoken of in this Book. Jesus Christ himself is called the Bridegroom, the Spouse is his Church, her Companions are the Souls which are not yet perfect enough to be Spouses of Jesus Christ; they that converse with the Bridegroom are either the Prophets or Apostles or rather the Angels. Lastly, *Theodore* observes, that the three Books of *Solomon* are as so many Degrees of ascent to Perfection; that the *Proverbs* teach Morality, *Ecclesiastes* the vanity of worldly Things, and the *Canticles* the Mystical Union of Christ and his Church, and that's the reason that this Book is put in the last place. He believes, that *Solomon* hath learned a part of what he says from the Books of his Father, who hath given an Idea of it in *Psalms 44.* He will not that this Book be put into the Hands of young and weak People; and he says, that none ought to be allowed to read it but such as have good Wit, and can comprehend the Spiritual and hidden Sense. Lastly, he admonishes us that he hath taken many things out of the Works of the Fathers which have written before him, yet does not account himself a Thief for that, because it is a Privilege allowed to those that succeed them, to make use of what they have said. He tells us, that he added many things; that he abridged what was too long, and enlarged what seem'd too short in others. He makes a conclusion with a Petition to those who enjoy his Labours without any Toyl, that they would pray for him in Recompence; and if they find not his Commentary very exact, he requests them to accept at least, his Labour in good part, and amend what they find wanting in it. This Preface alone gives sufficient Evidence, that this Work is *Theodore's*. It is divided into four Books. He explains the Text with respect to the Sense, as he had observed in the Preface.

(a) *After theirs.*] *Cassiodorus, Theodorus Lector* and *Photius*, name *Theodore* last of these three Ecclesiastical Authors. *Theodore* corrects some of their Errors; he clears the History of *S. Athanasius*, and relates a great many things which concern the Eastern Church, which the other two Authors had not reported; particularly what concerns *Meletius, Flavian, Eusebius* of *Samofata*, and other Oriental Bishops. This seems to be the meaning of that which he hath written in the beginning, that his Design is to write τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τὰ ἀπορρέοντα, the remaining part of Ecclesiastical History, although it may be understood of the Continuation of *Eusebius*.

(b) *About the Year 450.*] *Theodore*, in his 82d. Letter to *Eusebius*, written in the Year 445. making a Catalogue of his Works, doth not mention his History. It is manifest that he wrote it after the Council of *Ephesus*, since he speaks, l. 5. c. 36. of the Translation of the Reliques of *St. Chrysostome*, made in 438. He speaks of the Contests which were raised in the Church about the Incarnation, and seems to take notice of the Doctrines of *Eutyches*, l. 5. c. 3. He wrote it before the Death of *Theodosius*, which happen'd on July 29. 450. because he speaks of that Emperor, as then reigning, l. 5. c. 36. In the same Book, c. 35. he counts Thirty Years from the Martyrdom of *Abbas*, which is put in 420.

Theodore hath also made Commentaries upon all the Prophets, as he declares it in his 82. Letter to *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Ancyra*. We want none of them but that upon *Isaiah*, of which we have some Fragments taken out of the *Catenas*, collected by *F. Sirmondus*: But although much Credit is not to be given to Writings of that sort, I see no cause to fear but what he hath taken from them is *Theodore's*. As to the Commentaries upon *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel, Daniel*, and the twelve Minor Prophets, they are all entire in *Greek* and *Latin*, in the second Volume of *Theodore's* Works. The Commentary upon *Daniel* was composed first in 426. The Comment on *Ezekiel* was next. The Explication of the Twelve Minor Prophets followed this. This was no sooner ended but he undertook to explain *Isaiah*: and after he had finished that, he wrote upon *Jeremiah*, and concluded all his Works upon the Prophets, with the Explication of the *Lamentations*, as he himself tells us at the end of his Commentary upon that Holy Book. In this Commentary he keeps to his ordinary Method, explaining in a few Words, very clearly and intelligibly, the Literal and Historical Sense of the Holy Text, without departing from it through Allegories or Moral Digressions. The Translation of the Comment upon *Jeremiah*, was made by *Picus*, President of the Inquest: Upon *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, by *Gabius*; and upon the twelve Minor Prophets, by one named *Aegidius* of *Albige*, [or *Albigensis*.]

The Commentary upon all the Epistles of *St. Paul*, excels all the Commentaries of *Theodore* for their Solidity and Elegancy: He therein explains the Text of that Apostle in a very plain and natural way: He composed it after the Council of *Ephesus*. *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* and *St. John Chrysostome*, having already made excellent Commentaries upon those Epistles, it might seem inconsiderately done to undertake to make a new one: This *Theodore* himself excuses in his Preface; and after he hath, according to his usual Custom, invoked the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit, he owns that he hath done nothing, almost, but abridged the Commentaries of others. He next observes the Order, in which, he believes, that the Epistles of *St. Paul* were composed; for he doth not think that they are ranked according to the Order they were written. This Commentary is literal. He follows exactly the Explications of *St. Chrysostome*, which he does no more, often, than abridge, by cutting off the Moral Observations. This Commentary is the first Work of the third Tome. It hath been translated by *Gentianus Harvet*.

The Ecclesiastical History of *Theodore*, which is divided into five Books, is a kind of Supplement, to *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as being written after theirs (a), about the Year 450 (b). He hath not brought it down to that time. It begins where *Eusebius* ends, i. e. at the Rise of the *Arian* Heresy in 322 or 323, and ends in 428, (c), before the beginning of the Heresy of *Nestorius*. *Photius* thinks the Style of *Theodore's* History much more agreeable to his matter than *Sozomen* and *Socrates's*: For it is, saith he, clear and sublime, and hath nothing Superfluous: But he useth too bold Metaphors, which are sometimes altogether extravagant. He hath had no great Care to observe the Years in which those things happened which he relates, but he hath taken pains to collect and copy out, in his History, Original Pieces, as the Letters of the Synods, Emperors and Bishops, and hath made mention of some remarkable Circumstances which *Socrates* and *Sozomen* have not spoken of. He gives us a more exact History of the *Arians* than they do. He describes many Particulars, which those two Historians have taken no notice of, and he discovers many things concerning the Churches and Bishops of *Antioch* which had remained in Oblivion, if he had not preserved the Me-

(c) *Ends in 428.*] *Gennadius* saith, that he continued it to the Time of the Emperor *Leo*, and that he had done it in Ten Books: This would make us believe that we have lost the five last; but there is no likelihood that he hath composed more than five. He declares in the End of his fifth Book, that he hath ended his History there. *Evagrius* saith, in the beginning of his, that the History of *Theodore* ends at the Empire of *Theodosius* the Younger, at the time of the Death of *Theodorus*, and just when *Sisinnius* was made Bishop. *Photius* says the same thing. Lastly, no Man ever saw these five last Books. It is true, that *Theodorus*, in his Collections, l. 2. cites *Theodore* in the Business of *Petrus Mongus* and *Calendion*. *St. John Damascene*, in his third Book of Images, cites some Places of the History of *Theodore* which are not to be found there; but they are mistaken, for by their account *Theodore* must have lived till he was an hundred Years old. Their Words have given occasion to some to conjecture, that there was another *Theodore*, the Author of an History, younger; and *F. Garner* pretends that it was a Bishop of *Alindes* in *Caria*, who assisted at the Council of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*: But this seems to me very doubtful; we had better say, that these two Authors, who in other Matters are not exact, are mistaken in this.

Theodore. mory of them. He hath committed some Faults (d); but *Baronius* being prejudic'd against him, reproves some Places of *Theodore's* History, where that Father hath not at all departed from the Truth (e). Yet this is much more tolerable than to accuse him as a Modern Author does, that he hath compos'd his History for no other end but to abuse the Orthodox, and to make a Comparison between *Nestorius* and *St. Athanasius*, and *St. Chrysostome*, and between *St. Cyril*, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theophilus*. There appears no such thing in *Theodore's* History, but, on the contrary, he shews a great Aversion to all Heresies, a great Zeal for Religion, a great Love for the Church, and a great Respect for all the Holy Bishops, who have defended the Faith, and a great Esteem for all Men who lived well. This History hath been printed in *Greek* at *Basil*, 1536 *. Eight Years after *Rob. Stevens* printed it at *Paris* [with the other Ecclesiastical Historians, in *Greek*]. *F. Sirmondus* hath put it in the second Volume of his Edition of *Theodore's* Works. And lastly, *M. Valesius* caused it to be printed, after he had corrected and compared it with the Manuscripts, according to his usual Exactness. There are five different Translations into *Latin*. 1. By *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, which *Cassiodorus* makes use of in his *Tripartite History*. 2. By *Camerarius*, printed in 1537. 3. By *Christopherson*. 4. By *F. Sirmondus*. The last by *M. Valesius*, which is the best and most exact. *M. President Causinus* hath turned the History of *Theodore* out of the *Greek* into *French*, setting a learned Preface before it; in which he defends his Memory against those that have attacked it. This Moderation is much more commendable than the Passion of another Author, who seems to have diligently read *Theodore* only to disparage him, to represent his most innocent Actions ill, and to interpret what he hath spoken Orthodoxly in a bad Sense.

The History, intituled *Philothheus*, or * the Monastick Life, contains the Life, and Praises of thirty famous Eastern Monks, whom *Theodore* had seen, or whose Actions and Virtue he had learned of those that had seen them. He compos'd it about the Year 440. The famous *James* of *Nisibis* is the first, who lived a great part of his Life in the Mountains, having no Retreat in the Winter but Caves and Dens, nor any other Shelter in Summer but the Woods. He fed upon nothing but Herbs, or the Fruits of wild Trees, nor had other Cloathing than the Skins of Beasts. After he had pass'd some Years in that Solitude, he was oblig'd to leave it, against his Will, to take care of the Church of *Nisibis*, of which he had been chosen Bishop; but this Change made no alteration in his Way of Living, nor caus'd him to lay aside his Austerities. He did a great number of Miracles, but that which is remarkable in them, that *Theodore* relates, is this, that they have all a good End, either to punish Sin, or to convince of the Truth. He punished the Impudence of certain Virgins, who discover'd themselves before him, in making the Fountain dry where they wash'd their Linen, and by making their Hair white. He made the Injustice of a Judge's Sentence manifest, and caus'd him to revoke it. Certain Beggars bringing one of their Companions, who pretended himself dead, that they might gain some Alms upon the account of Burying him, and addressing themselves to *St. James* of *Nisibis*, he bestow'd an Alms on them, and betook himself to his Prayers for that pretended dead Man. But God so permitted it, that he died indeed, insomuch that after this Holy Man was gone from them, his Companions were astonish'd to see that he answer'd them no more: Immediately they return'd to him again, by whose Prayers their Cheat had been so severely punished, and confess'd their Fault to him. He pardon'd them, and restored the Dead Man to Life by his Prayers. *Theodore* also attributes the sudden Death of *Arius* the Heretick to his Prayers. But he is mistaken in speaking that of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which agreed only to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*. The last Miracle that *Theodore* relates is of the wonderful Preservation of the City *Nisibis*, which was near being taken by *Sapor* King of *Persia*.

The second Monk, of which he speaks in that History, is *Julianus Sabas*, a Monk of *Osroene*, who liv'd a long Time in a Den, eating nothing but a little course Bread, made of Millet, and that but once a Week. All his Delight was to sing *Psalms*. Many Persons resort'd to him in the Desert, and submitted themselves to his Discipline; insomuch that in a little Time he had a great many Religi-

(d) Some Faults.] Here are some Examples of them: He places the Death of *Arius* among the Circumstances of the Council of *Nice*, l. 1. c. 14. He makes *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* Successor to *Alexander* in the See of *Antioch*, *ibid.* c. 16. He relates the Election of *Eusebius* of *Casarea*, to fill the See of *Antioch*, after the Death of *Eulalius*, c. 21. He makes *S. Athanasius's* Exile to continue five Months longer than it did, l. 2. c. 1. He fixes the Ordination of *St. Ambrose* in the beginning of *Valentinian*, altho' it did not happen till 370. l. 4. c. 5. He commits a like Fault almost in relating the Sedition of *Antioch*, after the Murder of *Thessalonica*. He mistakes in the Number of the Bishops of the Council of *Sardica*. He counts 250. l. 2. c. 7. when they were no more than 170. He confounds the Siege which the

ous Persons under his Conduct; who all remained in that Cave, and had no other Room but a little Pantry to keep the Herbs in, which they eat. He sent them every Morning two by two into the Desert, and commanded them to rehearse by Turns fifteen *Psalms* of *David*. He that rehearsed them stood up, the other heard them upon his Knees. In the Evening they all returned again to the Cave; and after they had rested themselves a little, they again sang Praises to God. *Theodore* relates many Miracles of *Julianus*, and insists particularly upon the Voyage he had made to *Antioch*, under the Emperor *Valens*, at the request of *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea*, to confirm the Orthodox of *Antioch* against the *Arians*.

Marcian descended of a Noble Family of the City of *Cyrrus*, retir'd into the Desert. He did eat every Day, about Evening, a quarter of a Pound of Bread, accounting it more convenient to eat every Day, without ever fully satisfying his Hunger, than to fast many Days, and afterward eat his Fill. He had for his Scholars *Eusebius* and *Agapetus*. The first had the Government of many Religious Persons, who withdrew themselves into the same Solitude, where he was. The latter went to *Apamea*, and there made also many Monks. It appears by the Histories which *Theodore* relates of *Marcian*, that he had an holy Mind. He did what he could to conceal the Miracles he wrought, and did less than he could have done. When these five Bishops, viz. *Flavian* of *Antioch*, *Acacius* of *Berea*, *Eusebius* of *Chalcis*, *Isidorus* of *Cyrrus*, and *Theodorus* of *Hierapolis* came to visit him, he remained a long time silent, and when they were urgent with him to talk with them, he said, God himself speaks to us every Day, both by his Creatures and by the Holy Scriptures; he admonishes us what we ought to do, he threatens and exhorts us, but we do not profit thereby; how then can the Discourses of *Marcian* be of any Advantage? He would not ever endure that these Bishops should ordain him. Another Monk, named *Avitus*, being come to see him, after he had entertained him a long time, he caus'd Supper to be got ready, after the * ninth Hour, and invit'd the Solitary [* Three to eat with him. This Hermite told him, that it was his a Clock in Custom not to eat till the Sun was down; and that he the After-sometimes staid two or three Days without eating. *Marcian* noon.] desired him, for once, to waive that Custom, for his sake, because being of a weak Body, he was not able to stay till the Sun was down. This Request prevailing nothing with *Avitus*, he sat him down to Supper, saying, that he was very sorry that *Avitus* had taken so much Pains to visit a Person so intemperate. *Avitus* having answer'd him, that he would rather eat of his Meat than suffer him to speak in that manner. He says unto him, we have no Custom more than you to eat before the Sun is down, but we are sensible that Charity ought to be preferred before Fasting, for that is commanded, but Fasting is left to our own Liberty. Now we ought to prefer the Law of God before any private Institutions. He engag'd another Monk called *Abraham*, to follow the Discipline decreed by the Council of *Nice*, concerning the Celebration of *Easter*. He hated all Hereticks, but most of all the *Apollinarists*, *Sabellians* and *Euchaites*. Having understood that many Persons had built Oratories to inter their Bodies therein, after their Death, he engag'd his Scholar *Eusebius*, by an Oath, to bury him in a Place, where no Body knew for a long Time where he was. *Eusebius* execut'd his Order faithfully, and no Body knew where the Body of this Holy Monk was, till after all the other Oratories were consecrated by the Relicks of the Martyrs.

In the Fourth Chapter *Theodore* describes the Virtues of *Eusebius*, and his Colleague *Marcian*, and of their Scholars, who had dwelt near *Antioch*.

In the fifth he describes the Life of *Publius*, a Native of the City *Zeugma*, the Head of many Monks, which he caus'd to take up their Abode in the same Monastery. As his Society was made up of *Greeks* and *Syrians*, he made the Divine Service to be sung in *Greek* and *Syriack*. *Theodore* also speaks in this Chapter of *Theotimus* and *Aptthonius*, the Successors of *Publius*.

The History of old *Simeon* is full of extraordinary Events. He conducted the Jews by the Lyons; he put out a fire sent from Heaven, which had taken a Village. He undertook a Voyage from Mount *Sinai*; by the way he found a Man in a Cave, who had dwelt there a long time, and was fed by a Lyon, which brought him Dates: *Simeon* continued a whole Week in Prayer upon Mount *Sinai*, without taking any Food, after which he heard a Voice

Persians laid before *Nisibis* in 350. with that which they laid there in 359, l. 5. c. 3. He says, that *Paulinus* refus'd the Agreement which *Meletius* offer'd him, as it appears by the Letters of the Bishops of *Italy*, l. 4. c. 30. He is also mistaken ch. 8. *ibid.* where he hath written, that *Maximus* was Ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Timotheus*, whereas it was his Successor *Peter* that ordain'd him.

(e) *Baronius* being prejudic'd, &c.] *Theodore* puts the Deposition of *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* in 330. *Baronius* reproves him, but he is mistaken, for *Eusebius* confirms the Opinion of *Theodore*. *Baronius* accuses him further, for being too Favourable to *Meletius* and *Flavian*, but 'tis rather the Cardinal, who was too much incens'd against them.

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Theodore. which bad him eat, and he found three Apples which he did eat. But being returned he built a Monastery. *Palladius*, the Friend of *Simon*, made a dead Man tell him who slew him.

Aphraates the *Perſian*, profeſſed a Monastick Life, but ſpent a great part of his Life at *Antioch*, in oppoſing the *Arians*. It ſeems very ſtrange that he performed a Miracle, to cure the Emperor's Horſe, by giving him Water to drink, on which he had made the Sign of the Croſs, and rubbing his Belly with conſecrated Oyl.

Petrus, a Native of *Galatia*, lived fourſcore and nineteen Years, and paſſed ninety two of them in the Exerciſes of a Monastick Life: His firſt Years he ſpent in his own Country, and came into *Paſtine* to worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, in the very Place where he died for us. From thence he went to *Antioch*, where he ſhut himſelf up in a Tomb, drinking nothing but Water, and eating Bread only, and that but once in two Days. He freed many that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and healed many diſeaſed; among others, the Mother of *Theodore*, who was troubled with a Diſtemper in her Eyes, after he had adviſed her no more to adorn or paint her ſelf. He cured her alſo of a dangerous Sickneſs, which ſhe had after Child-Bearing.

Theodoſius, a Monk of *Cilicia*, was forced, by the Excurſions of the *Barbarians*, to retreat to *Antioch*. The moſt remarkable Things in his Life are his continual Labours and Mortifications. He was inter'd in the Tomb of *Aphraates*, and had for his Diſciple *Helladius*, who after he had paſſed ſixty Years in the Exerciſes of a Monastick Life, was Ordained Biſhop of *Tarſus*.

Romanus imitated the Life of *Theodoſius*. He abode near *Antioch*, lived upon nothing but Bread and Water, loaded himſelf with Chains, lying on the bare Ground. He was a very pious Man, and did many Miracles.

Zeno, an Officer of the Emperor *Valens*, forſook the Court, to paſs his Life in a Tomb near *Antioch*, without fire, without a Bed, without Houſhold Goods. He came on Feſtivals and *Sundays* to the Church, and there heard the Inſtructions of the Biſhops, and approached the Holy Table. He diſpoſed one part of his Eſtate to the Poor, while he was alive, and left the reſt to *Alexander* his Biſhop, to be diſtributed as he pleaſed.

Macedonius the Monk lived forty Years in Solitude, near *Antioch*, eating nothing but Barly-bread. Towards the end of his Life, he began to eat ordinary Bread, fearing to render an account to God concerning his Death, if he did not do whatſoever was neceſſary for the Preſervation of Life. *Flavian* having cauſed him to come to *Antioch*, upon pretence of an Accuſation, ordained him Prieſt without his Knowledge. When the Maſs was over, ſome Body telling him of it, he was very angry with all that aſſiſted, but chiefly with *Flavian*, ſo that they had much-a-do to pacify him: And, on the next Lord's Day, when they invited him to come to the Feaſt, he replied to thoſe that came to intreat him, would you make me a Prieſt the ſecond Time: They had a great deal of Trouble to perſuade him that it could not be done again, and it was a long time before he would come to *Antioch*. For all this Simplicity he was not wanting, in his Endeavours, to prevent the Execution of thoſe Orders, which the Emperor had given againſt the People of *Antioch*, being provoked that they had beaten down his Statue. That which he ſays thereupon to the Captain, who was to execute the Orders, is very Divine. We can eaſily enough, ſaid he, raiſe thoſe brazen Statues again which we have beaten down, but 'tis not in the Emperor's Power to raiſe the Dead: Can it then be reaſonable for him to deſtroy the Images of the Living God for Statues of Braſs and Copper? *Theodore* afterwards relates many Miracles of this Monk.

Theodore paſſes over in ſilence a great number of other Monks at *Antioch*, that he may ſpeak of thoſe of his own Country, *Cyruſ*. The firſt is *Mafymas*, whom he makes Governor of a ſmall Borough. He never changed his Habit, contenting himſelf to ſitch the Pieces on to it again, as was torn. It is ſaid, that he had two Veſſels, one of Corn, the other of Oyl, which were never empty, although he was always giving out of them to the Poor.

Aceſſimas was an Hermite of the ſame Province, who paſſed ſixty years in one Cell, without ſeeing or ſpeaking to any Man. They carried him Lentils and Water, which he took through a Hole, made ſloping that no Man might ſee him. He uſed ſometimes in the Night to go out to ſeek Water; one Day he was met by a Shepherd, who believing him to be a Wolf, ſlung Stones at him, but his Hand and the Boughs kept them off from him. Another time a certain Perſon had the Curioſity to get upon a Tree, that he might ſee what this Hermite did in his Cell, but he became ſuddenly lame in half his Body, and could not be recovered till the Tree was cut down by his means. *Aceſſimas* having foreſeen his own Death, opened his Cell ſifty Days before his Death, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſeen by all that would viſit him. His Biſhop being come to him, ordained him Prieſt, by impoſing his Hands upon him in his Cell. He ſuffered him, becauſe he had but a few Days to live. There was alſo in the ſame Country an Hermite, eminent for Vir-

tue, called *Maro*, who did a great many Miracles, and was the Author of the Monastick Life, in the Country of *Cyruſ*. But he was not more admirable than Holy *Abraham*, who converted a Village, and was afterwards ordain'd Biſhop of *Carrae*, without leſſening at all the Auſterities or Practices of the Monastick Life. His Reputation for Holineſs was ſo great, that the Emperor ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*. He propounds alſo Examples of ſingular Virtue, in three Hermites of the ſame Region, *Eufebius*, *Salamanus* and *Marre*. This laſt having been a long time abſent from the Celebration of the Holy Myſteries, deſired *Theodore* to celebrate them; he did ſo, and cauſing the Holy Veſſels to be brought, he offered the Holy Sacrifice by the Hands of the Deacons, who miniſtered to him at the Altar.

All thoſe whom *Theodore* hath ſpoke of hitherto, were dead when he wrote; theſe Ten which follow were yet alive. He enlarges upon the Life of a certain Monk called *James*, who was one of his Friends. He recounts many Apparitions which the Devil made uſe of to trouble him. There is in that Place a very remarkable thing concerning Relicks: *Theodore* had received, with a great deal of reſpect, ſome Relicks, which were ſaid to be St. *John* Baptiſt's, the Apoſtles and Prophets. This Hermite doubting whether thoſe which were reported to be St. *John* Baptiſt's, were not ſome Martyrs of that Name, would not receive them with the other: He was thereupon reproved, in a Viſion, and ſaw St. *John* Baptiſt, who aſſured him that they were his; and he deſired *Theodore* to bring them to him.

I paſs over ſome other Monks, of whom *Theodore* ſpeaks in the following Chapters, to come to the famous St. *Simon Stylites*, whole Life *Theodore* hath written with a great deal of exactneſs. He was of *Cilicia*, and had kept Sheep in his Youth; but being at Church one Day, and there having heard the Goſpel, where it is ſaid, *Bleſſed are they that mourn*, he withdrew himſelf into the Monastery of *Eufebius Ammianus*, but becauſe he uſed ſuch wonderful Auſterity, which the other Religious Men could not undergo, they expelled him. He retired into a Ciſtern, from whence they fetched him, repenting that they had driven him out to: But he did not continue with them long, but he went to a Village called *Telmessus*, where he ſhut himſelf up in a little Houſe. He was deſirous to paſs the Lent without Eating or Drinking; and having propoſed it to *Baffus*, who was preferred to the Office of viſiting many other Churches, he gave him Advice not to undertake a thing which might be the Cauſe of his Death: Notwithſtanding, he ſhut himſelf up, with Ten Loaves and a Pitcher of Water, and paſſed Forty Days without touching them; And when *Baffus* being returned at the End of the Time, came to him, he found all the Loaves whole and the Pitcher full, and *Simon* lying on the Ground, ſenſeleſs: After he had moiſtned and waſhed his Mouth with a Sponge, he gave him the Sacrament, by which being ſtrengthened, he raiſed himſelf up, and came to eating again by little and little, yet from that Time he paſſed all other Lents without Eating. He remained Three Years in his Cell, and then removed from thence to the Top of a Mountain, where he tyed himſelf with a Chain of Thirty Cubits long: But *Meletius*, or rather ſome other Biſhop of *Antioch* (for *Theodore* muſt needs be miſtaken, *Meletius* being dead a long Time before) telling him, that he need not cumber himſelf with the Chain, he brake it, yet did not go from the Place to which he had confined himſelf. His Fame having drawn an infinite number of People of all Nations to come to ſee him, and to be very earneſtly deſirous to touch him, he thought upon this Device, that he might avoid the Multitude, to get up upon a Pillar; inſtantly he was upon one of Ten cubits Cubits, afterwards he raiſed it to Twelve, then to Twenty two, and preſently after, ſays *Theodore*, he is on a Pillar of Thirty ſix Cubits high. *Theodore* approves of ſuch a Life, which appeared extraordinary, and which ſome diſallowed, although an infinite Number of Men highly revered him, and came in Multitudes to receive his Bleſſing. He gave them Inſtructions, compoſed the Differences that were among them, foretold what ſhould befall them, and often wrought Miracles. He ordinarily continued his Prayers till the Ninth Hour, and did not admit any to Audience who came to ſee him, till after that Hour. Laſtly, he took care of the Affairs of the Church, oppoſed the Jews and Hereticks, wrote to Emperors, Governors and Biſhops, to admoniſh them of their Duty.

If this manner of Living, by remaining in the Poſture of ſtanding upon a Mountain for ſo many Years, ſeem incredible, that of Two other Hermites, who ſhut themſelves up in Places, where they were forced to continue always ſloping, and bowed down, is not leſs admirable. This Poſture, in my Judgment, is more inconvenient than that of *Stylites*. The Two Monks which uſed this Poſture were *Baradatus* and *Thalalaus*. *Theodore* writes their Lives in the Twenty ſeventh and Twenty eighth Chapters. He makes an end with propoſing the Examples of certain Women, who had embraced a Monastick Life. *Marana* and *Cyra* dwelt in a Cell near *Berea*, if we may call that Place a Cell which was incloſed with four Walls, without any Covering, where they paſſed their Life in the Injury of the

Theodoret. the Weather. They wore long Garments, which covered all their Bodies, and were laden with Chains. *Domina* made her a little House in a Garden; she was covered with Hair-cloth, went every Day to Church, and eat nothing but Lentils. *Theodoret* saith, that in his Time there were a great number of Virgins consecrated to God, not only in the *East* but in *Aegypt*, *Palesine*, *Asia*, *Pontus* and *Europe*, who either lived in common or by themselves, practising the Exercises of a Monastick Life. That in *Egypt* there were Monasteries, which had Five thousand Monks in them. He concludes his Book with a Request to those, whose Lives he hath written, not to condemn him, though he comes short of their Virtue, that he might have also a share in their Glory. A Modern Author accuses this Opinion of Rashness, Impatience and Arrogance, but I do not believe that he can find many Persons that have so little Equity, as he hath shewed himself to have, in judging after this manner.

This History contains many things very remarkable, concerning the Discipline of that Time. By it we may see, that there was a great deal of Honour given to the Saints; that they were invoked; that Men expected help by their Prayers; that their Relicks were sought after with great earnestness; that they believed very easily in them; that they attributed a great deal of Virtue to them; that they did many Miracles, and were very credulous; that they were fully persuaded that the Saints enjoyed Eternal Happiness immediately after their Death; that they were with Jesus Christ and his Angels; that they prayed for the Dead; that they visited the Holy Places, as Mount *Sinai*, and the *Holy Land*. As to the Monks and Hermites, it appears that they practised excessive Austerities: It was most ordinary with them not to eat, but a very little bread, to drink nothing but Water, to fast all their Lives, and that sometimes many Days together, to be exposed to all the Injuries of the Air, to load themselves with Chains, to make long and tedious Journeys, to put themselves into unnatural and inconvenient Postures, to lye on the bare Ground, to be clothed with coarse and unseemly Garments, to wear Hair-Cloth, to have neither Bed nor Table, nor any other Household-stuff, to pray continually, to mortify all the Senses, to abstain from all Pleasures, to keep Silence, to shut themselves up in a narrow place, to stand or bow down always, &c. But among these Austerities, there is nothing spoken of Whipping; it seems this was not used, unless for the punishment of Monks, who had offended. There were few of the Monks that were in Holy Orders. They had a great Antipathy against that Dignity, insomuch that some Bishops conferred it on them against their Consent: Nevertheless, many were brought out of their Privacy and their Monasteries, to be raised to the Episcopal Seat: Usually when they were Bishops, they kept the same way of Living. Some Monks were a long time without hearing the Mass, preferring a continual Retreat, before the Presence at the Holy Sacrifice; others came every Sunday to Church. This History of *Theodoret* is written in a swelling Style, rather in the form of a Dialogue than an History. He often compares the Anchorites with the Patriarchs and Prophets.

Although the Epistles of *Theodoret* be placed at the end of the third Volume, after his Treatise called *Philobebus*, yet we shall speak to them, when we have treated of the Works, which make up the fourth Volume. The first is a Work which he hath named * *Eranistes* or *Polymorphus*, because he intends to write against certain Persons, whose Error was deduced from the Principles of many Sects of Hereticks, wholly different from each other. Although the Heresy of *Eutiches* was not yet broken out, when he composed this Work, for it was made before the Year 448 (f), yet he there assaults the Opinions which that Monk maintained, and which were common in *Aegypt* and many Monasteries. He holds, that they come near the Impiety of *Simon Magus*, *Cerdo* and *Marcion*, in attributing to Jesus Christ the Divine Essence only: That they departed not far from the Principles of *Valentinus* and *Bardeanes*, in asserting, that the Divine Essence did only pass through the Virgin, without taking any thing of her Nature. And lastly, that they said with *Apollinarius*, that there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ. These are the Doctrines which he attacks in the three Dialogues, which make this Treatise. He shews, in the first, that the Divinity of the Word hath not been changed. In the second, that the Union of the Divine with the Human Nature is made without any Confusion of the two Natures. In the last, that the Divinity of the Son remained impassible. This is that which hath made him give to each of these Dialogues a Title agreeable to its Subject. The first is named *Immutable*, the second *without Confusion*, the third *Impassible*. He ends with a fourth Part, wherein he propounds many Arguments against the three Errors which he opposes.

Theodoret. In the first Dialogue, after he hath distinguished between Substance and Hypostasis, and shewn, that Hypostasis in the Usage of the Church denotes a Person; he examines in what Sense the Word was made Flesh, and makes it appear, that it cannot reasonably be said, that the Divinity hath been changed into the Nature of Flesh. He overthrows this Error by Texts of Holy Scripture, out of which he makes very subtle Arguments, and by express Testimonies of Holy Fathers of the Church, from St. *Ignatius* to St. *Chrysostome*. He adjoins also some Passages of *Apollinarius*, which the force of the Truth hath wrung from him, in explaining this Text of the Gospel, *the Word was made Flesh*, after an orthodox manner.

In the second he makes use of the same Arguments, to prove that the two Natures which are united in Jesus Christ remain distinct without Confusion or Mixture. He produces several Examples after what manner the Two Natures are united without being mingled and confused; and a great number of Testimonies of Holy Scripture which prove that the Qualities and Proprieties of the Humane Nature are preserved entire in Jesus Christ, even after the Resurrection. He afterwards produces the Tradition of the Greek and Latin Fathers, among whom he quotes *Theophilus* and St. *Cyril*.

In fine, he shews in the last Dialogue, that it can't be said, that the Word hath suffered, although we add, likewise in the Flesh; because altho' it be true, that Jesus Christ hath suffered according to the Humane Nature, yet those Sufferings may not be attributed to the Divinity. He maintains, that the Scripture never attributes the Sufferings to the Word of God, but only to the Person of Jesus Christ. He joyns also the Tradition of the Fathers to his Authorities and Arguments.

The last part of this Work is a Collection of very strong Arguments, which he uses utterly to beat down the three Errors which he hath resisted in the Dialogues.

The Style of this Work is clear and plain. *Theodoret* explains in it many obscure Difficulties in a very intelligible and grateful way. He propounds his Arguments in a good Order, and conceals not the Exceptions or Reasons of his Adversary, but forces him out of his last Hold, and at length brings him over to the Truth, after such a manner as that he seems compelled to it by the Proofs which he hath urged against him. He nevertheless sometimes uses Texts of Scripture improperly, and draws from them far-fetched Consequences; brings Comparisons not always just, Proofs not over solid, and Reasonings not very convincing. The Tradition of the Fathers which he alleges against the three Errors he opposes, are of very great force. The passages he relates are decisive, and very well chosen.

The Doctrine which he confirms, is as Orthodox, as that which he opposes is contrary to the Faith of the Church. And, in my Judgment, they do him a great deal of wrong, who pretend, that he designs to introduce *Nestorianism*, and that he allows only a moral Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ. On the contrary, there is hardly a Page in which he doth not acknowledge, that the Word was made Man, that Jesus Christ is both God and Man; that the two Natures are united in one only Person; that there is but one Christ, one Son. But say they, *Theodoret*, in his last Dialogue, rejects such Expressions as are consequent upon the Hypostatic Union, for he is against the Phrases; God hath suffered, God is dead, God is risen; which are most true in the Sense of the Orthodox. It is then truly said, that he opposes, at least indirectly, the Hypostatic Union. But if they consider well, *Theodoret* rejects not these Expressions but in the bad Sense that they are capable of, and as they understand them of the Divine Nature it self. He opposes these Expressions in the Reduplicative Sense, God hath suffered as God; and in the abstract Terms, the Divine Nature, the Divinity hath suffered. But he owns, that the Person, who hath suffered was God, although he could not suffer as God, but as Man. 'Jesus Christ, saith he, is not a meer Man, he is both God and Man. We have often made profession of it, but he hath suffered as Man, not as God.' This is the Doctrine of *Theodoret* in his Dialogues. It is so true, that this Work was of Orthodox Principles, that the most zealous of his Party found fault, that he had cited *Theophilus* and St. *Cyril*, but had not mentioned *Diodorus* and *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, so that *Theodoret* was obliged to justify himself in this Point, which he did in the 16th. Letter to *Irenaeus*; wherein he tells us, that he did it not because he was not willing to make use of any Witnesses suspected by his Adversaries. Also *Theodoret* alleges that Book in his Letter to *Dioscorus*, as a proof of the Purity of his Faith, and of the respect that he bore to the Memory of *Theophilus* and St. *Cyril*. Had he been well advised to quote St. *Cyril*, with so much Commendation, if he had opposed his Opinions as Hæreti-

(f) Before the Year 448.] *Theodoret* speaks of this Treatise, in his sixteenth Letter to *Irenaeus*, and eighty third to *Dioscorus*. The first was written in 448. and the second in 449. before *Dioscorus* was condemned; it was then precedent to these two

Letters, but yet was made after the Death of St. *Cyril*, whom he there cites among the Fathers, whose Authorities he produces, and in the Time when the Quarrel, which broke out upon the Account of *Eutiches*, began to be formed.

cal? In sum, there never were any but *Eutychians*, who have condemned this Work of *Theodore*. 'Twas by their Craft, that *Theodosius* banished him by his Edict, in which he approves the Doctrines and Outrages, that *Dioscorus* and *Eutiches* had set on foot in the sham Council of *Ephesus*. But the Emperor *Marcian* revoked that Decree, and tho' afterwards they quarrelled with *Theodore* upon the Account of the Writings which he composed against *St. Cyril*, yet we never saw him attacked for his Dialogues.

[* These Books have been Printed alone in Greek at Rome, 1568.] The 5 Books of Heretical Fables*, are a no less Authentick Proof of the Learning, than Faith of *Theodore*. He composed them sometime after the Council of *Chalcedon* at the desire of *Sporatius* an Officer of the Emperor, who was Consul in 452. He gives us in 5 Books, an Abstract of the Doctrines of the Hereticks, to which he opposes in the last an Abridgment of the Orthodox Doctrine of the Church.

The first Book contains an History of the Heresies, which have opposed the Divinity, by admitting many first Causes. All the Hereticks believed, that the Son of God, took the Humane Nature in appearance only. He begins with *Simon* and ends with the *Manichees*. In the second, he speaks of those who did truly acknowledge that there was but one first Cause, but make Jesus Christ to pass for a meer Man. This Sect of Hereticks begins with *Ebion*, and ends with *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and *Photinus*. The third Book contains the History of those Hereticks, who had other Errors, such as the *Nicolaitans*, *Montanists* and *Novatians*. The fourth Book describes the new Heresies of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, and ends with those of *Nestorius* and *Eutiches*. It is doubted, whether the Chapter which concerns *Nestorius*, where that Heretick is so much inveighed against, be really *Theodore's*. *F. Garner* believes, that it is a forged Piece, and brings many plausible Conjectures to prove it. He saith, first, that if we compare what the Author of this Chapter says of *Nestorius*, with what *Theodore* hath written of him, we shall be convinced that it can't be his; for *Theodore* hath always excused *Nestorius*, he hath always spoken honourably of him, he never condemns him but with regret. On the contrary, the Author of this Chapter declares himself against him, and treats him with all possible Severity. If you will believe him, *Nestorius* was an Instrument of the Devil, and the Scourge of *Aegypt*, he hath overthrown quite the Mystery of the Divinity and Humanity of the only begotten Son of God under a false show of Piety. He was an Hypocrite, who studied nothing but to get himself a great Name, and get the Affection of the People by a show of Religion. He was no sooner possessed of the Episcopal Power in the Imperial City, but he changed the Sacred Authority into a Tyrannical Government, and abusing his Power by an unbridled Liberty he made known the Impiety of his Heart, and pronounced publicly Horrid Blasphemies against the Son of God. In a Word, he was a Man who had blotted out of his Memory the Doctrine of the Apostles and their Holy Successors.

Secondly, the Author of this Chapter seems contrary to *Theodore*, not only touching the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, but also about the Circumstances of his Life. The Author of this Fragment says, that he knows not what was the Education of *Nestorius*. *Theodore* knew well, that he had been the Scholar of *Theodorus*. He saith further, that *Nestorius* had changed his abode before he came to *Antioch*. *Theodore* knew that he had lived in the Monastery of *St. Euprepus*, and likewise that he had been baptized at *Antioch*. He adds, that *Nestorius* had shewn in the beginning of his Episcopacy, after what manner he ought to manage himself, and speaks of him as a contemptible Man; *Theodore*, on the other side, speaks of him always as a very Learned and Holy Personage.

Thirdly, *Theodore* having promised, that all the Heresies of which he hath spoken in the former Books, should be confuted by him in the 5th, doth not count the *Nestorians* among those Hereticks who were in an Error, concerning the Incarnation.

Fourthly, this Chapter seems not to be *Theodore's* Style. It is swelling, figurative, full of aggravations. The beginning seems to be nothing to the purpose, and disagreeable to the following part of the History.

Fifthly, this Chapter is taken out of the Letter to *Sporatius*, which contains, besides this History, a long refutation of the Doctrines of *Nestorius*. Now this Letter is an evident piece of Forgery, for, 1. 'Tis a Writing which hath no form of a Letter, as being without beginning or end. 2. Why should *Theodore* write a Letter to *Sporatius* at that time, when he dedicated a Book of Heresies to him? 3. The Author of this piece directs his Speech to *Nestorius*, but uses the Phrases of *St. Gregory Naz.* 4. 'Tis not *Theodore's* Style. 5. 'Tis quoted by no ancient Author. 'Tis then a forged piece, from whence in all probability the whole History of *Nestorius* is taken, and put into the Book of Heretical Fables, where *Theodore* has not spoken of that Heresie. Some Person seeing that he ended this Work with the Heresie of *Eutiches*, and that he had said nothing of *Nestorius's*, thought he might take that place, which bore

the Name of the same Author, to make a kind of Supplement to the Books of Heretical Fables.

Lastly, if the Fragment and the Letter to *Sporatius* were Genuine, how comes it to pass, that it was not alledged by those that defended his Memory, at the time of the 5th. Council? Why did not *Facundus* and *Liberius* cite it? How is it, that *St. Gregory* being desirous to prove, in his Letter, that he wrote in the name of *Pelagius II.* to the Bishops of *Istria*, that *Theodore* had been Orthodox in his Opinions ever since the Council of *Chalcedon*, hath brought no Arguments so Authentick as this would have been? These are the Conjectures which seem to be very strong; notwithstanding 'tis very hard to believe, that this Chapter should be added to the Text of *Theodore*, and so much the rather, because *Leontius*, *Photius*, and the Abbot *Theodorus* acknowledged it to be Genuine, and these two last have produced it likewise to justify him. The Conjectures which are alledged against the truth of this passage, are not sufficient wholly to determine it. The first were of some consequence, if that Work had been written before the Council of *Chalcedon*, but since it is certain that it was written after *Theodore* had solemnly cursed *Nestorius*, it might be well enough that he had changed his disposition in relation to him. 'Tis certain, that as favourable as he had been to him, he disliked him, because he never would acknowledge the name of the Mother of God, which the Ancients had given the Virgin. Since he hath cited *St. Cyril* as one of the Fathers of the Church, altho' he had at other times condemned him, why might he not also blame *Nestorius* after he had heretofore commended him? The different disposition that he was in, made him speak differently. It was the Interest of *Theodore*, after he had anathematized *Nestorius*, to describe him in that sort as he doth in his Treatise of Heresies, as it was before for his honour to excuse him as well as he could. As to the difference of Circumstances which is observed between that which is said of the Life of *Nestorius* in that place, and what *Theodore* says, 'tis a thing that deserves no stay upon it, 'tis so easily solved. When he says here, that he knows not what was his first Education, he speaks not of the time when he was under the Instruction of *Theodore*, but of his first Instructions that he received from his Parents. And although he knew, that he had abode in the Monastery of *St. Euprepus*, he could not know the Journies he had made before he came thither to retire. As to that which he says of his Temper and Government, he never speaks elsewhere to the contrary. He hath spoken some things more honourably of him; in other places he excuses him; here he blames him and speaks of him as others, either because he hath changed his Opinion in reference to him, or because he thought himself obliged to speak so; that he might free himself from the suspicion, that some had against him, or to make it appear that he did sincerely anathematize him.

The third Conjecture is weaker than all the rest. *Theodore* in his last Book doth not name all the Heresies, of which he had spoken in the former. He contents himself to lay down the Principles which are contrary to their Errors. Among these Principles, there are things as well against the Heresie of *Nestorius* as against the Errors of other Hereticks. He speaks not against the Heresie of *Eutiches* in this last Book, although he hath ranked it among the Heresies in the first Book. The Style of this place is not so different from *Theodore's*, as he imagines, but on the contrary it may be said, that it hath a great similitude and likeness to the other Chapters of that Work. The 5th. Objection shews us well enough, that it is incongruous to make a Letter to *Sporatius* into a Chapter of *Theodore's* Treatise of Heresies, which was dedicated to *Sporatius*. But this doth not prove, that this Chapter is supposititious, nor that it hath been taken out of that forged Letter. But on the other side, 'tis probable, that 'tis through Mistake, that the name of a Letter is given to an Extract taken out of a Treatise of *Theodore* to *Sporatius*, to which a Discourse taken out of some other Works of *Theodore's* was joyned. So that it may be said, that this Chapter of the Book of Heresies is genuine, and that it was this which gave an occasion to forge the Letter of *Theodore* to *Sporatius*. A Conclusion drawn from a negative Argument is not very convincing. The Defenders of *Theodore* have not cited all the places which might be alledged in his Justification, and we have not all that was then said for him. *St. Gregory* did not know all his Works. It is sufficient that we see, that at length this place has been cited by Authors worthy of Credit, as an undoubted Work of this Father.

I will not undertake to relate in this place what *Theodore* hath spoken in particular of every Heresie; for then I must transcribe all his Treatise. He hath related the Errors of the Hereticks in a way very short clear and easy. He hath gathered what he says touching the Ancient Hereticks, out of *St. Justin*, *St. Irenaeus*, *St. Clement of Alex.*, *Origen*, *Eusebius* of *Palestine* and *Phoenicia*, *Adamantius*, *Rhodon*, *Titus*, *Diodorus* and *Georgius*. These are the Authors which he cites in his Preface. He speaks nothing of *Epiphanius*, nor of the Latin Authors which have written an History of Heresies

Theodore. Heresies. He is more exact and judicious than they, yet he is not without some faults. He hath not put the *Pelagians* nor *Origenists* in his List of Hereticks. He observes at the end of his third Book, that the greatest part of the ancient Heresies were of short continuance, that they had but few Followers, that they spread themselves but into few Provinces, and there was scarce any Man that made Profession of them; whereas all the World was full of Christians, who made Profession of the Orthodox Faith according to the Promise which God had made to his Church.

The last Book contains an Explication of the Faith of the Church, opposite to the Errors of the Hereticks, of which this is the Sum. There is but one first Cause of all things, viz. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. This God is eternal, simple, and incorporeal, infinitely good and just, omniscient and almighty. The Son is begotten of the Father before all Worlds. He is not created, but equal to his Father, and of the same Substance, eternal and almighty as well as he. The Holy Spirit received his Existence from the Father. He is neither created nor begotten, but he is God, and of the same nature with the Father and the Son. These three Persons are no more than one and the same God, who hath created Heaven and Earth, Matter it self, and all the Beings which are in the World. The Angels also are Creatures, but we must not think that they are of a carnal Nature like ours, nor subject to the same Passions. They are Immortal and Spiritual. God hath created Millions of them. Their Business is to sing the Praises of God; yet he believes that there are some who are charged with the care of Nations, and particular Men. The Devils are not Sinners by Nature. God created them in a state wherein they might do Good or Evil. They fell voluntarily into Sin through Pride, and God punished them for their Sin, by casting them from their first Estate. Man is also the Work of God, who hath formed him by his Almighty Hand; he is made up of a Body, and a Spiritual and Reasonable Soul, which is Immortal; God created it when the Body was formed. All things were governed by Divine Providence; we are not ruled by Destiny. There are three sorts of things in the World, which are worthy of consideration; real good things, which consist in Virtue, real Evils which consist in Vices, and things indifferent, which may be good or evil according as we make use of them, as Riches and Poverty, Prosperity and Adversity, Health and Sickness. If we may believe *Theodore*, the Goods and Evils of the first sort are in our Power; he holds, that it is in our Power to be Virtuous or Sinners; but as to all other things, God disposeth of them as he pleaseth, for reasons to us unknown, The Word of God, his only Son was made Man to restore our decayed Nature, and as the whole Man had sinned, he assumed our Nature entire. He did not take a Body to cover his Divinity, but a Soul and Body like to ours, nor did he put off that Nature at his Resurrection. He came to teach Men a more perfect Law than that of *Moses*, but yet not contrary to it in the least. Baptism came in the place of the Jewish Washings. This Ordinance, which is of marvellous Virtue, was not established for the remission of Sins past only, but also to make us hope for the good things promised, by making us Partakers of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and rendering us the Children of God, Heirs of his Kingdom, and Co-heirs with Jesus Christ: For Baptism is not only a Razor (as I may say) to cut off Sins past: For if that were so, why should we baptize Children in their Infancy, says *Theodore*, here, who have nothing of Sin? (This is *Pelagianism*, if he doth not understand it of actual Sins.) This Sacrament of Baptism gives us the hopes of the Resurrection, which we expect. The Soul is not raised, that shall only be re-united to its Body, which shall be formed anew. The Unbelievers shall be raised from the Dead as well as Believers, the Sinner as well as the just. All Men shall receive at the Day of Judgment, either a Reward of their Virtue, or a Punishment for their Sins. The reward of the Saints shall have nothing temporal or perishing in it. It consists in the enjoyment of Eternal Goods. Christ's Millenary Reign is a Fable. This Eternal Life is free from Temptation and Sin, and full of ineffable Joy. Before all this, shall the coming of Jesus Christ in Glory be, which shall follow the coming of Antichrist.

Theodore, after he hath spoken of that which concerns the Faith of the Creed, passeth to the Articles which relate to Mens Manners. The first is of *Virginity*. God hath not commanded it, but yet he gives it such Commendation as it deserves, that he may encourage Men to embrace it. Marriage is not forbidden, but the end of it ought to be for the Procreation of Children. Second Marriages are not prohibited neither, but Fornication and all other Uncleanesses are condemned by the Evangelical Law.

Theodore goes on next to Repentance, and after he hath observed, that the Scripture doth not only forbid Sin, but also affords a Remedy for the Cure of those, who have committed it, by exhorting to Repentance; he saith, That there is also a Medicine for Sins committed after Baptism, but that they cannot be cured as before, by Faith alone; we

must make use of Tears, Weeping, Groans, Fastings, Prayers, and a Satisfaction proportionable to the greatness of the Sins, that we have committed. And as to those, who are not so disposed, the Church doth not despair of them, but admits them to Communion. These, saith he, are the Laws of the Church about Repentance. Lastly, as concerning Abstinence, the Church doth not forbid the Use of Wine and Flesh, as some Hereticks do, but leaves us at Liberty, that they that will may abstain. She obliges no Man to embrace a monastick Life, but that is entirely free. These are the Articles of the Doctrine of the Church, which *Theodore* opposes to the Errors of the Hereticks, and which he proves by express Testimonies of Holy Scripture excellently well chosen.

In speaking of Providence, he refers us to what he hath said in the ten Books which he hath written upon that Subject. He cites them also in his Commentary upon the 67th Psalm, and speaks of them in his 133d. and 182d. Letters. This makes it evident, that altho' the Discourses of Providence are put after the Treatise of Heretical Fables, yet they were composed a long time before about the year 433. These are the Discourses or Sermons which he recited probably at *Antioch*. In the five first, he proves a Providence by the admirable Position of the heavenly Bodies, by the wonderful Order of the Elements, by the Contexture of the Parts of Man's Body, by the Invention of Arts, and by the Dominion of Man over the Beasts. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th, he answers some Objections which may be made against Providence, by shewing, that Poverty, Bondage and other Misfortunes, to which Men, and even the Just, are subject, have Profit in them. In the 9th, he shews, that the Practice of Virtue is not unprofitable, altho' very often it is not recompensed in this World, because it shall be rewarded in another Life. In the last, after he hath observed, that God hath always loved and taken care of all men; he shews, that this Love appears plainly in the Incarnation of the Son of God, and all that Jesus Christ hath done for them. These Discourses are written with a great deal of Generosity and Eloquence. They have been published by *Majoranus* [at Rome] in 1545: and translated by *Gualter* [at Tigur] in 1546. [Afterward at Paris, in 1630. in Octavo, Dr. Cave.]

There is not less Eloquence and much more Learning in the 12 Discourses concerning the * Cure of the false Opinions of the Heathens, where he proves the Truth of our Religion, and convinces the Heathens of Falshood, by comparing them together. *Theodore* undertook this Work to satisfy some Objections which had been made to him. He speaks of it in his Letter to *Renatus*, and in that which he wrote to St. *Leo*, and he puts them among those Books, which he had composed before the year 438. He therein speaks of the Law of the Emperor, in which he had commanded that the Temples should be demolished, pursuant to a Law of *Theodosius* promulgated in 426. So that this Work was framed in some of the following years. It is divided into 12 Discourses, of which *Theodore* himself hath made an Abridgment. The first is of the Credulity of the Christians and Ignorance of the Apostles. *Theodore* proves both of them are unjustly imputed to the Christians, as a Proof of the Falshood of their Religion; that the wisest Persons have not always been those who have had most Eloquence and Learning; that the *Greeks* have been taught that Wisdom by the *Barbarians*; that *Plato* had acknowledged, that the greatest Philosophers were not always those, who were most skilful in Arts and Sciences; that it was not true, that the Christians believed rashly and without Proof; that the Heathen Philosophers required Faith, and that they themselves had yielded Faith to the Poets; that they had acknowledged, that Faith was necessary in order to Knowledge; yea, that there was no part of Knowledge but required some sort of Faith in order to it.

In the second, after he hath examined the Opinions of the heathen Philosophers concerning the Beginning of the World, he makes it appear, that what *Moses* hath said of it, is much more rational than all that the Philosophers have imagined; and that *Plato* had taken all that he hath spoken so well upon that Subject, out of the Books of *Moses*.

In the third, he compares that which the *Greeks* have written concerning their Petty-Gods, with what the Christians have said of Spiritual Creatures, Angels and Demons; and makes it clear, by that Comparison, that the Doctrine of Christians is as wise and rational as the Heathens is impious and ridiculous.

In the fourth he shews, that what the Christians believe of the Creation of the World, is far more reasonable than what *Plato* and the other Philosophers have taught of it.

In the fifth, he speaks of the Nature of Man; and after he hath laid down what the Christians and *Greeks* think of it, he shews the difference between Light and Darkness, Ignorance and Error.

In the sixth he discourses of Providence; 'For, saith he, it was just, after I had spoken of God and the Creatures, to say something of Providence, in refutation of the Impiety of *Diagoras*, the Blasphemies of *Epicurus*, and the fabulous Sentiments of *Aristotle*, by confirming the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Photinus* upon that Subject, and by proving

Theodoret. ving, from Reasons, drawn from Nature and the Frame of the World, that the Providence of God is manifested in all Creatures.

In the seventh Discourse he condemns the Sacrifices of the Heathen, and makes use of the Testimonies of the Prophets, to prove that the Ceremonies of the old Law were intended for Persons imperfect only.

In the eighth he undertakes to defend the Honour which the Christians give the Martyrs, shewing, by the Testimonies of the Philosophers, Poets and Historians, that the Greeks have honoured the Memory of eminent Men, by offering Sacrifices to them after their Death, and by bestowing on them the Qualities of Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes, altho' the greatest part of them had been infamous and Criminals: And this he does to give a clearer Demonstration that the Christians did honour their Martyrs far more deservedly. He makes a comparison between the heathen Lawgivers and the Apostles, which is the Subject of the ninth Discourse.

In the tenth he compares the Predictions of the Greeks with the Prophecies of the Jews, and by that comparison demonstrates, that the one promoted Falshood and Absurdities, whereas the other had foretold nothing but what is true and reasonable.

In the eleventh he relates what both Heathens and Christians have said concerning the end of the World, and the last Judgment.

Lastly, in the twelfth Discourse he shews, that the Life of the Apostles, and of those who have imitated them, is far above the Life of other Men.

In these Discourses there is a great deal of Learning; *Theodoret* quotes above an hundred heathen Authors in them: They are written with a great deal of Art and Eloquence, and may not give place in any thing to all the Works of Antiquity, composed for the defence of Religion. They are translated by *Acciusolus*, who printed his Version at *Paris* in 1519. *Silburgius* hath published them since in *Greek* [and *Latin*, at *Hiedelberg* 1592. in Folio, with his own Notes, full of most useful and excellent Learning, *Cave*.]

The Addition, which is at the end of this fourth Tome of the Works of *Theodoret*, doth not contain forged Pieces, but certain Treatises that have not yet been put in order. The first is a Discourse of Charity, which is a kind of a Conclusion of his History of Religion; in which he extols the Charity and Love that the Martyrs of the Old and New Testament had shewn in their Sufferings.

The Discourse which carries the Name of a Letter to *Sporatius*, is not a Letter, but a Fragment of the Treatise of Heresies, to which is joyned an Explication of the Mystery of the Incarnation. We will put the Letter to *John* Bishop of *Germanicia* to the other Letters of *Theodoret*, and will elsewhere speak of the Confutation of *St. Cyril's Anathematizms*, as also of the Discourse that he made at *Chalcedon* against *St. Cyril*, when he was Deputy for the *Oriental* Bishops, after the Council of *Ephesus*. We have one of these Discourses entire, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and some Fragments of three other, in the Acts of the fifth Council.

Theodoret being returned to *Antioch*, after the Council of *Ephesus*, composed five other Books against *St. Cyril*. *M. Mercator* hath given us some Extracts of them in *Latin*, and *F. Garner* hath published some Fragments of them in *Greek*. *Photius*, in the forty sixth Book of his *Bibliotheca*, makes mention of twenty seven Books of *Theodoret* against several Propositions. The twenty last are *Euthenius's* of *Tyana*, as we have learned of *M. Mercator*. *F. Garner* believes, that the seven first Books are the Work against *St. Cyril*, but, for my part, I rather believe them another Treatise of the Incarnation, which he often speaks of. For, 1. The Work of *St. Cyril* was divided into five Books, this into seven. 2. *Photius*, without doubt, would have observed, that these Discourses were against *St. Cyril*. 3. The Subject of these Discourses does not agree, in the least, with the Treatise against *St. Cyril*. The first, saith *Photius*, is against those, that say, that the Word and Humanity make up but one Nature, and who attribute the Sufferings to the Divinity. The second sets upon the same Errors very strongly, by Testimonies of Scripture. The third is about the same Subject. The fourth contains the Opinions of the holy Fathers about the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ* our Saviour. The fifth gathers together the Opinions of the Hereticks, and shews that they are near a-kind to their Error, who will not acknowledge two Natures in *Jesus Christ*. The sixth shews, that there is but one *Jesus Christ*. The seventh is instead of a Letter.

Theodoret, in the Catalogue, which himself made of his Works, mentions other Treatises, which he had composed against the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Apollinarists* and *Marcionites*, but these Works are irrecoverably lost (g), as also the Treatise against the *Jews*, and * the Answer to the Questions of the *Persian Magi*; nor have we his † Book of Mysteries, to which he refers his Readers, when he is speaking

[* *Responsiones ad quaestiones Magorum.*]
[† *Opus mysticum, sive de Mysteriis.*]
[Fidei expositiones, l. 12.]

(g) Irrecoverably lost.] *F. Garner* pretends, that these are the Dialogues in *St. Athanasius*, but it is more probable that they

of Baptism, in his last Book of Heretical Fables, and of which he makes mention in the Places where he gives a Catalogue of his Works, not the Book of Theology. It seems likewise, that all these Works were not known to those who have spoken of *Theodoret*, for neither *Photius*, nor *Gennadius*, nor *Nicephorus*, nor *Hebediesu*, who have made Catalogues of *Theodoret's* Works, have made mention of them. He had also made an Apology for *Diodorus of Tarsus* and *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, which the Author last named, calls the Apology of the Fathers. *Theodoret* gives an Hint of them in one of his Letters, and some Fragments are to be found in the fifth Council. *Photius* hath preserved large Extracts of the five Discourses, compiled in the Commendation of *St. Chrysostome*. He observes, that he had made a greater number, but he had never seen any but these five: That the one part of the first Discourse seems to respect another Subject; but, in the latter Part, he tells us, how *St. Chrysostome* was made Bishop, the Design he had to restore the Priesthood to its ancient Splendor, the Discourse he made against the *Cainites*, his Sermons which he preached for the good of the State, the Envy that they had against him, the manner how he was driven out, and sent into Exile, and other Circumstances of the Life of this great Saint. He saith, that the second Sermon being but short, contained very little of his Praise, but the third, which was much superior to the others, in the Choiceness of Words and Notions, surpassed the Bounds of a Panegyrick. The fifth and sixth finish the Description of his Virtues.

Photius relates these long Extracts, but they are in a Style wholly different from *Theodoret's*. They are nothing but *Anzitheses*, Jinglys of Words, abrupt Phrases, childish Notions, and nothing like *Theodoret's* Style, which is grave, masculine and serious. 'Tis not the same with the Sermon upon the Nativity of *St. John* Baptist, published by *F. Garner*, which is like enough to *Theodoret's* Style. *Hebediesu* attributes to *Theodoret* a Book against *Origen*, but he hath not spoken of it in any other Place, and 'tis very unlikely that he hath written any thing against that Author. There is a Manuscript, where a Book of *Asceticks*, printed under the Name of *Maximus*, carries *Theodoret's* Name; but it is rather the former's.

We have deferred to speak of the Letters of *Theodoret* till this Place, because they are very proper to represent the History of his Life, and give us a true Idea of his Conduct, so as we ordinarily conclude with a Description of the Authors. We have judged that we cannot do this better of *Theodoret* than by drawing it from his Letters, where he ingenuously discovers his Opinions and Notions. There we may see the Obligations he had, the Motives by which he acted, the Disposition he was of, and the Virtues and Failings which he had.

These Letters are of two Sorts: The one concerns the Disputes which he had, through his whole Life, with the Bishops of *Aegypt*: Others are familiar Letters, written about private Affairs. The first of these may be referred to three Classes; the first is made up of those which were written before and in the time of the *Ephesine* Council; the second of such as were written during the time that the Peace between the *Oriental* Bishops and the *Aegyptians* was in making, till it was agreed on: And the third contains those which were written from the time he began to be troubled afresh, untill his Absolution pronounced in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Since we shall be obliged to speak of these Letters in particular, when we shall lay down the History of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, we shall content our selves to observe only their Number in this Place, and what may be deduced from thence, to make known the Disposition of *Theodoret*.

The first Class contains but a very small number of Letters, especially if we do not attribute to *Theodoret* all the Letters which were written from *Ephesus* in the Name of the *Eastern* Bishops. The first is the Letter which he wrote to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, when he sent him the Confutation of *St. Cyril's* twelve Chapters, in the year 431. This we have in *Greek* and *Latin*; but of all the others only the *Latin* Version. *M. Mercator* hath preserved a Fragment of a Letter, which *Theodoret* wrote from *Ephesus* to *Andrew* Bishop of *Samosata*. There is also a Letter, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, written from *Chalcedon* to *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and four or five others in the Collection of *Lupus*, written before the Affair of the Peace began to be spoken off. It is evident by these Letters that *Theodoret* was extremely incensed against the twelve Chapters, because he thinks them heretical, defends *Nestorius*, accounts him orthodox and unjustly condemned, and was persuaded that *St. Cyril* and *Memnon* had been justly condemned. In a word, he maintains all that was done by the *Oriental* Bishops, and disapproves whatsoever *St. Cyril* and the Council had done.

The second Class contains no other Letters, almost, but those which have been lately published by *F. Lupus*, out of are *Maximus's*. See what we have already said in the Notes, upon the Works of *St. Athanasius*.

but

a Manuscript of the Library of *Monte Cassino*, which comprehends a great Number of Letters of the Oriental Bishops, but all in *Latin*. These are all taken out of a Collection, which had been formerly made by Count *Irenaeus*, who assisted at the Council of *Ephesus* in the room of the Emperor, and was after a Bishop in *Phoenicia*. As he was one of the most zealous Favourers of *Nestorius*, he had gathered all the Letters together, which might countenance him; and drew Consequences from them to maintain his Party. This Book was intituled *A Tragedy*, because he pretends to shew, that the Condemnation of *Nestorius* was but a bloody Scene exhibited to the World. We have already seen that *Hidore of Damiatu*, and *Euthorius of Tyana* had given that Name to what was done in the Council of *Ephesus*. The Ancient Author, who hath taken out of him these Letters, which he hath inserted in his Collection, hath set down in some Places the Reflections of *Irenaeus*. The Design of this Author hath been to justify *Theodoret*, and to shew, that since all the Letters are certainly his, he cannot be accused of Heresy, because it appears, that he always acknowledged the Letter which *St. Cyril* wrote to procure Unity, to be Catholick Doctrine, and that he never defended *Nestorius* but in Matter of Fact, believing him of the same Judgment.

Although we have these Letters only upon the Faith of this Author, and in one Manuscript, which the *Romanists* likewise are careful to conceal, ever since *F. Lupus* made use of it, it may be, because it contains some Pieces, which are not favourable to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*; yet it is not to be doubted but that they are Ancient: For, 1. We find in this Collection those which are in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and of the third Council, and of which *M. Mercator* recites some Fragments. 2. They contain such particular Facts, and are accompanied with such Circumstances, and which have such a natural Relation to the rest of the History of the Council of *Ephesus*, that it is impossible that they should be devised by an Impostor. 3. The principal Matters, which they discover, are confirmed by other undoubted Records, although they are not sufficiently explain'd and clear'd but by these Letters. Lastly, it cannot be doubted but they are taken out of the Collection of *Irenaeus*. The Terms, which are cited, make it evident, that this Work is not forged. Now *Irenaeus* lived in the very Time of the Controversy, and was a Witness of all that had passed, so that these Letters are very Ancient. It may be objected, that *Irenaeus*, being of the *Novatians* Party, might forge those Letters of *Theodoret* in their Favour: But what likelihood is there that he should have the Boldness to do it, in a time, in which it was so easy a Matter to convince him of the Imposture. There are more than Thirty Letters in this Collection, which bear the Name of *Theodoret*. I will not here speak of every one in particular, because I will not repeat the same thing over twice, I will content my self to relate the Consequences which may be drawn from them.

First of all, they shew that *Theodoret* did always approve the Doctrine contain'd in *St. Cyril's* Letter, written about the Reconcilement: He looked upon it to speak the Truth, as a kind of Recantation of the Doctrine contain'd in the twelve Chapters, but he thought it Orthodox, although *Nestorius*, *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and some others, found Fault with it.

II. At first he shewed a great deal of Averseness to receive *St. Cyril* into his Communion, for though he believed that he professed Orthodox Doctrine, and revoked his pretended Errors, yet he could not bring himself to a Reconciliation, with a Person, whom he thought to be the Author of all his Troubles: Nevertheless, he passed it over at length, and offered to communicate with him, provided that he should not be obliged to pronounce *Nestorius* accursed, and that all the Bishops of the *Eastern* Party might be restored.

III. Having heard that the Peace was concluded, without mention of their Restoration, that *Nestorius* was forsaken, and that *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa* had cursed him, he joyned himself with *Alexander* of *Hierapolis*, and many other Bishops, who would have nothing to do with that Agreement, and who separated themselves from *John* of *Antioch*, because he had made it.

IV. Being Solicited by *John* Bishop of *Antioch* to yield himself, and pressed to it by his Monks, who were afraid that he would be driven out of his Bishoprick, he entred a Conference about it with *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and consented to receive *St. Cyril* into his Communion, nevertheless, without cursing *Nestorius*, and exhorted the other Bishops to do the same soon after. He wrote Letters to *St. Cyril*, and received Letters from him, but he did not entirely put off the good Opinion he had of *Nestorius* and his most zealous Adherents; and although he dare not stand up in their Defence ever after, yet he seems always to have some Compassion for them, and also a secret Grudge against *St. Cyril*, and the Bishops of *Aegypt*, who envied him, both in his Life-time and after his Decease. *St. Cyril* himself complains of his Behaviour, in the Letter which is found in the *Vatican* Manuscript, and which *F. Garner* has prin-

ted, be really his. And *Theodoret*, for his part, bespatters the Memory of *St. Cyril*, in as bloody a Letter as can be written: If it be of him, that he speaks, in that which is recited in the fifth Council, and if that Letter be not forged; but this we shall examine elsewhere: Yet we must observe, that *F. Garner* hath published a Letter of *Theodoret's*, to *John* of *Antioch*, in *Greek* and *Latin*, which had been before printed by *Leo Allatius* and *Cotelierius*; in which he approves the Form of Agreement as very Orthodox.

The third Class of *Theodoret's* Letters, which are Historical, is contained in the *Greek* and *Latin* Collection of his Letters, which *F. Sirmondus* hath published at the End of the third Tome of his Works.

The sixtieth Letter may be reckon'd the first, according to the Order of time, which was written to *Dioscorus*, newly prefer'd to the See of *Alexandria*, after the Death of *St. Cyril*, which happen'd in 444. This Letter is a proof that the Reconciliation of *Theodoret* with the *Aegyptians* was sincere, and that he did not intend to trouble the Peace of the Church. Nevertheless he was accused to the Emperor, the next Year, by those that favoured the Error of *Eutyches*, of troubling the Peace of the Church, by holding frequent Assemblies at *Antioch*, instead of residing in his own Diocese. Under this pretence they obtained an Order from the Emperor, in which he strictly enjoyned *Theodoret* to remain in his own City *Cyrus*, and not stir from thence. This Order was shew'd him by Count *Rufus*, and he immediately obeyed it. Yet he wrote in his own defence to *Patricius* *Anatolius*, to the Praefect *Eutrechius*, and to the Consul *Nomius*. These Letters are the Seventy-ninth, Eighty, and Eighty-one. He therein shews, that it was very unjust to give Credit to the Accusations of his Enemies without hearing him; that he has always lived a blameless Life; that no Man complained of him in his own Country; that he was not troubled that he was confined to the City *Cyrus*, but on the contrary, there was no place of Dwelling more pleasing to him; but this grieved him, that he was constrain'd to it by the Order of the Emperor, because it would give an occasion to the People of his Diocese to slight his Instructions; that he was wrongfully accused of having held frequent Assemblies at *Antioch*, since he never came thither but when he was summoned by his Patriarch; that he had done nothing but what was according to the Canons and Discipline of the Church; that he had lived and discharged all the parts of his Ministry without fault; that all his Crime was, that he lamented the Miseries of the *Phoenician* Churches; that he was ready to be Judged by a Council of Bishops, and that in the presence of the most Illustrious Magistrates.

The Enemies of *Theodoret* were not satisfied to have accused his Behaviour, but they would render his Faith suspected, and to this end published in *Alexandria*, that he taught, that there were two Sons of God. This obliged him to write his eighty second Letter to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Ancyra*, wherein he declares, that he was so far from that Error, that when he discovered some of the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council to incline to a Division of the two Natures, he was much troubled; because he knew, that the excessive use, they made of it, had given occasion to that Error. And for fear, addeth he, that it should be thought, that it is fear, which makes me now speak in this manner, let those who would inform themselves fully of my Opinion, read the Works which I have composed, either before the Council of *Ephesus*, or within these twelve Years last past, which if they examine, and judge of my Opinions by them, they will find, that I have no other. The Accusation, which *Theodoret* endeavours to clear himself of in this Letter, was greedily received by *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who besides the old Controversie of the *Aegyptians*, had another private Quarrel with *Theodoret* about the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. He wrote to *Domnus*, who had succeeded *John* in the See of *Antioch*, that it was told him, that *Theodoret* preaching publicly at *Antioch*, had divided the Person of *Jesus Christ* into two. *Theodoret* having seen this Letter, which was given to him in the seventh Year of the Pontificate of *Domnus*, in 447, he wrote the eighty-third Letter to *Dioscorus*, wherein he complains, that *Dioscorus* had given Credit to the Testimony of a few Persons so easily. He opposes to their Testimony the infinite number of those who had heard the Sermons which he preached at *Antioch* in twenty six Years time under three Arch-bishops, without incurring blame from any Person for that matter. He professes to follow the judgment of the Fathers, to defend the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Council, and to acknowledge but one *Jesus Christ* the Son of God, as he did confess but One Father, and One Holy Ghost. He proves this Truth likewise, and shews, that tho' there are two Natures in *Jesus Christ*, there is nevertheless but one *Jesus Christ*, to whom the Properties of the two Natures agree. He adds, that he hath taken this Doctrine out of the Writings of *St. Alexander*, *St. Athanasius*, and *St. Basil*, and that his Writings make it appear, that he made use of the Books of *Theophilus*, and *St. Cyril*, to confute the Errors of those, that say, that one of the two Natures hath been changed into the other; that he hath written to *St. Cyril*, and that that Saint received his

Theodore. Letters; that he hath read and admired his Books against *Julian*; that he wrote to him upon that Subject, and that he yet hath the Answer which he made to *St. Cyril*. He then desires *Dioscorus* not to hearken to his Calumniators, nor to reject him from his Communion; and after he hath cited his Books as Authentick Witnesses of the Purity of his Faith, he concludes with this Protestation, *If any one refuseth to confess, that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God, or says, that Jesus Christ our Lord is but a mere Man, or divides him into two, he, who is the only Son of God, and the first Born, of every Creature, Let him lose all the hope which he hath in God.* Altho' *Theodore* seemed to have fully justified himself by this Letter, nevertheless *Dioscorus* gave not over his Enterprize, and instead of rejecting the Calumnies which were so ill grounded, he called together his Accusers, caused them publickly to pronounce him Accursed, and did the same himself. When *Theodore* heard it, he implored the help of other Bishops, but particularly *Flavian* Bishop of *Constantinople*. The Letter which he wrote to him is the eighty sixth. After he hath related the Attempt of *Dioscorus*, he says, that he heard, that that Bishop of *Alexandria* had sent some of his Bishops to *Constantinople*, hoping to raise great Commotions against him, but he put his Confidence chiefly in God, since he is Assaulted upon the account of the true Faith, and next in the protection of *Flavian*, whom he prays to maintain the Orthodox Faith, and vindicate the Canons, which were slighted. 'For, saith he, the Fathers of the Council held at *Constantinople*, following the determination of the *Nicene* Council, have distinguished the bounds of Diocesses, expressly forbidding the Bishops of one Diocese to encroach upon the Rights of another. They ordered the Bishop of *Alexandria* not to concern himself but in *Aegypt* only, and have left to others the Government of their own Diocesses. But *Dioscorus* contemning these Laws, boasts that his See is *St. Mark's*, that he may assume the Rights that do not belong to him. We might oppose to him, that the Church of *Antioch* was the See of *St. Peter*, the Prince and Head of the Apostles. But we do not regard the Dignity of the See, we know and keep within the bounds of Humility which the Apostles have taught us. *Theodore* says further to engage *Flavian* on his side, that *Dioscorus* had hated him ever since he consented to the Rules made in the time of *Proclus*, in favour of the See of *Constantinople*. He wrote also Letters to *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch*, to the Bishops of *Cilicia*, and to many Officers of the Emperor's Court, whom he fills with Complaints. We may see upon this subject the eighty third Letter, and the following to the one hundred and tenth.

But all his endeavours were to no purpose; he became every Day more and more odious to the Emperor, and the main thing that was sought, was an occasion to ruin him. This was thought a very fit One, to depose *Irenaeus*, whom he had ordained Bishop of *Phœnicia*. Two Faults were found with that Ordination. The first was, that *Irenaeus*, was a *Nestorian*, and did not believe that the Virgin ought to be called the Mother of God. The other was, that he had been twice Married. The Emperor wrote to *Domnus* to depose him. *Theodore* tells him in his Hundred and tenth Letter that he could not do it without an Offence against God, because he had Ordained him pursuant to the declaration of the Bishops of *Phœnicia*, who had judged him worthy to be a Bishop for his rare Virtues; and as to that Charge, that he had been twice Married, he had passed by the ordinary Rules according to the Example of *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch*, who with *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea* had Ordained *Diogenes*, a Man twice Married, and of *Prailus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who also had ordained *Domnus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* altho' he was twice Married. That in fine, *Proclus* had approved the Ordination of *Irenaeus*, and the Bishops of *Pontus*, *Palestine*, and *Cappadocia*, had acknowledged him, and that no Man ever had called in Question the Validity of it; that it was unjust after this to condemn him; that *Domnus* ought to represent these things to the Emperor; That he could nevertheless answer otherwise, if he judged it fit; that as to himself, he expected to suffer the utmost; That he believed in the last place, that the best Expedient were to wait the Answer of the Bishops of *Palestine*, to write unanimously to *Constantinople*. He wrote at the same time the third Letter to *Irenaeus*, wherein he signifies to him obscurely, that he ought not to withdraw himself, if he were not forced to it.

But another Business was brought upon the Stage against *Theodore*; he was accused, that he had evil-intreated and unjustly condemned the Accusers of *Ibas*. He defends himself against that Accusation in the Hundred and eleventh Letter to *Anatolius*, by telling him, that he was none of the Judges, being detained at *Cyrrus* by the Emperor's Order; that he had no part in that Judgment, but that *Domnus* had done his duty in reviewing their Affair, not only as to the Judgment of *Ibas*, but also of *Simeon* Bishop of *Amida*, to the end that their Cause might be judged by two different Metropolitans. He complains, that in all other Countries the Bishops were at ease, and that no regard was had to any but the *Eastern* Bishops; that whatsoever their malicious Adversaries could invent against

them, was hearkened to. That as to himself, there was less reason to accuse him than any other, since he had kept himself quietly in his own Diocese according to the Emperor's Order, and that he had not assisted at two Ordinations made in his Province. He adds, that if he were not detained by the Emperor's Order, he would retire altogether for the remaining part of his Life.

The Calling of a Council at *Ephesus* under *Dioscorus* affrighted *Theodore*. He foresaw easily enough, that he could hope for nothing from a Synod, where *Dioscorus* his Adversary presided, and ruled all. Also when *Domnus* sent him the Letter of the Convocation, which was directed to him, he signifies to him by his Hundred and twentieth Letter, the fear he had, that this Synod would have but a very bad issue, if God did not disappoint the designs of Men, for tho' the Council of *Nice* had condemned *Arian*, and the Bishops of his Party had consented to his Condemnation, yet they had continued in their Impiety, and troubled the Church for many Years; that he feared yet worse of this present Synod, because the other Dioceses did not discover the Poison of the twelve Chapters, and that only considering the Reputation of him that composed them, this was the cause, that they suspected no ill in them; that he did not doubt but that his Successor would do what is him by to have them confirmed in a second Council: 'For having already pronounced, saith he, *Anathema* against those who would not approve them, what will he not do at the Head of a Council? But, saith he, further to *Domnus*, be it well known to you that none of those Bishops who have espied the Heresie that is couched in those Propositions, will ever give their Approbation of them, although the number of them that should ordain it be as great again. We have already refuted them, although many Bishops had approved them at *Ephesus*, nor did we communicate with the Author of them, till he had declared his consent plainly to that Explanation of the Faith, which we had presented to him without mentioning the twelve Chapters.' He proves afterwards by Authentick Records, that the Bishops of the *East* had always condemned them, and exhorts *Domnus* not to forsake the Faith of his Ancestors, and not to receive a strange Doctrine. It is plain, that this Letter was written a little before the Council in 449.

The Council of *Ephesus* did worse than *Theodore* had foretold, for it approved the Doctrine of *Eusebius*, rejected the Faith of the Church, condemned *Flavian*, and pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against *Theodore* without hearing him, or citing him. But he in many Letters made it appear immediately, that he was unjustly condemned by them.

The largest and most considerable, is, that which he wrote to *St. Leo*, to whom he made his Appeal in this Urgent Necessity, it is the Hundred and thirteenth Letter. After he hath complimented him about his Primacy, the Greatness and Prerogatives of his Church, and the Purity of his Doctrine, explained in his excellent Letter to *Flavian*. He describes the Injustice that *Dioscorus* had committed, not only as to *Flavian*, but also as to himself, in deposing him so irregularly; that is to say, in his absence, without having cited him Judically, without questioning him, without having ordered his Process, and after he had caused him to make Excuses of coming to the Council. He next proves his own Innocence, chiefly by the unblameable manner in which he had managed the Government of his Diocese. Lastly, he implores the help and protection of *St. Leo*, and prays him to send for him to *Rome*, that he may justify by his Writings, that his Doctrine is thoroughly conformable to that of the *Roman* Church. But above all things, he beseeches him to let him know whether he ought to yield to that unjust Sentence; that he would wait his Advice thereupon, and if he thought it best for him to abide there, he will do it freely, that he will be troublesome to no Man, any more, but wait patiently the Just Judgment of God, that as for himself, he valued his own Reputation but little, but that he was afraid of giving Scandal, and being an occasion of falling to the Weak, who believing his Doctrine Heretical might fall into Error.

He wrote at the same time to *Renatus*, a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, to desire him to put forward his Proposition, with his Bishop of assembling a Council in his Church, promising to submit himself to his Judgment, be it what it will. He also quotes his own Writings as an Authentick Proof of the Truth of his Faith. This is the Hundred and sixteenth Letter.

The Hundred and seventeenth Letter is directed to the Bishop of *Florence*, if we follow the Title, but the Body of the Letter makes it appear, that it was written to many Bishops, or to the whole Clergy. He represents to them the Injustice that was done him, and implores their Assistance. He makes the like Complaints to the Arch-Deacon of *Rome*, by the Hundred and eighteenth Letter, and to *Anatolius* Patriarch by the Hundred and nineteenth, and Hundred twenty first Letters, to *Uranus* Bishop of *Emesa* in the Hundred twenty third, and Hundred twenty fourth Letters, to Bishop *Timothy* by the Hundred and thirtieth Letter, to *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* by the Hundred thirty second Letter

Theodore. to *John* Bishop of *Germanicia* by the Hundred thirty third, and Hundred forty seventh Letters, and many others. All these Letters were written toward the end of the Year 449, or at the beginning of the Year 450, from the Monastery whither he had retired. The Hundred twenty fifth, Hundred forty fourth, Hundred forty fifth and Hundred and forty sixth, are Explications of the Faith written at the same time, and from the same place; as also the Hundred twenty sixth Letter to *Sabinian* Bishop of the *Parni*, who having been deposed in the Council of *Ephesus*, was retreated. *Theodore* commends him for his Valour.

At the end of this Year the Face of things was changed by the Death of *Theodosius*. *Marcian* who succeeded him, made the Judgment of the Council of *Ephesus*, held under *Dioscorus*, to be void, and restored *Theodore* who had been driven out of *Cyrus*. He then wrote many Letters to his Friends, either to complain of them who had forsaken him, as he doth in the Hundred thirty fourth, and Hundred thirty fifth; or to return them Thanks who had assisted him, and opposed his Enemies, as he doth in the Hundred thirty seventh, Hundred and forty, Hundred and forty one, Hundred forty two, Hundred forty three, or to make them some part of a means, and pray them to obtain it of the Emperor, that a new Council might be called to settle the Peace of the Church, and uphold the Orthodox Faith. This is what he desires of *Anatolius* in the Hundred thirty eighth Letter, and *Asparus* the Consul, in the Hundred thirty ninth Letter.

These are the principal Letters of *Theodore*, the other, which contain nothing Historical, are either Letters of rejoicing upon some Festival, or Letters of Consolation, Thanks, Recommendation, and Congratulation to his Friends. The twenty ninth, and the following Letters, recommend the Orthodox banished from *Carthage* in 442. The forty second and four following, are written to obtain the discharge of a Sum which was demanded of his Country, the payment of which was solicited by a wicked, excommunicated Bishop. The seventy seventh, seventy eighth, shew to the Bishops of *Armenia*, near adjoining to *Persia*, what they ought to do in the time of Persecution. *Theodore* in all his Letters discovers a great deal of Piety, Charity, and Humility; these have all the Qualifications which render Letters valuable, they are Short, Plain and Neat, Elegant, Civil, Pleasant, full of Matter, Wit, and Holiness.

There is no necessity of making a further Description of *Theodore*; what we have related of his Life, the Judgment which we have passed upon all his Works in particular, and what we have spoken of his Letters, are sufficient to give a full Idea of his Conversation, Learning and Eloquence.

As to his Doctrine we shall have frequent occasion to speak of it. Notwithstanding we see by his Conduct hitherto, that though he defended the Person of *Nestorius*, he never divided, but only distinguished the two Natures; he never maintain'd his Errors; he always profess'd his Belief of one Jesus Christ, God and Man in one Person; he never disapproved the Term of the Mother of God, and gave advice to *Nestorius* and *Irenaeus* to use it. This is true, that he never would approve the Chapters of *St. Cyril*, but it was, because he thought they contain'd in them that Error which was after maintained by *Eutyches*. In fine, he explains in so many places of his Works, the Doctrine of the Incarnation in so orthodox and exact Terms; that he cannot be accused of Error in that point without a great deal of Injustice. *St. Cyril* hath accused him of being in that Error, but he also accuses all the Oriental Bishops of

Theodore. the same, which after he acknowledged to be Orthodox, after they had signed the Confession of Faith, which was made in order to the Peace, which because *Theodore* approved, he ought to be accounted Orthodox. The Eastern Bishops were not obliged to approve of the 12 Chapters of *St. Cyril* to be accounted Orthodox; why then should *Theodore* be obliged to it? *M. Mercator* rails on *Theodore*, and finds Errors in his Books against *St. Cyril*. But the very places which he cites, justify him, and 'tis only by Consequences, which *Theodore* disowns, and which do not follow from his Principles, that *M. Mercator* extracts his Errors. As to the Authors which lived in the time of the 5th. Council, or since that time, they ought not to be alledged, because we know, that they were Parties in this Cause or followed the Judgment of the fifth Council, of which we will speak hereafter. If we desire to know the Defenders of *Theodore*, we shall find Men worthy of Credit, *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, all the Bishops of the East, all his Hearers at *Antioch*, are so many Witnesses of the Purity of his Faith. *St. Leo* was an Apologist for him, and the Emperor *Marcian* declared him Innocent. The Council of *Chalcedon* owned him for a Bishop, and did not oblige him to any Retraction, but only to lay *Anathema* to *Nestorius*. Many other Authors might be produced, which defended him against Calumny. But his best Defence are his Writings themselves, his Protestations, Declarations, Explanations of Faith, which cannot be accused of Heresy without condemning also the Letters of *St. Leo* to *Flavian*, the Writings of the most Orthodox Fathers, and the Forms of Doctrine which the Church of God hath always used.

I will not stay any longer to speak of the particular Opinions which are attributed to *Theodore*. Every one knows, that he was of the Judgment of the *Greeks* touching the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The Controversie upon the Passages of the Eucharist, are too famous and too common to be unknown. It would be to no purpose to repeat in this place what hath been so often insisted upon. He is accused of being a *Pelagian*, and that he knew nothing of Original Sin. But this is certain, that he was not of *Pelagian* Principles, since he owns, that Death, our Propensity to Evil, Concupiscence, are the Effects of the Sin of the first Man. He also often acknowledgeth the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and begs his Assistance. But he is not of the Principles of *St. Austin* concerning the Nature of Original Sin and Efficacy of Grace. He follows those of *St. Chrysostome*, to whose Opinion he joyns himself.

We have spoken of the principal Editions of the Works of *Theodore* in particular. The first Collection which was made of them, was made up of Versions only. It was printed at *Colten* in 1573. and at *Paris* 1608. [also at *Colten* 1567, 1617.] *F. Sirmondus* hath printed these Collections in Greek with the *Latin* by the side. This Edition is disposed into 4. Vol. in Folio, printed at *Paris* in 1642. *F. Garner* a little while since hath added a 5th. Vol. printed in 1684. This last contains, besides the Pieces of *Theodore*, which we have spoken of, 4 Dissertations of *F. Garner*, upon the Life, Works and Doctrine of *Theodore*, whom he inveighs much against. The Dialogues of *Maximus*, upon the Trinity, which he attributes to *Theodore*, a Dissertation upon the 5th. Council, the Collection of Pieces which *F. Lupus* had printed in 1682. A Treatise of *Euthymius* of *Tyana*, which was among the Works of *St. Athanasius*, and the different Readings of the Treatise of *Theodore* against the *Gentiles*, collected by *Ursinus*.

ANDREW Bishop of Samosata.

Andrew
of *Samosa-*
ta.

[* *Viulsi-*
to admo-
dum *Li-*
lo. Dr.
Cave.]
[† *S. Dr.*
Cave.]

Andrew, Bishop of *Samosata*, was an intimate Friend of *Theodore*'s, and observed almost the same way of Deportment. He was chosen by *John* Bishop of *Antioch* to confute *St. Cyril*'s *Anathematisms*, which he did with a great deal of Moderation. We have yet that Work with *St. Cyril*'s Answers. *Andrew* of *Samosata*, having seen them, he confuted them by a more smart Writing*. *Anastasius Sinaita* makes mention of this, and recites a Fragment of it in his Book, intitled, *odryes, The Guide*, Chap. 22. There are 19 Letters of his in the Col-

Andrew lection of *F. Lupus*, by which it appears, that he condemned *Rabbulas*, who had the boldness to pronounce *Theodore* accused; that he disallowed at first *St. Cyril*'s Letter for the Union and Peace which was made with him, but that afterwards he yielded, following the Example of *Theodore*, and counselled *Alexander* [Patriarch of *Antioch*] to do the same. He was condemned in the sham Council of *Ephesus*, if we may believe *Theophanes*. He was dead before the Council of *Chalcedon*, where his Successor, called *Rufinus* was present.

HELLADIUS Bishop of Tarsus, MAXIMINUS Bishop of Anazarbum, and IRENÆUS Bishop of Phoenicia.

Helladius
Bishop of
Tarsus,
&c.

[* *S. Dr.*
Cave.]

Helladius Bishop of *Tarsus*, the Metropolis of the upper *Cilicia*, was deposed in the first Council of *Ephesus*. *St. Cyril* would not suffer him to be included in the Peace, and he himself was averse to it. He resisted a long time, but at last he yielded. He hath * 7 Letters in *Lupus*'s Collection.

Maximinus, Bishop of *Anazarbum*, Metropolitan of the lower *Cilicia*, he stood out longer than *Helladius*; but at

Helladius last seeing himself molested with the Emperor's Orders, he followed his example, he, and all the Bishops of his Province. We have the Synodal Letters which he wrote pro and con, with three or four other Letters upon the same Subject in *Lupus*'s Collection.

Count *Irenaeus*, who was present at the Council of *Ephesus* in the place of the Emperor in quality of a Commissioner, was afterward chosen Bishop of *Phoenicia* by the Bishops

shops of that Province, and ordain'd by *Theodore* in 444. He did not enjoy that Bishoprick long, being deposed in 448. by the Emperor's Command. We have made an Extract of *Theodore*'s Letter, wherein he speaks of the Defects of his Ordination; and of another Letter wherein that Father exhorts him to own, that the Virgin *Mary* is the Mother of God, but all in vain. He was too close linked to the Doctrine of *Nestorius* to change. This firm Adherence appears by the Work which he intitled *Tragedia*, the Tragedy, in which he hath

written strongly in his own Defence, and condemn'd not only *St. Cyril* and the *Aegyptians*, but also *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and all the Bishops of the East, who had joyned Bishop of *Antioch* in the Peace, commending none but those, who thro' un-*Tarsus* heard of Obstinacy, remain'd in a Separation from the Church. &c. We have already observed, that *P. Lupus* hath published a Collection of that ancient Author, who hath translated and copied a part of the Letters, which he had gathered in that Work, and some Reflections of *Irenaeus*.

St. L E O.

St. Leo. **S**T. *Leo*. (a), after he had gotten himself Repute among the Clergy of *Rome* (b), under the Pontificate of *St. Celestine* and *St. Sixtus*, in quality of an Arch-deacon, was chosen Bishop of *Rome* after the death of the latter (c), which happened *Apr. 1.* in the year 440. He was sent into *France* to procure a reconciliation between *Arms* and *Albinus* [two chief Captains of the *Roman* Army.] While he was there, Deputies were sent from *Rome* to him, to carry him the News of his Election, and to hasten his return to *Rome* where he was ordain'd 40 days after the death of his Predecessor. He maintained his Dignity with so much Splendor, Vigilance and Authority, that he rendered himself more famous in the Church than any of the Popes which had been before him, even from *St. Peter*. He not only had a special care of the Church of *Rome*, and those Churches which were subject to his Metropolis, but he extended his Pastoral Vigilance over all the Churches of the East and West. He maintain'd the ancient Doctrine, oppos'd Heresies, upheld the Ecclesiastical Discipline, renewed and confirmed the ancient Canons, enlarged the Grandeur and Authority of his See, and manfully defended the Rights of it. There was no Affair almost transacted in the Church in the time of his Pontificate, in which he had not a great share. We do not mention them here; because his Letters teach us them in particular. He died in the 21st. year of his Prelacy, in the year 461. (d).

This Pope is deservedly ranked among the Fathers of the Church, because tho' we have no great Treatises under his Name, his Sermons and Letters are very useful Works. We will begin to make the Extract of his Letters, which contain a great number of very important Points of Doctrine, History, Morality and Discipline.

But before we enter upon the particular discussion of the Letters, it is convenient to examine the Conjecture of a Modern Critick, who asserts, that the Letters attributed to *St. Leo* are the Work of *St. Prosper*. This Conjecture is principally upheld by the Testimony of *Gennadius*, who speaking of *St. Prosper*, saith, *Epistole quoque Papae Leonis adversus Eutychem de vera Christi Incarnatione, ad diversos datas, & ab ipso dictatae dicuntur aut creduntur.* The Epistles also of Pope *Leo* against *Eutyches*, written to several Persons, about the Incarnation of *Christ*, are said or believed to be dictated or published by him. These words are found exactly in *Marcellinus*'s Chronicon in the Consulship of *Vivian* and *Felix*; and 'tis from hence, that *Ado Viennensis* hath taken that Passage, as *Honorius Augustodunensis* and *Trithemius* have taken it from *Gennadius*. But *Ado* gives *St. Prosper* the Title of a Secretary *Notarius* to *St. Leo*. 'Tis from the Testimonies of these Authors that *M. Antelmi* takes the boldness to assert this Paradox, that all the Letters of *St. Leo* were written by *St. Prosper*. For confirmation, he compares the Letter of *St. Leo* to *Flavian*, and that directed to the Bishop of *Aquileja*, with some places of *St. Prosper*'s Works, and thinks that he finds an entire conformity of Style in them. He adds, that *St. Jerome* was Secretary to Pope *Damasus*, and that he made Answer to such as consulted any thing of him in the name of that Pope. And so *St. Gregory*, when he was a Deacon, was Secretary to *Pelagius II.* and it is credible, that all the Popes wrote nothing almost themselves, but had Secretaries to write for them. These are the Conjectures upon which *M. Antelmi* grounds himself, but they are too weak to prove what he asserts.

For first of all, the whole frame of this Argument is supported by a meer *Hear-say*, related by *Gennadius*, who was not himself really of that Opinion; for speaking before of Pope *Leo*, chap. 70. he attributes to him, in express Terms, the Letter to *Flavian*, and says nothing of his other Works, insomuch, that he could not have put him in the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, but because he thought this Let-

ter was of his Writing. Now when an Author speaks affirmatively in one place, and in another reports it upon *Hear-say* only, his Judgment is to be gathered from the place, where he speaks of his own Head, and not from that wherein he speaks according to the common Opinion.

Secondly, 'Tis not certain that these words in chap. 84. *Epistole quoque Leonis, &c.* The Epistles likewise of *St. Leo*, &c. are *Gennadius*'s: But on the contrary, 'tis probable, that they have been added. To be convinced of this, we need but cast our Eyes upon chap. 84. and we may soon see what is *Gennadius*'s, and what is added. For after that *Gennadius* hath spoken of the Works of *St. Prosper* in such a manner as made it evident, that he did not approve what he had written about *Grace*, some Body hath added; *This Prosper hath been the Defender of St. Austin's Books also against the Hereticks, who were Enemies to the Grace of Jesus Christ.* This is plainly an Addition to the Text of *Gennadius*. These words which are now in Question follow this Addition, and are a part of it; for, 1. If they were *Gennadius*'s, they would be joyned to his Text, and would not follow this Addition. 2. The way in which this Phrase is expressed, *Epistole quoque Leonis, &c.* shews, that it hath a relation to the preceding Addition, and that it hath nothing to do with the Text of *Gennadius*. It begins with these words, *Epistole quoque.* The word *quoque* refers to the preceding Addition, *Hic etiam Prosper*, and cannot be joyned with the Genuine Text. *Quae enim vere Cassiani & Prosperi, de gratia & libero arbitrio sententiae fuerunt, in aliquibus contraria sibi inveniuntur.* The Opinions of *Cassian* and *Prosper* of *Grace* and *Free-will*, are contrary the one to the other in some things. Who would say after this, the Epistles of *St. Leo* also, &c? It is then certain, that this last Phrase hath relation to the Precedent, where he speaks with dislike of the *Semi-Pelagians*. So that it is not certainly *Gennadius*'s; 'tis an Addition no Man can doubt. And what can we say of the other 2.

But whence comes this Addition? Whence was it taken? It is no hard Matter to guess, since the same words are to be found in *Marcellinus*'s Chronicon. From hence some Person took them to add them here to the Text of *Gennadius*, chap. 84. One of those two must be, either that *Marcellinus* hath taken this place from *Gennadius*, or some Body hath taken this passage out of *Marcellinus*. The first is very unlikely: *Marcellinus* doth not use to copy out *Gennadius*. We must then hold the latter, and so much the rather, because there are other Conjectures to prove, that this Passage is an Addition to the Text of *Gennadius*, and there is nothing to prove, that it hath been added to *Marcellinus*.

This being so, all the proofs of *M. Antelmi* are resolved into a common Rumour which was current in the time of *Marcellinus*, who lived an hundred years after *Leo*. For as for *Ado*, 'tis visible enough, that he hath taken all he says from *Marcellinus*; and besides, an Author of the 9th. Age is of no great Authority. And the same I say of *Honorius* of *Augustodunum*, and *Trithemius*, who have copied the Addition, which had been made to chap. 84. out of *Gennadius*'s Book.

There is likewise very great probability, that the Title of Secretary or Notary, which *Ado* hath given to *Prosper*, is grounded upon nothing but what he had read in *Marcellinus*'s Chronicon. For from whence should he know, that *St. Prosper* had the Title? But if it were certain, that he had the quality of *Notarius* in the time of *St. Leo*, it doth not follow that he made the Letters of that Pope. The *Notaries* in the time of *St. Leo*, were not those who composed the Letters, but those who kept them, carried them, published them, and kept the Registers of the Ecclesiastical Affairs. We read, in the 25th. Epistle of *St. Leo*, that *Dulcinius* the Notary, was sent to the 2^d. Council of *Ephesus*,

(a) *St. Leo.* It is commonly believed, that he was a *Tuscan*. *F. Quesnal* thinks rather that he was a *Roman*, because he himself calls the City of *Rome* his Country, Ep. 27. *St. Prosper*, in his Chronicon, says the same thing. It is true, that in the ordinary Editions of the Pontifical, 'tis said, he was a *Tuscan*. But there are 2 MSS wherein 'tis said, he was a *Roman*. However that be, he was brought up and educated at *Rome*.

(b) *Repute among the Clergy, &c.* He carried *Zosimus*'s Letter to *Aurelius*, when he was but an *Acolythus*; as appears by the 101st. Letter of *St. Austin* to *Sixtus*. He was Arch-deacon under Pope *Celestine*; the Books of *Cassian*, concerning the Incarnation, written in 430. at the desire of *St. Leo*, then Arch-

deacon, are a plain proof of it. In 439. he got himself a great Name by appearing against the *Pelagians*, as it is noted in *St. Prosper*'s Chronicon.

(c) *Was chosen, &c.* After the same manner doth *St. Prosper* describe *St. Leo*'s Election.

(d) *In the Year 461. according to the Vulgar Era.* The day is not certain. An ancient Kalendar, which is in the 10th. Tome of *M. Luke D' Acheri*'s Spicilegium, places the death of *St. Leo* on Octob. 30. *Marianus Scotus* places it on June 28. His Memory is celebrated on that day in several Martyrologies and Ecclesiastical Offices. His Festival is commonly on April 21.

to write the Acts of it. *Dionysius*, who was sent to Constantinople to carry the Letters of *St. Leo*, Ep. 46. is called, *Romane Ecclesie Notarius*. *Tiburtius*, Secretary of the Church of Rome, signed the Letter to *Flavian*, under that Title. *Tiburtius Notarius*, &c. I *Tiburtius*, the Notary, by the command of my Reverend Lord the Pope have published. These were the Offices of a Notary. Also altho' it were certain, that *St. Prosper* was a Notary of the Church of Rome; it would not follow, that he hath composed the Letters of *St. Leo*. And, likewise, if we follow the Correction, that M. the Abbot *Anselmi* hath made in the Chronicon of *Ado*, by 2 MSS. in M. Colbert's Library; this Author doth not say, that *St. Prosper*, as he was a Notary, hath written the Letters of *St. Leo*, but only that he set them out, *a quo edita creduntur*.

The example of the Office of *St. Jerome* with Pope *Damasus*, doth not prove, that *St. Prosper* hath performed the same Office with *St. Leo*. There have been Popes, who have written for themselves; there are others who have made use of the help of others, not being of sufficient Abilities to write. For example, *Pelagius II.* had need of the assistance of *St. Gregory*; but who will say, that *St. Gregory*, being made Bishop, used another to write his Letters?

Nor is there any conformity of Style between the Letters of *St. Leo* and the Works of *St. Prosper*, as is pretended by M. Abbot *Anselmi*, but this is that in which he least of all agrees with him. The Comparisons and Parallels which he makes, shew indeed, that they agree in some Terms, which all that treat of these Matters do commonly use, and which are taken from *St. Austin* in a thousand places. But this will never for all that persuade them, who have any Judgment, that the Style of *St. Leo's* and *St. Prosper's* Writings, is the same. And let any Man read but a little of each, and he will find a considerable difference, and be convinced, that *St. Leo* had a loftiness of Expression, which *St. Prosper* was not able to attain, and a readiness in Writing and Speaking, which raised him above the help of a Secretary. Lastly, the Style of his Letters is so like that of his Sermons, that it cannot be doubted but that they are the same Author's. Now who is there, even at this day, that is so inconsiderate as to say, that *St. Leo's* Sermons are not his? It is true, that M. Abbot *Anselmi* also thinks, that *St. Prosper* had an hand in them; but this is another Paradox more extraordinary than the former, and is not supported by the Testimony of any Author, and which he cannot make good, as we shall shew afterwards. But let us return to *St. Leo's* Letters, and follow the Order of time, according to which they are disposed by *F. Quesnel*.

The First is directed to the Bishops of *Mauritania Casariensis*, which was probably written before *Genfericus*, King of the *Vandals*, had conquered that Province, which happened after the Death of *Valentinian*, who died 455 (a). This Letter contains Directions how to reform the Disorders which were committed in *Africa*, in the Ordination of Bishops. Bishop *Potentius*, whom *St. Leo* had sent into *Africa* to get Information of it, and to let him know if it were true that the Bishopricks there were so ill bestowed, had given him an Account, that for the most part the Churches were governed by Persons unworthy of the Name of a Bishop; that they were raised to that Dignity either by Bribery or popular Faction. *St. Leo* immediately wrote to them, as well to testify his own Grief, which he had for their Disorders, as to prescribe them Means to reform them. First, he shews, that 'tis prejudicial to the People's Salva-

(e) In 455.] It is not probable that it was written in 458. as *Baronius* and *Blondel* are of Opinion, because *Rome* was sack'd by the *Vandals*. *St. Leo* had Business enough to watch over his own Church, without troubling his thoughts about the condition of others. Is it very likely that *Mauritania* was still under the Dominion of the Empire, because otherwise he could not have received the News so easily, nor have written thither. He says, indeed, that that Province was at war with the *Barbarians*, but he doth not say that it was entirely subdued. *F. Quesnel* thinks, that this Letter was written in 442. One thing may make it doubtful, which is, that he speaks of the Decrees which he had made already, to hinder Laymen from being raised to the first, second or third Degree of the Clergy, which is pretended to have relation to *Epist. 12.* to *Anastadius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, where he forbids him to prefer Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity: But, besides that he speaks not in that Place of the second or third Degree of the Clergy, but only of Bishops; he might make this Decree in another Letter. *F. Quesnel* grounds himself upon this; that *Potentius* might well be one of the Bishops of *Africa*, who having been exposed to the Mercy of the Winds by the *Vandals*, were driven a shore at *Naples*; but this is not beyond Controversy, all that can be said is this, that this Letter was written before the Year 455.

(f) It is a Supposititious Passage, which is none of *St. Leo's*.] This Article is found in the Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*, where the sixth, seventh and eighth are not to be found: But these are in four ancient Manuscripts, where the second is not. *Merlin's* Editions of the Councils in 1524, and 1525. agree with these last Manuscripts, which are the ancientest and best. It can-

tion, to place over them Pastors unworthy of their Office, that in doing it they were so far from comforting them; that they made their Case more dangerous. He superadds, that though he found some who were ordained by Sedition or Bribery worthy of their Office, yet the Example was of ill Consequence, and that it is very improbable that that should end well which had a bad beginning.

He observes in the Second Article, that if they are obliged to take care, that they do not mistake in the Election of all, that are admitted into the Clergy; that nothing be done in the Church of God, which is not in Order, they are much more obliged to chuse Persons of Worth to rule over others. Upon this occasion he quotes a Text of *St. Paul's*, wherein he gives *Timothy* charge to lay Hands suddenly on no Man: *What is it*, saith he, *to lay Hands suddenly on no Man*, but not to conferr Priests Orders upon Persons whose Worth we are ignorant of, before they are of fit Age; before we have had Time to try them; before they have approved themselves fit by their Industry, and have given some signs of their Knowledge and Experience?

After these general Rules he speaks particularly of the Conditions necessary for entering into Holy Orders. The first is, not to have above one Wife; and the not to be a Widow, the second, to have passed all the Inferior Orders, and to have exercised them for some Time. After he hath proved the Necessity of these two Conditions in the third and fourth Articles, he commands, in the fifth, the Bishops to whom he wrote, to deprive them of their Bishoprick, who were found to have had two Wives, or had married a Widow: But as to them whose Ordination was not Faulty, but upon this account, because they were made Bishops immediately of Laicks, he permits them to keep their Bishopricks, telling them, that he did it only by a kind of Indulgence and without prejudicing the Holy See; the Decrees of his Predecessors, or his own, by which it is forbidden to promote any Person to the first, second or third degree of the Clergy, who have not arrived at these Dignities by the ordinary ways, declaring to them, that for the future he intended that those Rules should be strictly observed.

He comes at last to the Affairs, in which he was personally concerned: A *Novatian* Bishop, called *Donatus*, had been converted with all his People. *St. Leo* suffered him to keep his Bishoprick; but required him to send a profession of his Faith to him; in which he condemns the Errors of the *Novatians*, and professes the Faith of the Church. He exacted the same thing of *Maximus*, who had been before a *Donatist*, and had after been made a Bishop of a Layman. As to *Aggarius* and *Tiberianus*, who had been ordained Bishops, being before but mere Laymen, and that with a great Uproar, he enjoined the Bishops of *Africa* to inform themselves exactly of all that had passed at their Ordination and to write to him of it. This is what respects the Ordination of Bishops.

He speaks, in the eighth Article of the Virgins who had been deflower'd by the *Barbarians*, and advises them, not to compare themselves with those that had yet their Virginity, because, although they were innocent, and had not consented to the Sin, yet they ought to bewail the Loss they had suffered. He exhorts the Bishops, at last to hearken to his Advice, and observe the Holy Canons.

The Second Article, in the ordinary Editions, is not put in this Edition, because it is not to be found in the best Manuscripts, and hath no Connexion with the precedent Article, inasmuch that this is a Supposititious Passage, which is none of *St. Leo's* (f), or if it be his, 'tis a Fragment of

not be said that *St. Leo* hath repeated the same thing in one and the same Letter, in two different Articles, about Virgins; either then the second or eighth Article must be added: Now 'tis most probable that it is the second. For, 1. It is not to be found in the most Ancient Manuscripts. 2. It begins with the Conclusion of the same Letter: *Cum itaque de omnibus que Fratr. nostri Potentii relatio continetur*, &c. This supposeth, that the Letter is finished, whereas this is but the second Article of the Letter; and he speaks afterwards of many other things, contained in *Potentius's* Relation. 3. *F. Quesnel* says, that that which is discours'd of in these Articles doth not agree with the Condition the Church of *Africa* was then in. It is not probable that in the Persecution, wherein the Church was, they could ordain Bishops in the Boroughs. 4. He maintains, that 'tis not *Leo's* Style, that the Words *Diocesi* for *Parish*, *Specialius* & *propensius commoveri*, *damnum proprii honoris evadere*, *Episcopalia gubernacula præsideri*, *pendente negotio*, were not *St. Leo's*, nor so much as used in his Time. 5. *Isidore* hath not put this Article into his Collection, although he hath omitted nothing that might favour the Right of Appeals to the Holy See. 6. 'Tis likely that it hath been added to the ancient Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*, for the Title is differently expressed from that of the others; that the Titles at the beginning of the Letter and Index are different. Lastly, *Cresconius*, who follows the Code of *Dionysius Exiguus*, and hath inserted it in his Collection, hath put nothing of that Letter in it. These Reasons have made *F. Quesnel* to conjecture, that this Fragment hath been added in the Code of *Dionysius Exiguus*, by the same Person that hath added the Letters of Pope *Hilary* and his Successors, as far as *Gregory II.* [6] Eeeee some